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ANNEX











LABOR OMNIA VINCIT

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**REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS**  
*of the*  
**THIRTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION**  
*of the*  
**AMERICAN FEDERATION  
OF LABOR**



**HELD AT ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI  
NOVEMBER 14 TO 26, INCLUSIVE**  

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**1910**

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WASHINGTON, D. C.  
THE LAW REPORTER PRINTING COMPANY  
1910

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100119



# DELEGATES

## TO THE

# THIRTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Actors' International Union.....	1	11	Harry De Veaux, 8 Union Square, New York, N. Y.
Asbestos Workers' International Association, Heat, Frost, General Insulators and Bakery and Confectionery Workers, International Union.....	1 2	5 64	A. J. Kennedy, 3522 Paulina St., Chicago, Ill. Chris. Kerker, 2070 Prospect Ave., New York, N. Y.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen.	4	63 67 66	Henry Koch, 41 North York St., Paterson, N. J. Frank X. Noehang, Box 397, Albany, N. Y. Jacob Fischer, 222 East Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
Bill Posters and Billers, International Alliance of.....	1	66 66	W. E. Klapetsky, P. O. Box 43, Los Angeles, Cal. Ed. Anderson, 176 N. Union Ave., Pueblo, Col.
Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of.....	3	14	Walter Gazzolo, 3210 Lawton Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders, Brotherhood of.....	3	34 33 33	Jas. W. Kline, 517 Monon Building, Chicago, Ill. C. N. Glover, 517 Monon Building, Chicago, Ill. Wm. J. Dougherty, 309 Breckenridge St., Buffalo N. Y.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of	1	54 54 53	Joseph A. Franklin, 7-12 Law Building, Kansas City, Kan. Joseph Flynn, 120 N. Chester St., Little Rock, Ark. Thomas H. Flynn, 20 Maple Terrace, Pittsburg, Pa.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	5	78 65 65 65	Robert Glockling, 132 Nassau St., New York, N. Y. John F. Tobin, 246 Summer St., Boston, Mass. Michael J. Hallinan, 46 Calmar St., Brockton, Mass. Arthur B. Higgins, Rockland, Mass. Jos. J. Chatterton, 425 Walnut St., W. Lynn, Mass. Miss Margaret Kelly, 7 White St., Haverhill, Mass.
Brewery Workmen, International Union of United.....	5	80 80 80 80	Louis Kemper, Vine and Calhoun Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. Joseph Proebstle, Vine and Calhoun Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. John Sullivan, 23 Third Ave., New York, N. Y. Ed F. Ward, 1117 Columbus Ave., Boston, Mass. A. J. Kugler, 71 Warner Ave., Jersey City, N. J.
Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, International.....	1	38 34	Frank Butterworth, 56 Fifth Ave., Chicago, Ill. Frank M. Ryan, 422 American Central Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association of.....	3	33 33 33	John T. Butler, 116 East North St., Buffalo, N. Y. J. P. Kelly, 6 Wilkinsburg Ave., E. E. Pittsburg, Pa.
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International.....	1	6 272 272	C. T. Dolan, 3959 Lincoln Ave., Chicago, Ill. Wm. D. Huber, Carpenters' Building, Indianapolis, Ind. Frank Duffy, Carpenters' Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
Carpenters and Joiners, United Brotherhood of.....	7	272 272 272 272 272	W. B. Macfarlane, 337 Potomac Ave., Buffalo, N. Y. Carl Young, 135 Center Ave., Aurora, Ill. Thos. Flynn, 1225 S. Harding Ave., Chicago, Ill. Wm. J. Kelly, Union Labor Temple, Pittsburg, Pa. A. M. Swarts, 1410 Sandusky St., Allegheny, Pa.

## DELEGATES TO THE THIRTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated Society of.....	2	36	William W. Young, 98 Bellevue Ave., Toronto, Canada.
		35	Alexander Kelsø, 1460 Washington Ave., New York, N. Y.
Carriage and Wagon Workers, International.....	1	11	Louis F. Maire, 119 Auburn Ave., Atlanta, Ga.
Car Workers, International Association of.....	2	25	P. F. Richardson, 1209, 356 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
		25	J. R. Humphrey, 1209, 356 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
Cement Workers, American Brotherhood of.....	2	45	Martin Goellnitz, Second Ave., Woodside, Long Island, N. Y.
		45	Frank Gengenback, 646 W. Sixty-seventh St., Chicago, Ill.
Cigarmakers' International Union.....	4	108	Samuel Gompers, 801-9 Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
		108	Thomas F. Tracy, 801-9 Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
		108	J. Mahlon Barnes, 180 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		108	John T. Smith, Labor Temple, Kansas City, Mo.
Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail.....	3	50	M. E. Licht, 343 Van Ness Ave., San Francisco, Cal.
		50	H. J. Conway, P. O. Box 1581, Denver, Col.
		50	D. F. Manning, Room 404 Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, United.....	1	21	Herman Hinder, care of M. Zuckerman, 228 East Seventh St., New York, N. Y.
Commercial Telegraphers' Union.....	1	10	S. J. Konekamp, 930 Monon Building, Chicago, Ill.
Coopers' International Union.....	2	21	William Braun, 3322 Lemp Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
		20	Frank A. Scoby, 2801 North Third St., Minneapolis, Minn.
		40	Frank J. McNulty, Pierick Building, Springfield, Ill.
Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of.....	4	40	Peter W. Collins, Pierick Building, Springfield, Ill.
		40	Stephen J. Fay, 4123 Grenshaw St., Chicago, Ill.
		40	F. A. Monaghan, 393 Franklin St., San Francisco, Cal.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	1	21	Frank Feeny, 2336 South Fifteenth St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		40	Matt Comerford, 309 Temple Bar Annex Building, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Engineers, International Union of Steam.....	4	40	James G. Hannahan, 6303 Harvard Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		40	John J. Glass, 514 Eagle St., Buffalo, N. Y.
		40	John McNamara, 7832 Green St., Chicago, Ill.
		27	Timothy Healy, 158 E. Twenty-seventh St., New York, N. Y.
Firemen, International Brotherhood of Stationary.....	3	27	C. L. Shamp, 2502 North Eighteenth St., Omaha, Neb.
		27	J. W. Morton, Room 414, 275 La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
Fitters and Helpers, International Association Steam and Hot Water.....	2	28	Richard P. Walsh, 62 Huron St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Foundry Employes, International Brotherhood of.....	1	28	John Mangan, 7700 Lowe Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Freight Handlers, Brotherhood of Railroad.....	2	7	George Bechtold, 200 South Broadway, St. Louis, Mo.
		24	P. J. Flannery, 816-824 West Harrison St., Chicago, Ill.
		23	Fred Smith, care of J. J. Flynn, 816-24 West Harrison St., Chicago, Ill.
Garment Workers, United.....	5	109	T. A. Rickert, 275 La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
		109	B. A. Langer, 116-123 Bible House, New York, N. Y.
		108	V. Altman, 256 West Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
		108	S. L. Landers, 16 Sherman Ave., Hamilton, Ont., Canada.
		108	Harry Meyer, 760 Tinton Ave., Bronx, N. Y.

## DELEGATES TO THE THIRTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Garment Workers, International, Ladies'.	3	63	Abraham Rosenberg, 11 Waverly Place, New York, N. Y.
		62	John A. Dycha, 11 Waverly Place, New York, N. Y.
		62	Alex. Bloch, 8 East Seventeenth St., New York, N. Y.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association.....	3	34	D. A. Hayes, 930 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
		33	Everett E. Thorp, 3516 Belmont St., Bellaire, Ohio.
		33	Harry Crist, Williamstown, N. J.
Glass Workers' International Association, Amalgamated.....	1	12	Frank J. Wettengel, 431 West Fourteenth St., Kansas City, Mo.
Glove Workers' Union, International.....	1	8	Miss Agnes Nestor, Room 506 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
Granite Cutters' International Association	3	45	James Duncan, Hancock Building, Quincy, Mass.
		45	Alexander M. Smith, Scampini Block, Barre, Vt.
		44	Paul Bianchi, Scampini Block, Barre, Vt.
Hatters, United, of North America.....	3	20	John A. Moffitt, 11 Waverly Place, New York.
		28	Martin Lawlor, 11 Waverly Place, New York.
		28	James P. Maher, 11 Waverly Place, New York.
Hodcarriers' and Building Laborers' Union, International.....	3	38	D. D'Alessandro, Rooms 47-50, 82 State St., Albany, N. Y.
		38	David Kirby, 79 East Canton St., Boston, Mass.
		38	W. W. Cordell, Mentor St., North of Churchill Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Horsehoers, International Union of Journeymen.....	2	36	Hubert S. Marshall, 605 Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		36	Roady Kenehan, 1464 Winona Court, Denver, Col.
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League.....	5	74	T. J. Sullivan, 86 Franklin Ave., Hartford, Conn.
		74	Jere L. Sullivan, 610 Commercial Tribune Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		74	John J. Griffin, 70 Adams St., Lynn, Mass.
		74	Robert Heskeith, P. O. Box 594, Seattle, Wash.
		74	Thos. S. Farrell, 1856 East Sixth St., Cleveland, Ohio.
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Amalgamated Association.....	3	27	P. J. McArdle, Room 506, House Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
		27	Judson O'Neal, 2326 First Ave., Terre Haute, Ind.
		26	John Leyshon, Fruit Ave., South Sharon, Pa.
		25	Wm. J. McSorley, 401 Superior Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....	2	25	Edwin T. Stevenson, 121 Davenport Ave., New Haven, Conn.
Laundry Workers' International Union....	1	29	Fred H. Grahame, P. O. Box 11, Station 1, Troy, N. Y.
Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association.....	1	17	Frank Gehring, 23 Carlton Ave., Jersey City, N. J.
Lithographic Press Feeders, International Protective Association of.....	1	9	W. A. Coakley, 43 Center St., New York, N. Y.
		52	T. V. O'Connor, 1004 Mutual Life Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
Longshoremen's Association, International	4	52	M. W. Kelleher, 43 Maple St., Ashtabula, Ohio.
		52	T. J. Dolan, 508 Fort Dearborn Building, Chicago, Ill.
		52	I. H. Sanderson, Bank of Hamilton Chambers, Queen and Spadina Aves., Toronto, Canada.
		111	James O'Connell, 405 McGill Building, Washington, D. C.
		114	C. W. Fry, Merchants Building, Chicago, Ill.
Machinists, International Association of...	5	114	J. J. Keegan, 2333 Central Ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
		114	P. W. Buckley, 453 Eighth St., Oakland, Cal.
		113	J. J. Handley, Board of Public Works, Milwaukee, Wis.
Maintenance of Way Employees, International Brotherhood of.....	3	29	S. J. Pegg, 3900 Olive St., St. Louis, Mo.
		29	H. A. Vurpia, 339 W. Central Park Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		29	T. J. O'Donnell, Hermando, Miss.
Marble Workers, International Association of.....	1	27	Walter V. Price, 715 Eagle Ave., New York, N. Y.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, Amalgamated.....	1	54	Homer D. Call, Cortland and Brighton Aves., Syracuse, N. Y.

## DELEGATES TO THE THIRTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers' International.....	2	50 50	T. M. Daly, Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. Thomas Runsey, Cor. Jackson and Huron Sts., Toledo, Ohio.
Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated.....	3	54 54 54	M. O'Sullivan, 325 Nelson Building, Kansas City, Mo. Thomas J. Butler, 25 Third Ave., New York, N. Y. John E. Bray, 325 Nelson Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Mine Workers, United.....	7	334 334 334 334 334 333 100	T. L. Lewis, 1111 State Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind. Edwin Perry, 1106 State Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind. John Mitchell, 10096 Metropolitan Building, New York, N. Y. Frank J. Hayes, 505 Farmers' Bank Building, Springfield, Ill. John H. Walker, 505 Farmers' Bank Building, Springfield, Ill. W. B. Wilson, Blossburg, Pa. E. S. McCullough, care of Edwin Perry, 1106 State Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind. Jos. F. Valentine, Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Molders' Union, International.....	5	100 100 100 100 100	John F. Frey, Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio. John O'Neill, 446 W. First Ave., Columbus, Ohio. William Schwab, 396 National Ave., Room 3, Milwaukee, Wis. John F. Dunachie, 300 Leonard St., Brooklyn, N. Y. Joseph N. Weber, 235 East 110th St., New York, N. Y.
Musicians, American Federation of.....	4	100 100 100	Owen Miller, 3535 Pine St., St. Louis, Mo. Joseph F. Winkler, 164 E. Washington St., Chicago, Ill. David A. Carey, 95 Markham St., Toronto, Canada.
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, Brotherhood of.....	5	127 127 127 127 127	J. C. Skemp, Box 99, Lafayette, Ind. Jacob Tazelaar, Room 206, 3 East Seventeenth St., New York, N. Y. E. Frank Moorehouse, 11a Cartes St., Boston, Mass. Samuel Kelley, 2005 Greenup St., Covington, Ky. Daniel J. Evans, 6439 Bishop St., Chicago, Ill.
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of.....	1	16	J. T. Carey, 22 Smith Building, Watertown, N. Y.
Pattern Makers' League.....	2	26 26	James Wilson, 1008-1009 Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. James L. Gernon, 411 Albermarle Road, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of.....	1	15	Edward I. Hannah, 249 East 57th St., New York, N. Y.
Paving Cutters' Union.....	1	32	John Sheret, Box 116, Albion, N. Y.
Photo-Engravers' Union, International...	1	35	Matthew Woll, 6111 Bishop St., Chicago, Ill.
Piano and Organ Workers' Union, International.....	1	40	Charles Dold, 1037 Greenwood Terrace, Chicago, Ill.
Plate Printers' Union, International Steel and Copper.....	1	13	George P. Foster, 3215 Georgia Ave., Washington, D. C.
Plasterers' International Association, Operative.....	3	51 51 50	Edward McGivern, Paine Memorial Hall, Boston, Mass. John Donlin, 817 Loomis St., Chicago, Ill. Edward L. Smyth, 4748 Kennerly Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers, United Association of.....	4	50 50 50 50	John R. Alpine, 411-15 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill. Patrick Murphy, 140 West Sixty-first St., New York, N. Y. William J. Tracy, 25 North Thirteenth St., Philadelphia, Pa. James F. Malley, care of M. G. Monroe, 1209 E. 74th St., Cleveland, Ohio.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Postoffice Clerks, National Federation of..	1	14	Oscar F. Nelson, Room 843, 225 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative	2	29	Thomas J. Duffy, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
Print Cutters' Association, National.....	1	29	Reuben H. McDevitt, 62 Johnson Ave., Trenton, N. J.
Printing Pressmen's Union, International.	4	4	Fred J. Roth, 220 Allen St., Buffalo, N. Y.
		47	George L. Berry, Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		47	E. Porter Murphy, care of G. L. Berry, Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		46	Wm. H. Taylor, care of G. L. Berry, Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		46	Wm. Carr, care of G. L. Berry, Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, International Brotherhood of.....	1	7	John H. Malin, Fort Edward, N. Y.
Quarryworkers' International Union.....	2	25	Fred W. Sutor, P. O. Box 394, Barre, Vt.
		25	W. F. B. Feylor, Waldoboro, Me.
		50	H. B. Perham, Star Building, St. Louis, Mo.
		50	L. W. Quick, Star Building, St. Louis, Mo.
Railroad Telegraphers, Order of.....	4	50	D. G. Ramsay, Unity Building, Chicago, Ill.
		50	L. A. Tanquary, Board of Trade Building, Pueblo, Colo.
		57	Martin F. Ryan, Room 503 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Railway Carmen, Brotherhood of.....	4	57	William J. Adames, 501 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo.
		57	John J. Gallagher, 56 Prescott St., Readville, Mass.
		57	Frank Paquin, 318 West 52d Place, Chicago, Ill.
		25	John J. Carrigan, Room 314 Kansas City Life Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Railway Clerks, Brotherhood of.....	2	25	James F. Riley, 307-10 Kansas City Life Building, Kansas City, Mo.
		123	W. D. Mahon, 601-3 Hodges Building, Detroit, Mich.
Railway Employes, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.....	3	122	Ben Commons, 1003 Poland Ave., New Orleans, La.
		122	C. O. Pratt, 703 E. Madison St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Roofers, Composition, Damp and Waterproof Workers, International Brotherhood of.....	1	11	Jeremiah Hurley, 312 Clark Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Seamen's Union, International.....	2	80	Victor A. Olander, 674 N. Madison, Chicago, Ill.
		80	Andrew Furuseth, 44 and 46 East St., San Francisco, Cal.
Shingle Weavers' Union, International....	1	18	E. P. Marsh, Labor Temple, Everett, Wash.
Slate and Tile Roofers' Union, International	1	5	J. M. Gavlak, 3643 West 47th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
Stage Employes' International Alliance, Theatrical.....	3	31	Lee M. Hart, State Hotel, State and Harrison Sts., Chicago, Ill.
		30	Patrick T. Barry, 11 National St., Boston, Mass.
		30	Martin C. Higgins, 185 Grant St., Youngstown, O.
Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, International.....	1	40	Oscar Boecke, care of James J. Freel, 1839 85th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Stonecutters' Association, Journeymen...	3	27	James F. McHugh, 520 6th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
		27	Mike Mitchell, Catlettsburg, Ky.
		26	Jo Evans, 520 6th St., Washington, D. C.
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	1	9	Frank Grimshaw, 166 Concord Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	1	80	Frank T. Hawley, 237 Carolina St., Buffalo, N. Y.
		39	E. J. Brais, Box 597, Bloomington, Ill.
		39	John B. Lennon, Box 598, Bloomington, Ill.
Tailors' Union, Journeymen.....	3	39	James Lindola, care of James Watt, Labor Temple, Toronto, Ont., Canada.
		72	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		72	Thomas L. Hughes, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
Teamsters, International Brotherhood of...	5	72	Anton J. Hermann, 401 E. 16th St., New York, N. Y.
		71	Wm. A. Neer, 275 La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
		71	Lawrence Grace, Providence, R. I.

## DELEGATES TO THE THIRTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Textile Workers, United.....	2	{ 50	John Golden, Box 742, Fall River, Mass.
Tile Layers and Helpers, International, Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic.....	1	50	Urban Flemming, 188 Lyman St., Holyoke, Mass.
Tin Plate Workers' Protective Association, International.....	1	19	Thomas J. Williams, 538 Smithfield St., Pittsburg, Pa.
Tip Printers, International Brotherhood of.....	1	8	Ben Teagarden, Reilly Block, Wheeling, W. Va.
		2	T. J. Carolan, 252 Market St., Newark, N. J.
		21	Anthony McAndrew, Room 50-53, American National Bank Building, 3d and Main Sts., Louisville, Ky.
Tobacco Workers' International Union....	2	21	E. Lewis Evans, Room 50-53, American National Bank Building, 3d and Main Sts., Louisville, Ky.
Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.....	1	13	Thomas J. Curtis, 187 East 78th St., New York, N. Y.
		99	James M. Lynch, 635 Newton Claypool Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		98	Frank Morrison, 801-809 G. St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Typographical Union, International.....	5	98	Max S. Hayes, 979 Parkwood Drive, Cleveland, Ohio.
		98	Hugh Stevenson, 176 McPherson Ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
		98	T. W. McCullough, 2028 Maple St., Omaha, Neb.
Upholsterers' International Union.....	1	28	Jas. H. Hatch, 159 East 57th St., New York, N. Y.
Woodworkers' International Union.....	1	32	D. D. Mulcahy, 101 Magnolia St., Detroit, Mich.
Alabama State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James B. Drake, 26 North 19th St., Chamber of Commerce Building, Birmingham, Ala.
Arkansas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	G. E. Mikel, Jenny Lind, Ark.
California State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	L. W. Butler, 532 Maple Ave., Los Angeles, Cal.
Colorado State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James E. Faulkner, care of W. T. Hickey, 430 Charles Building, Denver, Col.
Florida State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	H. G. Skaggs, 11 Bridge St., St. Augustine, Fla.
Georgia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Jerome Jones, 406 Anstell Building, Atlanta, Ga.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Geo. F. Golden, 4201 South Halsted St., Chicago Ill.
Indiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	William J. Pfeleger, 210½ North Delaware St., Indianapolis, Ind.
Kansas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Miss Zula J. Taylor, 1015 Central Ave., Topeka, Kan.
Maryland State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Sam. DeNedrey, 604 Fifth St., N. W., Washington D. C.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Charles A. Cullen, 4 Fairmont Ave., Worcester, Mass.
Michigan State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John E. Hartvigsen, 116 Cedar Court, Ialamasoo, Mich.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Charles H. Joyner, 112 West Lawson St., St. Paul, Minn.
Missouri State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Charles Hertenstein, 408 Burlington Building, St. Louis, Mo.
Montana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	M. M. Donoghue, 205 South Crystal St., Butte, Mont.
Nebraska State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Wm. A. Chrisman, 2509 South 20th Ave., Omaha Neb.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor....	1	1	George Leary, 36 Richmond St., Newark, N. J.
New York State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John S. Whalen, 73 Frank St., Rochester, N. Y.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Adolf Kummer, 2248 Flora St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Oklahoma State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Mont. R. Powell, care of Oklahoma News, Oklahoma City, Okla.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Chas. Lavin, care of C. F. Quinn, 23 East Green St., Nanticoke, Pa.
Rhode Island State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Charles H. Lee, 725 Potter Ave., Providence, R. I.
Tennessee State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Wm. E. Eckenrodt, 11 Market Square, Chattanooga, Tenn.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James Murray, 1828 Avenue D, Galveston, Tex.
Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James J. Creamer, 619 China St., Richmond, Va.
Washington State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Charles R. Case, 1518 16th Ave., North, Seattle, Wash.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Victor L. Berger, 344 6th St., Milwaukee, Wis.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James Buckley, Box 892, Cheyenne, Wyo.

## DELEGATES TO THE THIRTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

12

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Alliance, Ohio, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Milo W. Cathon, 647 North Liberty Ave., Alliance, Ohio.
Alton, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly....	1	1	H. C. Maddox, 620 East Fourth St., Alton, Ill.
Atlanta Ga., Federation of Trades.....	1	1	Louis P. Marquardt, 20 West End Ave., Atlanta, Ga.
Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Edward Hirsch, Baltimore and North Sts., Baltimore, Md.
Beaumont, Tex., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	T. C. Jennings, care of R. S. Greer, 1415 Railroad Ave., Beaumont, Tex.
Belleville, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly..	1	1	Edward Baum, 303 W. Ninth St., Belleville, Ill.
Bedford, Ind., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Ira E. Sears, 1616 W. 15th St., Bedford, Ind.
Bellingham, Wash., Central Labor Council..	1	1	Fred Hudson, 2434 Humboldt St., Bellingham, Wash.
Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council.....	1	1	Edward Courtenay, 315 Shenod Ave., Birmingham, Ala.
Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Michael A. Murphy, 316 Silver St., South Boston, Mass.
Breese, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly....	1	1	Gus Knies, Breese, Ill.
Brockton, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Patrick F. Sheehan, 167 Copeland St., Brockton, Mass.
Brooklyn, N. Y., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John J. Flynn, 338 Eleventh St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Buffalo, N. Y., United Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Archie Grant, 397 Woodlawn Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
Butte, Mont., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Wm. O'Brien, 68 West Broadway, Butte, Mont.
Carlinville, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	John I. Kiefer, Carlinville, Ill.
Centralia, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly..	1	1	Isaac Andrick, 333 North Locust St., Centralia, Ill.
Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Charles D. Wheeler, 1751 West Lake St., Chicago, Ill.
Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Fred. Zepp, 2154 West 93d St., Cleveland, Ohio.
Collinsville, Ill., Trades Council.....	1	1	J. W. Britt, 1020 West Clay St., Collinsville, Ill.
Danbury, Conn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John H. Riley, 147 Main St., Danbury, Conn.
Des Moines, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	A. L. Urlick, 411 8th St., Des Moines, Iowa.
Detroit, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Wm. K. Benson, 113 Lewerens Ave., Detroit, Mich.
East St. Louis, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	John F. O'Flaherty, 450 North 16th St., East St. Louis, Ill.
Edwardsville, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	J. F. Wents, 1101 Slasse St., Edwardsville, Ill.
El Paso, Tex., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	A. D. Kleyhauer, 417 North El Paso St., El Paso, Tex.
Evansville, Ind., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	P. D. Drain, 1104 Mary St., Evansville, Ind.
Galesburg, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly..	1	1	Conrad Nystrom, care of Geo. Palmer, 1261 North Cedar St., Galesburg, Ill.
Granite City, Ill., Tri-City Central Trades Council.....	1	1	Sol. Mueller, 1806 State St., Granite City, Ill.
Hammond, Ind., Lake County Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	B. A. Carter, 645 Ann St., Hammond, Ind.
Haverhill, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Patrick J. Burke, 31 Primrose St., Haverhill, Mass.
Herrin, Ill., Trades Council.....	1	1	George F. Wilson, Herrin, Ill.
Hot Springs, Ark., Central Co-operative Union.....	1	1	J. U. P. Smith, 223 Plateau St., Hot Springs, Ark.
Independence, Kan., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Edwin A. Silger, 115 North Fourth St., Independence, Kan.
Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Miss Lillian Fredericks, 402 Highland Ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
Jackson, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council..	1	1	S. H. Laws, Box 14, Jackson, Tenn.
Joplin, Mo., Trades Assembly.....	1	1	C. W. Fear, 821 West Fourth St., Joplin, Mo.
Kansas City, Kan., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Sim A. Bramlette, Kansas City, Kan.
Kansas City, Mo., Industrial Council.....	1	1	James H. Anderson, 1312 Monroe St., Kansas City, Mo.
Kewanee, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly..	1	1	Edward Hippert, Fisher Ave., Kewanee, Ill.
LaFayette, Ind., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Mrs. J. C. Skemp, 827 North Eighth St., LaFayette, Ind.
Lead, S. Dak., Trades Assembly.....	1	1	Frank Murphy, Central City, S. Dak.
Lincoln, Neb., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank M. Coffey, 109 South 17th St., Lincoln, Neb.
Logansport, Ind., Trades Assembly.....	1	1	O. P. Smith, 409 North St., Logansport, Ind.
Los Angeles, Cal., Central Labor Council....	1	1	C. F. Grow, care of L. W. Butler, 532 Maple Ave., Los Angeles, Cal.



## DELEGATES TO THE THIRTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Louisville, Ky., United Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	V. B. Smith, care of F. W. McIlvaine, 204 East Main Street, Louisville, Ky.
McComb, Miss., Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	A. J. Sanarens, Box 800, McComb, Miss.
Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	Frank J. Weber, 1223 Locust St., Milwaukee, Wis.
Minneapolis, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	George B. Howley, 2214 Fourth St., North, Minneapolis, Minn.
Mt. Olive, Ill., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	F. W. Dingersen, Mt. Olive, Ill.
Nashville, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Chas. P. Fahey, 703 Main St., Nashville, Tenn.
Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council.....	1	1	John O'Connor, 63 Linden Ave., Irvington, N. J.
New Orleans, La., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Patrick McGill, 3221 Annunciation St., New Orleans, La.
New York, N. Y., Central Federated Union.....	1	1	Albert Abrahams, 111 W. 100th St., New York City.
Oklahoma City, Okla., Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	C. C. Zeigler, 502 State National Bank Building, Oklahoma City, Okla.
Okmulgee, Okla., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	G. L. Hunter, North Alabama Ave., Okmulgee, Okla.
Omaha, Neb., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Louis V. Guye, 516 South 13th St., Omaha, Neb.
Ottawa, Ont., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	P. M. Draper, Ottawa, Ont.
Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	William Huplits, 524 E. Wishart St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Pinckneyville, Ill., Trades Council.....	1	1	John C. Bell, Pinckneyville, Ill.
Pittsburg, Pa., Central Trades Council.....	1	1	A. R. Jerling, 6002½ Butler St., Pittsburg, Pa.
Portland, Ore., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	D. W. Robinson, 205½ First St., Portland, Ore.
Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union.....	1	1	R. F. McGeary, Room 2 Labor Temple, Providence, R. I.
Quincy, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Tim Holt, 1021 South 11th St., Quincy, Ill.
Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Frank Keough, 263 Averill Ave., Rochester, N. Y.
Rockford, Ill., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John E. Peters, 1304 Benton St., Rockford, Ill.
San Antonio, Tex., Trades Council.....	1	1	Fritz Russi, Jr., 1014 Lake View Ave., San Antonio, Tex.
San Francisco, Cal., Labor Council.....	1	1	Andrew J. Gallagher, 316 Fourteenth St., San Francisco, Cal.
Schenectady, N. Y., Trades Assembly.....	1	1	E. W. Leonard, Care of Alex. Golden, 2 Elbert St., Schenectady, N. Y.
Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Steve McDonald, 812 Delaware St., Scranton, Pa.
Sedalia, Mo., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. T. Wood, Sedalia, Mo.
Sharon, Pa., United Labor League.....	1	1	David Niven, 12 Porter St., Sharon, Pa.
South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	A. C. Anderson, care of A. W. Smith, 2913 East 97th St., South Chicago, Ill.
South Framingham, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Edwin H. Cotter, 38 Irving St., South Framingham, Mass.
Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. E. Woodmansee, 407 Myers Building, Springfield, Ill.
Springfield, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	A. Dumaw, 223 East Chestnut St., Springfield, Mo.
Staunton, Ill., Trades Council.....	1	1	J. W. Rizzie, Staunton, Ill.
Steubenville, Ohio, Jefferson County Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Norval White, 707 Highland Ave., Steubenville, Ohio.
Stockton, Cal., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Thomas Bone, Stockton, Cal.
St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	James C. Shanessy, 810 Olive St., St. Louis, Mo.
St. Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	C. E. James, 309 Wabasha St., St. Paul, Minn.
Toronto, Canada, District Labor Council.....	1	1	J. H. Kennedy, Labor Temple, Toronto, Canada.
Tulsa, Okla., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Sam E. Stafford, Box 1474, Tulsa, Okla.
Vancouver, B. C., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Victor L. Midgley, Box 1195, Vancouver, B. C.
Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Emmett L. Adams, 503 B St., N. E., Washington, D. C.
Waycross, Ga., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	A. P. Goodwin, 37 Hicks St., Waycross, Ga.
Zanesville, Ohio, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	John A. Voll, 134 Hamline Ave., Zanesville, Ohio.

# DELEGATES TO THE THIRTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union No. 12646.....	1	1	Miss E. C. Morris, 10,096 Metropolitan Building, New York City.
Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union No. 11,959.....	1	1	James J. McAndrews, 6511 Evans Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 7231.....	1	1	Samuel W. Skelley, 404 West Broadway, Sparta, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 7426.....	1	1	Charles P. Gaede, 407 Myers Building, Springfield, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 8060.....	1	1	John Troester, New Athens, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 8116.....	1	4	T. J. Downey, E. Main Cross St., Taylorville, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 8306.....	1	1	Louis Newman, Box 160, Sandoval, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 8339.....	1	1	William Seibert, 2530 First and Herbert Sts., Peru, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 8533.....	1	1	L. W. Eckert, Marissa, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 8806.....	1	1	Frank Grassell, Carlinville, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 12363.....	1	1	Guy T. White, care of "The Laborer," Dallas, Tex.
Federal Labor Union No. 12916.....	1	1	W. C. Swenson, 900 S. 29th St., Lincoln, Neb.
Federal Labor Union No. 12974.....	1	1	Chas. A. Carter, Windsor, Mo.
Federal Labor Union No. 12978.....	1	1	Carl Bartholomew, Bingham Canyon, Utah.
Federal Labor Union No. 12985.....	1	4	Oscar M. Partelow, #45 N. Montana St., Butte, Mont.
Federal Labor Union No. 13068.....	1	1	R. J. Hubbard, Blytheville, Ark.
Gas Workers' Union No. 9840.....	1	3	Geo. W. Bell, 581 Guerrero St., San Francisco, Cal.
Grain Workers' Union No. 11407.....	1	1	Ernest Bohm, 210 East Fifth St., New York City.
Labors' Protective Union No. 8079.....	1	4	H. B. Wykes, Mineville, N. Y.
Labors' Union No. 12992, United.....	1	1	O. A. Tveitmo, 200 Guerrero St., San Francisco, Cal.
Marble, Mosaic and Terrazzo Workers' Union No. 10263.....	1	1	E. Zerbarini, 1621 Franklin Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Mineral Water Workers' Union No. 12674.....	1	1	Samuel Leibowitz, 151 Clinton St., New York City
Neckwear Cutters' Union, United, No. 6939.....	1	1	Michael Greenbaum, 519 E. 144th St., New York City.
Neckwear Makers' Union, United, No. 11016.....	1	2	Abraham Miller, 151 Clinton St., New York City.
Newspaper and Mail Deliverers' Union No. 9463.....	1	10	John R. Dunne, 25 Frankfort St., New York City.
Paper Carriers' Protective and Benevolent Association No. 5783.....	1	1	Hy. A. Lippert, 4606 Tennessee Ave, St. Louis, Mo.
Railway Shop Helpers' Union No. 13032.....	1	1	M. L. Harris, Parsons, Kan.
Riggers' Protective Union No. 11561.....	1	1	Patrick J. Collins, 29 Jackson St., New York City.
Stenographers and Typists' Association No. 12755.....	1	1	Mabel Hudson, 180 Washington St. Chicago, Ill.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' No. 11597.....	1	1	Mrs. Mary B. East, 424 Law Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
Stone Derricks' Union No. 12878.....	1	1	P. J. Brice, 4218a Gratiot St., St. Louis, Mo.
Suspender Makers' Union No. 9560.....	1	1	Joseph Goldstein, 442 East Houston St., New York City.
Suspender Workers' Union No. 10093.....	1	1	Miss Mae Nihil, 649 Sherman Place, Chicago, Ill.
Suspender Makers' Union No. 10342.....	1	1	William Davis, 721 McClellan St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Tin, Steel, Iron and Granite Ware Workers' Union No. 10943.....	1	2	A. A. H. Lawine, Box 132, Granite City, Ill.
Tuck Pointers' Union No. 10384.....	1	1	Wm. A. Lorenzen, 3709 Phillips Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Building Trades Department.....	1	1	James Kirby, 801-9 G St., Washington, D. C.
British Trades Union Congress.....	2	1	W. Brace, Field's House, Newport, Mon., England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	1	1	Ben Turner, Weavers' Office, Batley, England.
National Women's Trade Union League.....	1	1	R. P. Pettipiece, 2349 St. Catherine's St., Vancouver, B. C.
Women's International Union Label League.....	1	1	Mrs. D. W. Knefler, 5273 McPherson Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ.....	1	1	Miss Annie Fitzgerald, 3309 W. Adams St., Chicago, Ill.
American Federation of Catholic Societies.....	1	1	Rev. Charles Stelzle, 156 Fifth Ave., New York City.
Wage Earners' Suffrage League.....	1	1	Rev. Peter E. Dietz, Oberlin, Ohio.
American Society of Equity.....	1	1	Miss Maud Younger.
			Rev. J. T. Tuohy, St. Louis, Mo.

## DELEGATES TO THE THIRTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION

Number of Unions	ORGANIZATIONS	Number of Delegates	Number of Votes
95	National and International .....	226	12,252
28	State .....	28	28
87	Central .....	87	87
36	Trade and Federal Labor Unions .....	36	58
1	Department .....	1	...
8	Fraternal Organisations .....	9	3
255		387	15,428

## List of Fraternal Delegates.

To British Trades Union Congress.	From British Trades Union Congress.
1895 Samuel Gompers. 1896 P. J. McGuire. 1896 J. W. Sullivan. 1896 Adolph Strasser. 1897 Martin Fox. 1897 Geo. E. McNeill. 1898 James Duncan. 1898 Harry Lloyd. 1899 James O'Connell. 1899 Thomas F. Tracy. 1900 J. M. Hunter. 1900 Sidney J. Kent. 1901 Daniel J. Keefe. 1901 Eugene F. O'Rourke. 1902 Patrick Dolan. 1902 Henry Blackmore. 1903 Max S. Hayes. 1903 Martin Lawlor. 1904 W. D. Ryan. 1904 D. D. Driscoll. 1905 John A. Moffitt. 1905 James Wood. 1906 Frank K. Foster. 1906 James Wilson. 1907 John T. Dempsey. 1907 W. E. Klapetzky. 1908 Andrew Furuseth. 1908 James J. Creamer. 1909 John P. Frey. 1909 B. A. Larger. 1910 W. B. Wilson. 1910 T. V. O'Connor. 1911 Wm. B. Macfarlane. 1911 Daniel J. Tobin.	1894 John Burns. 1894 David Holmes. 1896 Edward Cowey. 1896 James Mawdsley. 1896 Sam Woods. 1896 John Mallinson. 1897 Edward Harford. 1897 J. Havelock Wilson. 1898 William Inskip. 1898 William Thorne. 1899 James Haslam. 1899 Alexander Wilkie. 1900 John Weir. 1900 Pete Curran. 1901 Frank Chandler. 1901 Ben Tillett. 1902 M. Arrandale. 1902 E. Edwards. 1903 William Mullin. 1903 James O'Grady. 1904 William Abraham. 1904 James Wignall. 1905 William Mosses. 1905 David Gilmour. 1906 Allen Gee. 1906 J. N. Bell. 1907 David J. Shackleton. 1907 John Hodge. 1908 John Wadsworth. 1908 H. Skinner. 1909 A. H. Gill. 1909 J. R. Clynes. 1910 W. Brace. 1910 Ben Turner.
To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.	From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.
1898 Thomas I. Kidd. 1899 James H. Sullivan. 1900 W. D. Mahon. 1901 John R. O'Brien. 1902 D. D. Driscoll. 1903 John Coleman. 1904 John H. Richards. 1905 Frank Feeney. 1906 Thomas A. Rickert. 1907 Robert S. Maloney. 1908 Hugh Frayne. 1909 Jerome Jones. 1910 John J. Manning. 1911 Wm. J. Tracy.	1898 David A. Carey. 1899 David A. Carey. 1900 David A. Carey. 1901 P. M. Draper. 1902 John H. Kennedy. 1903 James Simpson. 1904 John A. Flett. 1905 William V. Todd. 1906 Samuel L. Landers. 1907 W. R. Trotter. 1908 F. M. Draper. 1909 F. Bancroft. 1910 R. P. Pettipiece.

# CONSTITUTION

## OF THE

# AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1911

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### PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the tolling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in Convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

Industry and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union-label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

### ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

SECTION 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a. m., on the second Monday in November, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention.

SEC. 2. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 3. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of the President; third, Report of the Secretary; fourth, Report of the Treasurer; fifth, Resolutions; sixth, Laws; seventh, Organization; eighth, Labels; ninth, Adjustment; tenth, Local or Federated Bodies; eleventh, Education; twelfth, State Organization; thirteenth, Boycotts; fourteenth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances that involve only building trades, and all other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades).

SEC. 4. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the Convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 5. Resolutions of any character or

### CONSTITUTION.

#### ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

#### ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

SECTION 1. The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same

propositions for changes in this Constitution can not be introduced in the Convention after the fourth day's session, except by unanimous consent.

SEC. 6. The Convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 7. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the Convention or read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

SEC. 8. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 9. The rules and order of business governing the preceding Convention shall be in force from the opening of any Convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the Convention.

SEC. 10. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a Convention.

SEC. 11. No grievance shall be considered by any Convention that has been decided by a previous Convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

#### ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to located in one city shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in, other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions.

SEC. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary of this body immediately after their election.

SEC. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof he represents, but no City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year,

from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than September 30 preceding the Annual Convention.

SEC. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled, by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

SEC. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

#### ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, eight Vice Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention on the last day of the session, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

SEC. 2. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

SEC. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the first day of January succeeding the Convention.

SEC. 5. The President and Secretary shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

SEC. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

#### ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the Annual Convention; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report his acts and doings to the Annual Convention of the Federation.

SEC. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when

necessary, and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services such sum as the Annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

#### ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY.

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary shall be to take charge of all books, papers, and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the Annual Convention, and to furnish to the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of secretaries and organizers.

SEC. 2. The Secretary shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the Annual Convention may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation, and pay them to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor; provided, that he may retain in his hands a sum not exceeding \$2,000 for current expenses, which money shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

SEC. 3. The Secretary shall submit to the Auditing Committee, for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on September 30 of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall publish a financial report monthly in the *"American Federationist,"* and send one copy to each affiliated body, and such additional number of copies as may be ordered and paid for by any organization connected with the Federation.

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall give a bond of \$2,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and for his services he shall receive such sum as the Annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. The Secretary shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations, containing a statement of their membership in good standing, and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

#### ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF TREASURER.

SECTION 1. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property, and securities of the Federation delivered to him by the Secretary or other officers of the American Federation of Labor. All funds of the American Federation of Labor, exceeding fifteen thousand dollars, shall be deposited by the Treasurer in bank, or banks, on interest bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Treasurer, the President, and Secretary of the Federation. The Treasurer shall collect the interest on all such certificates or other deposit at the expiration of each six months, and pay the same over to the Secretary. The Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank, or banks, in the name of the American Federation of Labor as Treasurer, all amounts in his possession not on certificates of deposit, and before any money thus deposited can be drawn, each check shall be signed by him as Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

SEC. 2. The Treasurer shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President and countersigned by the Secretary, as required by this Constitution and none others.

SEC. 3. The Treasurer shall submit to the Annual Convention a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the Federation under his control; and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be \$500.

#### ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

SEC. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with within three months their charters shall be revoked.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the Convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered



by the Convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

SEC. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

SEC. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

SEC. 7. The remuneration for loss of time by members of the Executive Council, organizers, or speakers engaged by them, shall be \$5.00 per day, hotel expense and actual railroad fare.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

SEC. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council, other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

SEC. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council, the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

SEC. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National, or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided, that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union, work at any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only

have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll-call vote.

#### ARTICLE X.—REVENUE.

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one-half of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, ten cents per month, five cents of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout; Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen (18) years of age, two cents per member per month; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

SEC. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the Annual Convention unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in Section 1 of this Article, has been paid in full to September 30 preceding the Convention.

SEC. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in Section 2 of this Article.

#### ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES.

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with, a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next Convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. Where there are one or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation, they may organize a Trades Assembly or Central Labor Union, or shall join such body, if already in existence.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their

vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

Sec. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, on strike, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organization have been consulted and agreed to such action.

Sec. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

Sec. 7. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have authority or power to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies indorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm, or corporation on an unfair list until the Local Union desiring the same has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation, and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement. Violation of this section shall forfeit charter.

Sec. 8. No Central Body, or Department, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union, chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction, after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body, under this section, shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

Sec. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions, affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

Sec. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

#### ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated

unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

Sec. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay, within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1, shall be deprived of representation in Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and in City Central Bodies, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

#### ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The money of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

Sec. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such Union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made, of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary, such Union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

Sec. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the president of the Local Union interested shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of said Union, "of which every member shall be regularly notified," to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute; what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union. Also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

Sec. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said defense fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

Sec. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2

and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to four (\$4) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safe-keeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

SEC. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

SEC. 7. Any Union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

SEC. 8. In case of lockout the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their action or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

SEC. 9. During the continuance of a strike, the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits, and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

SEC. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off, a special meeting of the Union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

SEC. 11. In the event of the defense fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of ten cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and, further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand (\$5,000) dollars in the defense fund.

SEC. 12. That no Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than fifty (50) cents per month.

SEC. 13. That the Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than five cents a month from each member.

#### ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

SEC. 2. Seven wage-workers of good character, following any trade or calling, who are favorable to Trade Unions, whose trade or calling is not organized, and are not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this Constitution, shall have the power to form a local body to be known as a "Federal Labor Union," and they shall hold regular meetings for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the Trade Union movement, and shall have power to make their own rules in conformity with this Constitution, and shall be granted a local certificate by the President of this Federation; provided, the request for a certificate be indorsed by the nearest Local or National Trade Union officials connected with this Federation, but not more than three Federal Labor Unions shall be chartered in any one city. The President of the American Federation of Labor shall have authority to appoint any person who is a member of any affiliated union to audit the accounts of such Federal Labor or Local Trade Unions as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct and report the result thereof to the President of the American Federation of Labor. The books and accounts of each Federal Labor and Local Trade Union shall be at all times open to the inspection of auditors appointed under this section.

SEC. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five (\$5) dollars, payable to the Secretary of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

SEC. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

SEC. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

SEC. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

#### ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, such departments subordinate to the A. F. of L. are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the A. F. of L., or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own business.

SEC. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join must first be, and remain in affiliation to the A. F. of L., and to be entitled to representation in local councils of departments, local bodies shall first be and remain in affiliation to central labor unions chartered by the A. F. of L.

SEC. 3. The fundamental laws of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as, the

laws governing the A. F. of L. No department or local council of same shall enact laws, rules or regulations in conflict with laws of the A. F. of L., and in the event of change of laws of the latter, departments and local councils are to change their laws to conform thereto.

SEC. 4. Each department to be considered the official method of the A. F. of L. for transacting that portion of its business.

SEC. 5. All departments of the American Federation of Labor shall have their headquarters located in the City of Washington, D. C., and, if possible, in the same building with the Federation Headquarters.

SEC. 6. All departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions, whether annually or less often, during or immediately before or after the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and in the same city where the conventions of the Federation are held.

SEC. 7. The officers of each department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor what action, if any, has been taken by the Department, either through its Executive Council or through conventions upon any and all matters that have been referred to the Department by the Federation.

SEC. 8. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their department, and its general conditions.

SEC. 9. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, there shall be present during some period of the Council meeting either the President or Secretary, or both, of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

SEC. 10. A page of each issue of the "American Federationist" to be available to, and to be used by each department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the Department.

SEC. 11. National and International Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. shall also become affiliated with any department in which they may be eligible. This section does not apply to the Union Label Trades Department.

#### ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention, and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

# THIRTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR 1910

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS



### First Day—Monday Morning Session

Liederkrantz Hall, St. Louis, Mo.  
November 14, 1910.

Pursuant to law, the regular meeting of the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order at 10:30 a. m., by Mr. Owen Miller, President of the Missouri State Federation of Labor.

The St. Louis Symphony Orchestra, under the direction of Mr. Max Zach, entertained the convention until 11 o'clock.

Chairman Miller presented to the convention Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, as the permanent chairman of the convention.

President Gompers introduced to the convention Honorable Frederick H. Kreismann, Mayor of the City of St. Louis.

Mayor Kreismann: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, delegates to this American Federation of Labor: I welcome you in behalf, not only of your membership and your people in St. Louis, but in behalf of the citizens of St. Louis. St. Louis people have been most friendly, I believe, to the cause that you represent, and in our midst your work and your effort have told for the upbuilding of our city and its

moral status. This great aggregation of men engaged in the industrial life of this country has been recognized by our people now when we are preparing the fundamental law that shall govern this community perhaps another generation. And I trust that this great force, this patriotic gathering and brotherhood of men will find, when this charter and fundamental law of St. Louis is presented to the people that it well recognizes the interests and the rights of this organization. In no way can labor, having established itself as a force of good in this country, having had its just rights recognized in all law and in all regulations, do more for the upbuilding of our country than to devote its force and its strength to the arrangement of all details of life and law.

St. Louis is proud of this assemblage, bids you a hearty welcome and hopes for a successful outcome of your deliberations.

President Gompers: I take pleasure in presenting to you Mr. Owen Miller, President of the Missouri State Federation of Labor.

President Miller: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen and fellow delegates to the American Federation of

Labor. It seems a sacrilege, after the magnificent music we have heard, to listen to a poor speech, but as long as I am on the program I will have to proceed. The music we have heard ought to be an inspiration. Perhaps it will be to me—I hope so.

This convention reminds me of two of the stories of Alexander Dumas. You all remember *The Three Musketeers*. That novel was followed by one called *Twenty Years After*. This is a little more than "twenty years after," the last convention of the American Federation was held in the city of St. Louis. Twenty-two years ago, to be exact, at Druid's Hall, the American Federation of Labor met. Vast changes have taken place since then. At that time the delegates were less than three-score, and had the first sergeants of the companies of labor called their roll not more than two hundred and forty or two hundred and fifty thousand would have responded. The State Federation of Labor, now such an influential body, was not then thought of, and the Central Trades and Labor Council of St. Louis, today one of the most influential and prosperous bodies in the United States, was in its trades union swaddling clothes. Today we meet with nearly a half thousand delegates, representing 2,000,000 of that industrial army of men who through their labor build all the ships and man all the ships that plow the waters of the earth; that build all the railroads and the cars, and all the vehicles that carry the inland commerce of the earth; that produce all the product that makes up this immense commerce; that build all the cities, all the towns, all the villages and all the hamlets that shelter men; that make all the raiment worn by men and women, rich and poor; that make every article intended for the use or gratification of man, but this army does not receive its full share of this immense product, and to secure at least a fair share was the reason the American Federation of Labor was formed.

In twenty-two years the American Federation of Labor has had to fight enemies from within and enemies from the outside, but it has succeeded in overcoming all, and today stands pre-eminent as the greatest and best conducted organization on the globe. We

have other things to do besides getting a fair share of the product of our labor. We also want a fair share of justice as given us by the courts of this country. We are told that every man in this country, rich and poor, stands on an equality before the law. Mr. Joseph Cannon, the speaker of the house of representatives in Washington, who packs the committees that have to pass on the labor bills, made a statement to that effect in New York last January before the Manufacturers' Association. He said that every poor man had just as much chance in the courts as either Rockefeller or J. Pierpont Morgan. There is a silent man just now in Oyster Bay—well named—who would probably use one of his short, curt phrases in regard to that statement. We all know it is not true; but the American Federation of Labor will never cease its efforts until all men receive absolute equality before the law.

As the years roll by we gain experience, and we are getting closer. Day by day we are beginning to understand that there may be many ideas, but only one can prevail and when that does prevail it must be the will of the majority. The American Federation of Labor is, I might say, a great crucible in which is thrown all these ideas, and through debate and discussion they are purified and brought out ready to be applied. The American Federation of Labor has come to stay. While not having overcome all of its foes, those who remain are so weakened that we can resist their attacks.

In the name of the tollers of Missouri I welcome this convention most cordially to the soil of this state. I am particularly proud of extending this welcome on account of the fact that twenty-two years ago when you held a convention here the working men of St. Louis immediately after got together and elected twelve members of the State Legislature. They called them the twelve apostles. Those twelve apostles preached the gospel of labor so well in Jefferson City that today there is on our statute books many laws in our interests. There is an inspection law, a law to compel the street railways to put up a fender for protection, a law to compel the railway

companies to block their rails, and, best of all, a law to prevent any thug from coming into the state to act as a deputy. Before that time whenever there was a strike immediately came a lot of convicts, bullies and thugs from Chicago, not to put down trouble, but to make trouble. No peace officer of Missouri can today swear in a deputy who is not a citizen of the state. I hope when this convention adjourns the working men of Missouri will again get together and see if they can not put some more laws on the statute books that will be equally valuable to them.

Missouri is part of the Louisiana Purchase, and is properly named the Imperial State. Missouri's wealth is but barely visible. I say barely visible because the surface has only been scratched, and we also have a large number of wealthy tax dodgers who keep their property away from the gaze of the assessor. Our zinc and lead mines, as you know, are among the greatest in the world. They employ a large number of working men, and we are gradually getting those men organized into the American Federation of Labor. Our factories and other industries are second to none in the United States. Missouri is also a great agricultural state. The Missouri hen has a record throughout the world, and is now more valuable than the gold product of Alaska. And last, but not least, the Missouri mule is also known the world over. That patient animal is found wherever civilized man is found, and wherever the soil is scratched the Missouri mule will be found working. He has one remarkable trait, and I hope more of you will cultivate that same trait. The Missouri mule refuses to be imposed upon, and whenever any one tries it he will feel the mule's heels if he does not hear from him otherwise. I feel that the Missouri mule will be heard from more in the future, after Champ Clark—also a Missouri product—drives up Pennsylvania avenue behind a team of mules to take his place as speaker. We will then have a speaker with a warm heart, a man whose influence will be used for the benefit of his fellow men instead of for special interest. I have known him for a great many years, and I think

I may say that the labor men of this country can trust him.

Missouri has produced some great men. Daniel Boone passed the last days of his life in this state. Thomas Benton, from the time of the admission of the state in 1821, for thirty years thereafter represented Missouri in the Senate. General James Shields was an adopted citizen. Only a few days ago a monument was unveiled to his memory. He is the only man in history, I believe, who had the distinction of representing three states in the United States Senate. The last state he represented was Missouri. We can also claim General Francis P. Blair, who with General Lyon helped to prevent Missouri from joining the Confederacy. From this state also came Eugene Field, who made so many children happy. And last, but not least, we should not forget Mark Twain, who helped to make Missouri famous. His works have been translated into almost every known language.

I sincerely hope that this convention will result in spreading the movement in Missouri, and should we ever be fortunate enough to again welcome you in a convention of the American Federation of Labor I truly hope that every one of the one hundred and forty-two counties that constitute the Imperial State will have a representative at the round table of organized labor.

In behalf of the working men of the state of Missouri I welcome you and hope that your stay may be most pleasant.

President Gompers introduced to the convention Mr. Louis Phillipi, President Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis.

President Phillipi: It is with pride and pleasure that I at this time deliver a brief address of welcome in behalf of organized labor of St. Louis and vicinity. I extend a most hearty welcome, and assure you that we expect to make your stay here as pleasant and as agreeable as possible.

This city has been the scene of a number of notable labor fights. At the present time the garment workers are out on strike, and have been for fourteen months, at the establishment of the Marx & Haas Clothing Company. This fight will be as important as the



Buck Stove and Range Company fight. The combined clothing manufacturers of St. Louis are coming to the support of Marx and Haas and reimbursing them for every cent they are losing through an effective boycott we are maintaining against them. This is the city where the famous Buck Stove and Range Company fight occurred. That was the most important and the biggest fight in the history of the American Labor movement. This was the home of the late Mr. VanCleave, the bitterest foe labor ever had. He is dead, and in a short time his name will be forgotten; but the labor movement is here to stay, and every day brings us closer together and forces us to display greater determination. In spite of the Parrys, Posts and Kirbys we are today more powerful than ever, and we are in a better position to improve the conditions of the workers generally. The VanCleave, Parrys, Posts and Kirbys may come and go, but I believe the American labor movement will go on forever.

Personally, I want to congratulate the officers and the Executive Council of the American Federation for their untiring effort for us in the Buck Stove and Range Company fight. I know you will appreciate the hospitality of the organized workers of St. Louis, and I hope you will ever have pleasant recollections of the time you spent in this city. I hope all your efforts will be crowned with success, and that your deliberations will be harmonious and fraught with great benefit for the organized workers of this country.

President Gompers introduced to the convention Mr. Edward L. Smythe, President of the Building Trades Council of St. Louis.

President Smythe: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen: I am not going to detain you very long. You have heard from the Mayor of St. Louis, who has welcomed you in behalf of the city, from President Miller, who has welcomed you in behalf of the State Federation. In behalf of the building trades mechanics of the city of St. Louis, I desire to bid you welcome. And when I say building trades mechanics, I mean those only who are mechanics, and those you will find affiliated with the building trades department where ever you go. In behalf of those men I

bid you welcome, and I hope when you go back to your homes you will carry with you a feeling of good will for the building trades of the city of St. Louis.

President Gompers: Ladies and gentlemen: I am sure that I but bespeak your sentiments when I say to the Mayor of St. Louis and the representatives of labor of Missouri and of the city of St. Louis that we are deeply grateful and greatly appreciative of the words of welcome that have been addressed to us this morning. The labor movement of our country and of our time represents more than a mere party platform or a mere declaration of a passing thought. The American labor movement, like the bona fide movement of labor the world over, is governed by a principle as true as the universe itself and as far reaching as humanity. The labor movement of our time is the expressed discontent of the masses of our time; it is a protest against wrong and injustice; it is a demand, an ever living demand, for the rights to which the workers of our country and our continent are entitled. And it can not, it dare not pause in the struggle for the abolition of wrong and the attainment of the right.

It is twenty-two years since the last convention of the American Federation of Labor was held in the city of St. Louis. In a more formal way your attention will be called to the great contrasts existing between that time and this. Missouri, notwithstanding her great waterway and her great railways, is a great industrial as well as agricultural state. And it is one of the very best evidences of Missouri's higher statesmanship—higher statesmanship even than is coupled with the galaxy of names presented to us this morning, the galaxy of names of men who in the Legislature of Missouri and in her municipal legislatures have passed laws for the better protection of the life and limb and the health of the workers—that protection has been given to the home and to the young and innocent children. This is a statesmanship that far transcends achievements upon battle fields or upon practically non-controversial subjects. I think coupled with the names already mentioned should be the name of the veteran in the labor struggles of Missouri, the

veteran fighting union man, Owen Miller. He might well be named in the same class as Dave Kreyling, and, if I were not in a public convention I would say, with the whole bunch.

In this convention we find representatives of the workers from all sections of the American continent, and not only that, but also from some of the climes that are not part of the continent. We have not only the workers of all industries, the workers engaged in the transportation of commerce, the transmission of information, but we have also workers from the mines and the workers in the industry even that makes men fly. There is not an important, aye, perhaps not an insignificant industry in the entire country or known man that is not either directly or indirectly represented upon the floor of this convention. And in addition we have the fraternal delegates, one from our neighbor on the north, Canada, and fraternal delegates from the organized labor movement of Great Britain, and I know that even thus informally I but express your sincere desire when I say they are thrice welcome among us.

I shall not burden you now with further remarks. I can only express to you my profound appreciation of the fact that this gathering of the organized workers is perhaps the greatest and most representative ever held in the history of America. We shall have to devote our time to work. We have a great deal of important work to do. The world of friends as well as the world of enemies have attention directed to this convention and the work we are called upon to do. In the measure and in the manner we shall perform that work we shall deserve either the commendation or the condemnation of our fellows.

I can not close without expressing what I am sure is your view, as I am sure it is mine, in regard to the splendid treat we have had served to us through the courtesy of the union musicians, the leader, the director and the members of the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra. On behalf of the convention of the American Federation of Labor I desire to express our thanks to Mr. Max Zach, the director, and to the members of the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra.

I now declare this Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor called to order and ready to transact business. We will hear the report of the Committee on Credentials.

#### **Report of Committee on Credentials.**

Delegate Kelly (W. J.), for the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

St. Louis, Mo., November 14, 1910.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Gentlemen: Your Committee on Credentials beg leave to report that they have examined the credentials of 358 delegates, representing 94 International and National Unions, 28 State Branches, 89 Central Bodies, 34 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 9 fraternal delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

Actors' International Union—Harry DeVeaux, 11 votes.

Asbestos Workers of America, International Association of Heat, Frost, General Insulators and—A. J. Kennedy, 5 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers, International Union of—Chris Kerker, Henry Koch, 127 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen — Frank X. Noschang, Jacob Fischer, W. E. Klapetzky, Ed. Anderson, 265 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—Walter Gazzolo, 14 votes.

Bollermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America, Brotherhood of—Joseph A. Franklin, Joseph Flynn, Thomas H. Flynn, 161 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—Robert Glocking, 78 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—John F. Tobin, Michael J. Hallinan, Arthur B. Higgins, Joseph J. Chatterton, Miss Margaret Kelly, 325 votes.

Brewery Workmen, International Union of the United—Louis Kemper, Joseph Proebstle, John Sullivan, Ed. F. Ward, A. J. Kugler, 400 votes.

- Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, International—Frank Buterworth, 38 votes.
- Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association of—Frank M. Ryan, John T. Butler, J. P. Kelly, 100 votes.
- Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International—C. T. Dolan, 6 votes.
- Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—William D. Huber, Frank Duffy, William B. Macfarlane, Carl Young, Thomas Flynn, William J. Kelly, A. M. Swartz, 1904 votes.
- Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated Society of—William W. Young, Alexander Kelso, 71 votes.
- Car Workers, International Association of—P. F. Richardson, J. R. Humphrey, 50 votes.
- Cement Workers, American Brotherhood of—Martin Goellnitz, Frank Gengenback, 90 votes.
- Cigarmakers' International Union—Samuel Gompers, Thomas F. Tracy, John T. Smith, J. Mahlon Barnes, 432 votes.
- Clerks, International Protective Association, Retail—H. J. Conway, M. E. Licht, D. F. Manning, 150 votes.
- Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, United—Herman Hinder, 21 votes.
- Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America—S. J. Konenkamp, 10 votes.
- Coopers' International Union of North America—William Braun, Frank A. Scoby, 41 votes.
- Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Frank Feeney, 21 votes.
- Engineers, International Union of Steam—Matt Comerford, James G. Hannahan, John J. Glass, John McNamara, 160 votes.
- Firemen, International Brotherhood of Stationary—Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, J. W. Morton, 81 votes.
- Fitters, and Helpers of America, International Association of Steam and Hot Water—Richard P. Walsh, John Mangan, 56 votes.
- Garment Workers of America, United—T. A. Rickert, B. A. Larger, V. Altman, S. L. Landers, Harry Meyer, 542 votes.
- Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies—Abraham Rosenberg, John A. Dyche, Alexander Bloch, 187 votes.
- Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—D. A. Hayes, Harry Crist, Everett E. Thorp, 100 votes.
- Glass Workers, Amalgamated—Frank J. Wettengel, 12 votes.
- Glove Workers' Union of America, International—Miss Agnes Nestor, 8 votes.
- Granite Cutters' International Association of America—James Duncan, Alexander M. Smith, Paul Bianchi, 134 votes.
- Hatters of North America, United—John A. Moffitt, Martin Lawlor, James P. Maher, 85 votes.
- Hod Carriers and Building Laborers of America, International—D. D'Alessandro, David Kirby, W. W. Cordell, 114 votes.
- Horseshoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen—Hubert S. Marshall, Rody Kenahan, 72 votes.
- Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—T. J. Sullivan, Jere L. Sullivan, John J. Griffin, Robert Hesketh, Thos. S. Farrell, 370 votes.
- Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of—P. J. McArdle, Judson O'Neal, John Leyshon, 80 votes.
- Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—Wm. J. McSorley, Edwin T. Stevenson, 50 votes.
- Laundry Workers International Union—Fred H. Grahame, 29 votes.
- Lithographers, International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—Frank Gehring, 17 votes.
- Longshoremen's Association, International—T. V. O'Connor, M. W. Kelleher, T. J. Dolan, I. H. Sanderson, 208 votes.
- Machinists, International Association of—James O'Connell, C. W. Fry, J. J. Keegan, P. W. Buckley, J. J. Handley, 569 votes.
- Maintenance of Way Employees, International Brotherhood of—A. B. Lowe, H. A. Vurpia, T. J. O'Donnell, 87 votes.
- Marble Workers, International Association of—Walter V. Price, 27 votes.

- Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated**—Homer D. Call, 64 votes.
- Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet**—M. O'Sullivan, Thomas J. Butler, John E. Bray, 162 votes.
- Mine Workers of America, United**—T. L. Lewis, Edwin Perry, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, John H. Walker, W. B. Wilson, E. S. McCullough, 2,337 votes.
- Molders' Union of North America, International**—Jos. F. Valentine, John P. Frey, John O'Neill, William Schwab, John F. Dunachie, 500 votes.
- Musicians, American Federation of**—Joseph N. Weber, Owen Miller, Joseph F. Winkler, David A. Carey, 400 votes.
- Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of**—J. C. Skemp, Jacob Tazelaar, E. Frank Moorehouse, Samuel Kelley, Daniel J. Evans, 635 votes.
- Pattern Makers' League of North America**—James Wilson, James L. Gernon, 52 votes.
- Paving Cutters' Union of United States of America and Canada**—John Sheret, 32 votes.
- Photo Engravers' Union of North America, International**—Matthew Woll, 35 votes.
- Piano and Organ Workers' Union of America, International**—Charles Dold, 40 votes.
- Plate Printers' Union of North America, International Steel and Copper**—George P. Foster, 13 votes.
- Plasterers' International Association of United States and Canada, Operative**—Edward McGlavin, John Donlin, Edward L. Smyth, 152 votes.
- Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of United States and Canada, United Association of**—John R. Alpine, Patrick Murphy, William J. Tracy, James F. Malley, 200 votes.
- Post Office Clerks, National Federation of**—Oscar F. Nelson, 14 votes.
- Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative**—Thomas J. Duffy, Reuben H. McDevitt, 58 votes.
- Print Cutters' Association of America National**—Fred J. Roth, 4 votes.
- Printing Pressmen's Union, International**—George L. Berry, E. Porter Murphy, Wm. H. Taylor, Wm. Carr, 186 votes.
- Quarry Workers' International Union of North America**—Fred W. Suitor, W. F. B. Feyler, 50 votes.
- Railroad Telegraphers, Order of**—H. B. Perham, L. W. Quick, D. G. Ramsay, L. A. Tanquary, 200 votes.
- Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric**—W. D. Mahon, Ben Commons, C. O. Pratt, 367 votes.
- Roofers, International Brotherhood of Composition, Damp and Waterproof Workers of United States and Canada**—Jeremiah Hurley, 11 votes.
- Seamen's Union of America, International**—Andrew Furuseth, Victor A. Olander, 160 votes.
- Shingle Weavers' Union of America, International**—E. P. Marsh, 18 votes.
- Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, International**—J. M. Gavlak, 5 votes.
- Stage Employees' International Alliance, Theatrical**—Lee M. Hart, Patrick T. Barry, Martin C. Higgins, 91 votes.
- Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International**—Oscar Boecke, 40 votes.
- Stone Cutters' Association of America, Journeymen**—James F. McHugh, M. Mitchell, Jos. Evans, 80 votes.
- Stove Mounters' International Union**—Frank Grimsshaw, 9 votes.
- Switchmen's Union of North America**—Frank T. Hawley, 80 votes.
- Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen**—E. J. Brals, John B. Lennon, James Lindola, 117 votes.
- Teamsters, International Brotherhood of**—Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, Anton J. Hermann, Wm. A. Neer, L. A. Grace, 358 votes.
- Textile Workers of America, United**—John Golden, Urban Fleming, 100 votes.
- Tile Layers and Helpers' Union, International Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic**—Thomas J. Williams, 19 votes.
- Tobacco Workers' International Union**—Anthony McAndrew, E. Lewis Evans, 41 votes.
- Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union**—Thomas J. Curtis, 13 votes.

- Typographical Union, International—  
 James M. Lynch, Frank Morrison, Max  
 S. Hayes, Hugh Stevenson, T. W. Mc-  
 Cullough, 491 votes.
- Upholsterers' International Union—  
 James H. Hatch, 28 votes.
- Alabama State Federation of Labor—  
 James B. Drake, 1 vote.
- Arkansas State Federation of Labor—G.  
 E. Mikel, 1 vote.
- California State Federation of Labor—  
 L. W. Butler, 1 vote.
- Colorado State Federation of Labor—  
 James E. Faulkner, 1 vote.
- Florida State Federation of Labor—H.  
 G. Skaggs, 1 vote.
- Georgia State Federation of Labor—  
 Jerome Jones, 1 vote.
- Illinois State Federation of Labor—  
 George F. Golden, 1 vote.
- Indiana State Federation of Labor—  
 William J. Pfeiffer, 1 vote.
- Kansas State Federation of Labor—  
 Miss Zula J. Taylor, 1 vote.
- Maryland State Federation of Labor—  
 Sam DeNedrey, 1 vote.
- Massachusetts State Federation of  
 Labor—Charles A. Cullen, 1 vote.
- Michigan State Federation of Labor—  
 John E. Hartvigsen, 1 vote.
- Missouri State Federation of Labor—  
 Charles Hertenstein, 1 vote.
- Montana State Federation of Labor—M.  
 M. Donoghue, 1 vote.
- Nebraska State Federation of Labor—  
 Wm. A. Chrisman, 1 vote.
- New Jersey State Federation of Labor—  
 George Leary, 1 vote.
- New York State Federation of Labor—  
 John S. Whalen, 1 vote.
- Ohio State Federation of Labor—Adolf  
 Kummer, 1 vote.
- Oklahoma State Federation of Labor—  
 Mont. R. Powell, 1 vote.
- Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor  
 —Chas. Lavin, 1 vote.
- Rhode Island State Federation of Labor  
 —Charles H. Lee, 1 vote.
- Tennessee State Federation of Labor—  
 Wm. E. Eckenrod, 1 vote.
- Texas State Federation of Labor—James  
 Murray, 1 vote.
- Virginia State Federation of Labor—  
 James J. Creamer, 1 vote.
- Washington State Federation of Labor  
 —Charles R. Case, 1 vote.
- Wisconsin State Federation of Labor—  
 Victor L. Berger, 1 vote.
- Wyoming State Federation of Labor—  
 James Buckley, 1 vote.
- Minnesota State Federation of Labor—  
 Chas. H. Joyner, 1 vote.
- Alliance, Ohio, Central Labor Union—  
 Milo W. Cathon, 1 vote.
- Alton, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly  
 —H. C. Maddox, 1 vote.
- Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—  
 Louis P. Marquardt, 1 vote.
- Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor—  
 Edward Hirsch, 1 vote.
- Bedford, Ind., Trades and Labor Council  
 —Ira E. Sears, 1 vote.
- Belleville, Ill., Trades and Labor As-  
 sembly—Edward Baum, 1 vote.
- Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council—Ed-  
 ward Courtenay, 1 vote.
- Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—  
 Michael A. Murphy, 1 vote.
- Breeze, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly  
 —Gus Knies, 1 vote.
- Brockton, Mass., Central Labor Union—  
 Patrick F. Sheehan, 1 vote.
- Brooklyn, N. Y., Central Labor Union—  
 John J. Flynn, 1 vote.
- Buffalo, N. Y., United Trades and Labor  
 Council—Archie Grant, 1 vote.
- Butte, Mont., Silver Bow Trades and  
 Labor Council—Wm. O'Brien, 1 vote.
- Carlinville, Ill., Central Trades and  
 Labor Assembly—John I. Kiefer, 1  
 vote.
- Centralla, Ill., Trades and Labor As-  
 sembly—Isaac Andrick, 1 vote.
- Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—  
 Charles D. Wheeler, 1 vote.
- Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor—  
 Fred Zepp, 1 vote.
- Danbury, Conn., Central Labor Union—  
 John H. Riley, 1 vote.
- Detroit, Mich., Federation of Labor—  
 Wm. K. Benson, 1 vote.
- East St. Louis, Ill., Central Trades and  
 Labor Council—John F. O'Flaherty, 1  
 vote.
- Edwardsville, Ill., Central Trades and  
 Labor Council—J. F. Wentz, 1 vote.
- El Paso, Tex., Central Labor Union—A.  
 D. Kleyhauer, 1 vote.
- Evansville, Ind., Central Labor Union—  
 Shelby Southard, 1 vote.
- Galesburg, Ill., Trades and Labor As-  
 sembly—Edward A. Tate, 1 vote.
- Granite City, Ill., Tri-City Central  
 Trades Council—Sol. Mueller, 1 vote.
- Hammond, Ind., Lake County Trades  
 and Labor Council—B. A. Carter, 1  
 vote.

- Haverhill, Mass., Central Labor Union—  
Patrick J. Burke, 1 vote.
- Herrin, Ill., Trades Council—George F.  
Wilson, 1 vote.
- Hot Springs, Ark., Central Co-Operative  
Union—J. U. P. Smith, 1 vote.
- Independence, Kan., Central Labor  
Union—Edwin A. Silger, 1 vote.
- Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union  
—Lillian Frederichs, 1 vote.
- Jackson, Tenn., Trades and Labor Coun-  
cil—S. H. Laws, 1 vote.
- Joplin, Mo., Trades Assembly—Charles  
Patterson, 1 vote.
- Kansas City, Kan., Central Labor Union  
—Sim. A. Bramlette, 1 vote.
- Kansas City, Mo., Industrial Council—  
James H. Anderson, 1 vote.
- Lafayette, Ind., Central Labor Union—  
Mrs. J. C. Skemp, 1 vote.
- Lead, S. D., Trades Assembly—Frank  
Murphy, 1 vote.
- Lincoln, Neb., Central Labor Union—  
Frank M. Coffey, 1 vote.
- Logansport, Ind., Trades Assembly—O.  
P. Smith, 1 vote.
- Los Angeles, Cal., Central Labor Coun-  
cil—C. F. Grow, 1 vote.
- McComb, Miss., Central Trades and  
Labor Assembly—A. J. Sanarens, 1  
vote.
- Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades  
Council—Frank J. Weber, 1 vote.
- Minneapolis, Minn., Trades and Labor  
Assembly—George B. Howley, 1 vote.
- Mt. Olive, Ill., Trades and Labor Coun-  
cil—F. W. Dingersen, 1 vote.
- Nashville, Tenn., Trades and Labor  
Council—Chas. P. Fahey, 1 vote.
- Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council—  
John Roach, 1 vote.
- New Orleans, La., Central Labor Union  
—Patrick McGill, 1 vote.
- Oklahoma City, Okla., Central Trades  
and Labor Assembly—C. C. Zeigler, 1  
vote.
- Omaha, Neb., Central Labor Union—  
Louis V. Guye, 1 vote.
- Ottawa, Ont., Trades and Labor Asso-  
ciation—P. M. Draper, 1 vote.
- Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union  
—William Huplits, 1 vote.
- Pinckneyville, Ill., Trades Council—  
John Bell, 1 vote.
- Pittsburg, Pa., Central Trades Council—  
A. R. Jerling, 1 vote.
- Portland, Ore., Central Labor Council—  
D. W. Robinson, 1 vote.
- Providence, R. I., Central Federated  
Union—R. F. McGeary, 1 vote.
- Quincy, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly  
—Tim Holt, 1 vote.
- Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and  
Labor Council—Frank Keough, 1  
vote.
- Rockford, Ill., Central Labor Union—  
John E. Peters, 1 vote.
- San Antonio, Tex., Trades Council—  
Fritz Russl, Jr., 1 vote.
- Schenectady, N. Y., Trades Assembly—  
E. W. Leonard, 1 vote.
- Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union—  
Steve McDonald, 1 vote.
- Sharon, Pa., United Labor League—  
David Niven, 1 vote.
- South Framingham, Mass., Central  
Labor Union—Edwin C. Cotter, 1 vote.
- Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—  
Robert E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.
- Springfield, Mo., Central Trades and  
Labor Assembly—A. Dumaw, 1 vote.
- Staunton, Ill., Trades Council—J. W.  
Rizzle, 1 vote.
- Steubenville, Ohio, Jefferson County  
Trades and Labor Assembly—Norval  
White, 1 vote.
- Stockton, Cal., Central Labor Council—  
Thomas Bone, 1 vote.
- St. Louis, Mo., Trades and Labor Union  
—James C. Shanessy, 1 vote.
- St. Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor As-  
sembly—C. E. James, 1 vote.
- Toronto, Can., District Labor Council—  
J. H. Kennedy, 1 vote.
- Tulsa, Okla., Trades and Labor Council  
—Sam E. Stafford, 1 vote.
- Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union  
—Emmett L. Adams, 1 vote.
- Waycross, Ga., Trades and Labor As-  
sembly—A. P. Goodwin, 1 vote.
- Zanesville, Ohio, Central Labor Council  
—John A. Voll, 1 vote.
- Vancouver, B. C., Trades and Labor  
Council—Victor R. Midgley, 1 vote.
- Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Ac-  
countants' Union, No. 12646—Miss E.  
C. Morris, 1 vote.
- Elevator Conductors and Starters'  
Union, No. 11959—James J. McAn-  
drews, 1 vote.
- Federal Labor Union 7231—Samuel W.  
Skelley, 1 vote.
- Federal Labor Union 7426—Charles P.  
Gaede, 1 vote.
- Federal Labor Union 8060—John Troe-  
ster, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union 8116—T. J. Downey, 4 votes.  
 Federal Labor Union 8306—Louis Neuman, 1 vote.  
 Federal Labor Union 8339—William Siebert, 1 vote.  
 Federal Labor Union 8533—L. W. Eckert, 1 vote.  
 Federal Labor Union 8806—Frank Grazell, 1 vote.  
 Federal Labor Union 12916—W. C. Swenson, 1 vote.  
 Federal Labor Union 12974—Charles A. Carter, 1 vote.  
 Federal Labor Union 12978—Carl Bartholomew, 1 vote.  
 Federal Labor Union 12985—Oscar M. Partelow, 4 votes.  
 Gas Workers' Union 9840—George W. Bell, 3 votes.  
 Grain Workers' Association 11407—Ernest Bohm, 1 vote.  
 Laborers' Protective Union 8079—H. B. Wykes, 4 votes.  
 Marble, Mosaic and Terrazzo Workers' Union 10263—E. Zerbarini, 1 vote.  
 Newspaper and Mail Deliverers' Union 9463—John R. Dunne, 10 votes.  
 Paper Carriers' Protective and Benevolent Association 5783—Hy. A. Lippert, 1 vote.  
 Railway Shop Helpers' Union 13032—M. L. Harris, 1 vote.  
 Riggers' Protective Union 11561—Patrick J. Collins, 1 vote.  
 Stenographers and Typists' Association 12755—Mabel Hudson, 1 vote.  
 Stone, Derrickmen's Union 12878—P. J. Brice, 1 vote.  
 Suspender Makers' Union 9560—Joseph Goldstein, 1 vote.  
 Suspender Workers' Union 10093—Mae Nihil, 1 vote.  
 Suspender Makers' Union 10342—William Davis, 1 vote.  
 Tin, Steel, Iron and Graniteware Workers' Union 10943—A. A. H. Lawline, 2 votes.  
 British Trades Union Congress—W. Brace, Ben Turner, 2 votes.  
 Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—R. P. Pettipiece, 1 vote.  
 Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.—James Kirby.  
 National Women's Trade Union League of America—Mrs. D. W. Knefler.  
 Women's International Label League—Miss Annie Fitzgerald.

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ—Rev. Charles Stelzle.

American Federation of Catholic Societies—Rev. Peter E. Dietz.

Credentials have been received from the following organizations, which are indebted as indicated, and under the constitution their delegates can not be seated until the same is liquidated:

Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union—Louis F. Maire; owe four assessments.

Foundry Employes, International Brotherhood of—George Bechtold; owe hatters' assessment.

Freight Handlers, Brotherhood of Railroad—P. J. Flannery, Fred Smith; owe per capita tax from March, 1910, to and including September, 1910, and the two hatters' assessments.

Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers of North America—T. M. Daly, Thomas Rumsey; owe hatters' assessment.

Paper Makers of America, United Brotherhood of—J. T. Carey; owe hatters' assessment.

Pavers and Rammermen, International Union of—Edward I. Hannah; owe hatters' assessment.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—John H. Malin; owe hatters' assessment.

Tin Plate Workers' International Protective Association of America—Ben Teagarden; owe hatters' assessment.

Tin Printers, International Brotherhood of—T. J. Carolan; owe hatters' assessment.

Beaumont, Tex., Trades and Labor Assembly—T. C. Jennings; owe dues for August and September, 1910.

Collinsville, Ill., Trades Council—J. W. Britt, owes dues for August and September, 1910.

Colorado Springs, Colo., Federated Trades Council—I. H. Bratton; owes dues for September, 1910.

Council Bluffs, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly—Peter Christlansen; owes dues for May, June, July, August and September, 1910.

Fort Worth, Tex., Trades Assembly—C. W. Woodman; owes dues for August and September, 1910.

Hoboken, N. J., Central Labor Union—Cornelius Ford; owes dues for July, August and September, 1910.

Jefferson City, Mo., Central Labor Union—Herman G. Robben; owes dues for June, July, August and September, 1910.

Okmulgee, Okla., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—G. L. Hunter; owes dues for September, 1910.

Federal Labor Union 11723—Isidoro Gonzales; owes per capita tax for September, 1910.

Neckwear Cutters' Union 6939—Michael Greenbaum; owes hatters' assessment.

Neckwear Makers' Union 11016—Abraham Miller; owes for September, 1910, and the hatters' assessment.

Newsboys' Protective Union 12935—Geo. A. Mawman; owes per capita tax for August and September, 1910, and the hatters' assessment.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union 11597—Mrs. Mary Burke East; owes hatters' assessment.

Straw and Felt Hat Workers' Union, Ladies, 12675—Marion McShea; owes hatters' assessment.

The credentials of the following organizations have been protested:

Amalgamated Woodworkers' International Union—D. D. Mulcahy; by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

Pavers and Rammermen, International Union of—Edward I. Hannah; by the Granite Cutters' International Association.

Railway Carmen of America, Brotherhood of—Martin F. Ryan, Wm. J. Adams, John J. Gallagher, Frank Paquin; protested by the International Union of Car Workers.

Des Moines, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly—A. L. Urick; by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Keokuk, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly—Curtis C. Koepf; protested by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

New York City Central Federated Union—Albert Abrahams; by the Granite Cutters' International Association.

San Francisco, Cal., Labor Council—Andrew J. Gallagher; by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

Electrical Workers' International Brotherhood of—by Frank J. Hays, of the Mine Workers and E. J. Brails of the Journeymen Tailors.

Committee recommends that all delegates who are not protested or not indebted to the federation, be seated.

The Committee on Credentials will meet this evening at 8 o'clock, in parlor E, Planters hotel, for hearings on these protests, where all parties interested are requested to appear.

MICHAEL J. HALLINAN, Chairman.

A. J. KUGLER,

WM. J. KELLY, Secretary.

Delegate Kelly: We recommend the seating of the delegates from organizations against whom no protest has been entered and from organizations who are not indebted to the American Federation of Labor.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

#### Appointment of Committees.

President Gompers: The chair, in accordance with the constitutional provision, makes the appointment of the following committees, subject to the approval of this convention. The secretary will please read them.

Secretary Morrison read the following list of committees:

COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS: L. W. Quick, J. T. Carey, Oscar F. Nelson, Harry Crist, Harry Meyer, Jerome Jones, Charles Hertenstein, Albert Abrahams, John Sullivan, Frank Butterworth, Thomas Rumsey, Fred H. Grahame, Archie Grant, James C. Shanessy, M. M. Donoghue.

COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENT'S REPORT: Andrew Furuseth, W. B. Wilson, Geo. L. Berry, John A. Moffitt, Thos. F. Tracy, Frank Duffy, Owen Miller, Geo. Bechtold, P. J. McArdle, Geo. P. Foster, James L. Gernon, James J. Creamer, Cornelius Ford, John J. Keegan, John S. Whalen.

COMMITTEE ON SECRETARY'S REPORT: T. A. Rickert, J. F. McHugh, Wm. J. Adams, Adolf Kummer, F. A. Monaghan, E. Lewis Evans, Frank Grimsshaw, Wm. A. Neer, Martin Goellnitz, Wm. J. Pfeiffer, H. G. Skaggs, J. E.



Hartvigsen, Geo. Leary, M. R. Powell, P. F. Sheehan.

**COMMITTEE ON TREASURER'S REPORT:** Ben Commons, Wm. O'Brien, I. H. Braton, J. F. O'Flaherty, Sol Mueller, C. A. Patterson, C. N. Glover, Jos. Flynn, Carl Young, Rody Kenehan, J. J. Glass, F. J. Wettengel, E. E. Thorp, J. A. Dyche, Paul Bianchi.

**COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS:** James Duncan, James Wilson, John P. Frey, B. A. Larger, D. D. Mulcahy, Edwin Perry, Robert Glockling, John T. Smith, Patrick Murphy, T. V. O'Connor, Geo. B. Howley, Thos. Flynn, Edward McGivern, A. B. Lowe, M. A. Murphy.

**COMMITTEE ON LAWS:** John B. Lennon, T. L. Hughes, John H. Walker, James G. Hannahan, R. E. Woodmansee, P. J. Flannery, M. F. Ryan, H. J. Conway, Alex. Bloch, Lee M. Hart, J. Taze-laar, C. L. Shamp, John A. Voll, John Mangan, Alex. R. Smith.

**COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION:** H. B. Ferham, W. D. Mahon, Frank T. Hawley, Chas. D. Wheeler, Frank Gehring, M. W. Kelleher, M. E. Licht, E. F. Ward, John T. Butler, Sam De Nedrey, Geo. F. Golden, Harry Deveaux, C. T. Dolan, W. J. Boyle.

**COMMITTEE ON LABELS:** John F. Tobin, Louis Kemper, Max S. Hays, Martin Lawlor, J. J. Handley, J. Mahlon Barnes, Ed. Anderson, Chris Kerker, Agnes Nestor, A. Rosenberg, Thos. S. Farrell, A. McAndrew, E. J. Brais, Wm. Carr, Wm. Braun.

**COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT:** James O'Connell, T. L. Lewis, Hugh Stevenson, David A. Carey, James P. Maher, John Golden, Wm. E. Klapetsky, Matthew Woll, T. J. Sullivan, A. B. Higgins, Thos. J. Duffy, C. O. Pratt, L. A. Tanquary, Jos. A. Franklin, C. W. Woodman.

**COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION:** Jos. F. Valentine, Victor A. Olander, Oscar Boeck, A. M. Swartz, E. C. McCullough, Andrew J. Gallagher, John Roach, O. P. Smith, Chas. H. Lee, Frank Keough, P. F. Richardson, J. P. Kelly, Margaret Kelly, Ernest Bohm, James B. Drake.

**COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATIONS:** John R. Alpine, W. B. MacFarlane, Timothy Healy, S. J. Fay, H. S. Marshall, Victor Altman, John J. Griffin, Homer D. Call, Jos. F. Winkler, James F. Malley, E. Frank Moorehouse, John H. Mallin, W. F. B. Feyler, James E. Faulkner, John B. Dunne.

**COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES:** John Mitchell, J. W. Kline, F. X. Noschang, Jos. N. Weber, Frank J. Hays, D. J. Tobin, P. T. Barry, Ed. Hirsh, John O'Neill, D. G. Ramsay, J. H. Kennedy, Emmett L. Adams, L. W. Butler, Chas. A. Cullen, J. H. Anderson.

**COMMITTEE ON BUILDING TRADES:** William D. Huber, Frank M. Ryan, M. O'Sullivan, John Donlin, Wm. J. McSorley, Frank J. McNulty, Wm. W.

Young, Wm. J. Tracy, Matt Comerford, Frank Feeney, Richard P. Walsh, D. D'Alessandro, J. C. Skemp, Thos. J. Williams, Frank Gengenback.

**COMMITTEE ON BOYCOTTS:** D. A. Hayes, James M. Lynch, Chas. Dold, C. W. Fry, Jacob Fischer, S. J. Konenkamp, P. W. Collins, F. A. Scoby, S. L. Landers, Jere L. Sullivan, Judson O'Neal, M. Zuckerman, Victor L. Berger, J. J. Chatterton, L. A. Grace.

President Gompers announced the appointment of J. J. Mulcahy, St. Louis, as sergeant-at-arms, and Ed. Coburn, St. Louis, as messenger.

Vice-President O'Connell: I desire to bring a matter to the attention of the convention, to get the views of the delegates for the purpose of directing one of the committees that has been appointed. This hall is located a very great distance from the hotel. I desire to move, in order that the expression of the convention be gathered, that the Committee on Rules be requested to report an arrangement whereby we will continue in one session, not take an adjournment at lunch time, and travel a great distance back to our hotels. We could make the convening later in the morning and the adjournment earlier in the afternoon. This will allow the committees to work. I move you, in order to get an expression of the convention, to direct the Committee on Rules, that we hold one continuous session each day. (Seconded and carried.)

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

Hoboken, N. J., November 14, 1910.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall, St. Louis.

Greetings to the convention. May success crown the work of the thirtieth annual session. New Jersey has five trades unionists in the next legislature—Callantine, printers; Shalvoy, hatters; Adams, carpenters; McGrath, boiler-makers; Ford, printers.

(Signed) CORNELIUS FORD.

President New Jersey Federation of Labor.

President Gompers: The rules of last year's convention will prevail until new ones are adopted. The hour of 12 o'clock having arrived, the convention stands adjourned until 2 o'clock this afternoon.

## First Day—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Monday, November 14, President Gompers in the chair.

First Vice-President Duncan presided while President Gompers, Secretary Morrison and Treasurer Lennon read their reports.

The reports were referred to the Committees on President's Report, Secretary's Report and Treasurer's Report, and follow immediately hereafter:

Secretary Morrison read an announcement from the Women's Trade Union League, in which the women delegates and the women visitors were requested to register in parlor H, Planters Hotel, or in a duplicate book in the rear balcony of the hall.

At 5 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9 o'clock a. m. Tuesday, November 15.

## PRESIDENT GOMPERS' REPORT.

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ST. LOUIS, MO., November 14, 1910.

*To the Officers and Delegates to the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor :*

**FELLOW TRADE UNIONISTS:** Thirty years ago, upon the urgent appeal of a number of earnest and far-seeing trade unionists, a convention was held in Pittsburg, Pa. There and then the foundation for our Federation of trades and labor unions was laid. Upon that foundation a structure has been reared perhaps far beyond the vision of its builders. Soon after the establishment of our Federation, and after its purposes came to be understood, the toilers began to realize not only that it was eminently practicable but also that it had within its possibilities the elements to inspire hope and courage for the achievement of Labor's highest aspirations. By the years of devoted work of its adherents, and through its attainments, the Federation has earned the respect and the confidence of the workers who rallied to its standard and defended it against its traducers and would-be destroyers.

Twenty-two years ago the American Federation of Labor held an annual convention in this city. That convention reviewed the progress which had been made and it determined upon a well-defined policy for the inauguration of a shorter workday, to the end that an eight-hour day should be established.

The impetus and quickening impulse given to the labor movement and the great cause of justice and humanity for which it stands can only be understood and appreciated by the studious and by the retrospective view to be taken by the workers who will compare the situation and the condition of the wage-working masses then and now. The history of the movement can not be recounted here. So far as it is written, it may be traced in the official proceedings of our conventions, in *The American Federationist*, in the official trade journals, and in the labor press. The unwritten history and some of its most important work lie in the archives of the offices of the organized labor movement, local, international, and federated. That which is obvious to all is the progress which has been made in the physical well-being, in the mental, moral, political, and social advancement of the toilers. This progress is evidenced in their higher character and more independent spirit, in their recognition of the identity in the interests of all wage-workers and in the solidarity of their feeling and action, together with their wider horizon of duties and rights, their broader sympathies for all mankind, and their determination to struggle on for the eradication of every wrong and the attainment of their every right to which they, in common with their fellow-men, are justly entitled.

Advancement also may be clearly seen in the tribute all pay to the ennobling work of our movement and in the better conception which our people have of the splendid achievements due to the persistent efforts of the organized labor movement of our time.

It may not be uninteresting as an indication of our movement's growth to call attention to the fact that at our first convention in Pittsburg, Pa., only six international unions were represented, with a number of scattering locals. In St. Louis, twenty-two years ago, there were seventeen international unions with a few central bodies and locals. Note the list of delegates to this Convention and the organizations they represent, and, at a glance, the great progress made is apparent. This does not account for several hundred central bodies and local unions affiliated but unrepresented by delegates.

Pursuant to law and custom your President is directed to make an annual report to you as to his stewardship of the rights and interests of the workers which you have placed in his keeping. He is to give an accounting of his acts to protect and advance the sacred cause of labor and he is to offer such advice and make such suggestions as commend themselves to his judgment as being promotive of the welfare of the workers and as making for the common weal. Among the myriad matters which have come before me for action or which I have initiated, it is exceedingly difficult to discriminate as to which are the most important to be submitted to you. While it is true that every event or project in the labor movement is in its way important, all the issues are not vital or imminent, and yet all subjects must receive careful and conscientious attention. Time may render some matters only relatively important. Considerations such as these have determined my course both in the past and in making this report, which I now have the honor to submit.

## ORGANIZATION AND GROWTH.

For the fiscal year ending September 30, 1910, there were issued by the American Federation of Labor 384 certificates of affiliation (charters), as follows:

International unions.....	2	Local trade unions.....	152
State federations.....	1	Federal labor unions.....	96
City central bodies.....	88		
		Total .....	384

At the close of the fiscal year there were affiliated to our Federation:

International unions.....	130	Local trade unions.....	481
State federations.....	89	Federal labor unions.....	216
City central bodies.....	682		
		Total .....	1,488

The international unions enumerated have approximately 28,000 local unions under their jurisdiction. Attention is called to this fact, so that the error into which many persons have fallen as to the make-up of our Federation may be corrected. As its name implies, ours is a federated body of international, State, central, and directly affiliated locals, the latter having no international unions of their own trade or calling. The international unions have direct jurisdiction over their own local unions or lodges situated throughout the continent. Applications from unions for affiliation are turned over to the international of the trade where one is in existence. During the past year our affiliated international unions report they have issued 2,157 charters to local unions, and thereby and by adhesion to existing locals have increased their membership for the year 218,229 members.

Our State federations and city central bodies are continually extending their sphere of usefulness and becoming of larger advantage to our fellow-workers. They are abreast of the times, improving every opportunity which presents itself, usually taking the initiative in securing reforms in the industrial, political, social, and moral condition of the workers and all our people. Legislatively, they have secured advances too numerous to incorporate in detail in this report. Throughout the length and breadth of our continent the co-operation and spirit of fraternity and solidarity manifested by the members of the organized labor movement is a matter of commendation and deep gratification and must make for a constant growth through organizing the yet unorganized toilers.

Numerically, the membership of our affiliated organizations is near the highest figures in their existence. In 1907-8 we experienced a panic, during which, by reason of unemployment, a decrease in membership occurred. Within the past year a marked increase in both membership and organizations is to be noted. In a report which I had the honor to submit to a former convention discussing the "law of growth" of the trade union movement I took occasion to say in part:

"In connection with this it may be well to call attention to the fact that there is a natural law of growth in the labor movement, a law that is not generally understood. When there is a falling off of membership, no matter how slight, our opponents point to it with satisfaction as an indication of disintegration or dissolution of the labor movement. The unthinking in our own ranks view it with alarm. The fact of the matter is that any temporary falling off in membership is due largely to the failure on the part of those organizations to adopt the means by which the members' best interests are safeguarded. After all, a better intelligence and a revived spirit of workmen soon demonstrate the necessity of organization to protect their best interests, and they soon return to their Alma Mater of the labor movement, the trade union. With this revived spirit the enthusiasm penetrates into the ranks of the unorganized, and these, together with the trend of events in industry and labor conditions, have their compelling force upon the minds of the wage-earners, who in constantly larger numbers join the ranks of the grand army of organized labor, to make common cause for the protection and advancement of all the wage-earners.

"Let pessimists and opponents take unction to their souls for their mastership of the past. The present and the future are for labor, which in its organized, federated movement will stand as a protest against injustice and wrong toward any of our fellow-men, as the vanguard to proclaim and achieve the rights to which the toilers, the masses, are entitled."

The tide of events has changed. The time and opportunity for a more thorough campaign of organization are here, and, during the next few years, "we must take the current as it serves or lose our ventures." No effort should be left untried to bring the toilers within the protective and beneficent fold and influence of our trade union movement. Every labor organization, wherever located, should exert its uttermost efforts to continue organizing. Every dollar wisely expended in the propaganda of organization will yield its fruit in strength power, advantage, wisdom and influence for good.

I would urge upon all our fellow-unionists, officers and members, the great rank and file, that greater and more persistent work of organization be planned and carried into effect.

Let every union member regard it as his mission to organize—to bring at least one fellow-worker into membership of his trade union. Let the slogan be: Organize, Agitate, Educate!

In the campaign of organization, in the great and diversified work which our Federation undertakes in the interest of the toilers, we have often felt the dire need of funds. A scrutiny of our expenditures will disclose that there is not a dollar devoted to any purpose but which makes directly for the workers' welfare.

It is urgently recommended that this Convention adopt a slight increase in the per capita of affiliated organizations. I am convinced beyond all peradventure that with some additional funds at the disposal of your officers great good will be accomplished in the interest of the organizations and the workers generally.

### OUR MOVEMENT NOT "NARROW."

"The narrowness of trade unionism." This phrase passes current, at full face value, in every camp and even in every grouplet of "intellectuals." In going the whole round of the "isms," sociological, ethical, legal, political, reformatory, played-out popular crazes, or "just-out" social panaceas, one will hear expressed by the leaders a sentiment that the trade unionists are hide-bound conservatives—because they decline to rush in a body to take the magic medicine for social ills offered by the particular "ism" advocated by the critic in each particular case.

It is a fact that trade unionism in America moves on in its own set and deliberate way. In so doing, it has outlived wave upon wave of hastily conceived so-called "broad" movements that were to reconstruct society in a single season. And it has sufficiently good cause for continuing its own reasoned-out course.

A full defense of trade unionism against the charge of narrowness would require many volumes, were each to be separately devoted to counter-statements and argumentation addressed to every critic advocating his own special "ism" as against trade unionism. But there is one broad bottom fact underlying all the criticisms of trade unionism based on its alleged narrowness. That fact is, that TRADE UNIONISM IS NOT NARROW.

The locomotive engine is not "narrow" because it is not fitted to run on highways and by-ways and waterways as it is for railways, nor is the steamship "narrow" because it can not be made to run on land. But steam, the motive power, can be so applied that it is effective on both land and water. An engine is adapted to a special use; steam in its applications is universal.

Similarly, a trade union is not a machine fitted to the work of directly affecting all the civic, social, and political changes necessary in society. But it first of all teaches the working classes the power of combination. Thenceforward it disciplines them, leads them to perform tasks that are possible, and permits the members of any of its affiliated bodies to attempt any form of social experiment which does not imperil the organization as a whole. The spirit of combination has the immediate effects of self-confidence for the democratic elements in the unions, of growth in the loyalty of workingman for workingman, of constant progressive achievement not confined to restricted limits. It is therefore a motive power continuously and variously applicable as the masses move forward and upward in their individual and collective development.

The spirit of combination in the wage-workers has as a motive power many points of resemblance to that of steam (or for that matter electricity) in the mechanical world. One of these points is that the machine to be moved must not be too big or too complex for the engine. Theorist social reformers beyond enumeration have in vain offered their utopian inventions to the masses because the latter, endowed with common sense, have, on due observation, refused to supply the needed wasteful power to make the inventions go. If they had done so for a time, they could but have exhibited the folly of going to greater pains and troubles than the present social machinery requires. The history of the United States is plentifully illustrated with millennial experiments, illusory for the reason that their maintenance in some way overtaxed their supporters, accustomed to making progress in the freedom and opportunity of America even as it is.

No other mechanism for carrying out the will of the wage-workers in the domain in which they can especially benefit themselves has equaled the trade union and the trade union movement in bringing desired results. No other has equally stood the test of time. No other has thrown anything like the light upon the state of mind of the masses with respect to their economic education. No other has been able to show how intensely practical the workingmen are—nor how devoted they can show themselves to a clearly defined principle, nor how ready they are to trust to their own leadership, nor how they invariably refuse, as a class, to embark in fiction-born utopian ventures. The trade union has been broad enough for all practical purposes.

And yet trade unionism is the soundest base yet laid for every project that gives promise to the working class for a firm and solid advance. Moving step by step, trade unionism contains within itself, as a movement and as a mechanism, the possibilities for establishing whatever social institution the golden future shall develop for the workers as the predestined universal element to be in control of society.

Politically, an invariable problem confronting the trade union movement is how to take action without binding itself to a hard and fast "ism," "ology," or platform. The best of these may quickly develop weaknesses imperiling the hard-won unity of the masses. As a matter of history, American labor organizations, national as well as local, have come to disastrous ending through converting themselves from trade unions, with clear principles and accepted methods and tried leadership, into political parties with vote-catching platforms, campaign methods and heroes of the passing hour for "standard-bearers." The lesson that has been heeded by the rank and file of the trade unions and has been learned by the veterans in the American Federation of Labor is to trust all the time to definite and time-tried trade union economic methods, and to the ballot only in so far as results are to be foreseen to a positive certainty. The political measures to be achieved must, beyond a doubt, form the cause for the workers' proceeding to vote together, but by the side of these measures the fortunes of parties and politicians fall to a subordinate, even a negligible place. From its present position the American Federation of Labor is enabled to throw out feelers all over the continent and ascertain in what respects and how far the ballot may supplement the established and familiar forms of union effort in promoting the well-being of the wage-earning class. The preference the rank and file express for certain public men in some localities comes not so much from interest in the men in question as in the public work they have performed or bind themselves to perform. The votes the organized workers give in support of certain radical parties in other localities is less an indication of an acceptance of platform theories than testimony that the immediate practical demands of these parties are in accord with the needs of the wage-earners and the communities concerned at the present hour. In any case, such activities of the trade unionists in public affairs give contradiction to the charge of narrowness of their institution—the union. They illustrate the fact of an adaptability to occasion and opportunity that in itself is the best evidence of breadth. More, it is a breadth both of view and spirit, consonant with a lasting security of position and with every possibility of continuous experimentation.

It was no narrowness of view, but a clear and comprehensive foresight of the results to be achieved through a change in the mechanism of our law-making, while remaining faithful to fundamental principles, that brought the American Federation of Labor twenty years ago to a support of the initiative and referendum and their collateral reforms in the general plan of restoring to the people the power that by the legerdemain of representative misrepresentation had been taken away from them. In all the States and cities in which these rightful and truly democratic methods have been adopted, great progress has been made toward a satisfactory permanent basis for gradual steps through administrative purity and general reform to the future society of unerring and universal justice, a progress greater than has been made through all those movements of the years which have been characterized either by spasmodic upheavals, usually under unstable leadership, or by feverish propaganda actuated through visions of utopias always illuminated by the most iridescent of rainbows.

The trade unions are the historically and naturally developed labor movement of our time, clime, and conditions. Our federation of trade unions represents and voices the struggles, needs, and the aspirations of the toiling masses of our continent. It helps to bear their burdens and make them lighter; it bears the scars and pain of battle and shares in glorious triumphs already achieved and makes ready for the brighter and better day now, tomorrow, and tomorrow's tomorrow. Nothing daunted, but straightforward and courageous, our labor movement, proud of its past, faces the future with an abiding faith and confidence that that future is ours.

#### A. F. OF L. DEPARTMENTS.

The relations of the various Departments to the American Federation of Labor have been of the most cordial, fraternal, and helpful character. Every assistance possible has been rendered to the Departments and their respective officers.

It is exceedingly gratifying to find that the Departments have made such substantial headway. It is earnestly hoped that wherever possible further Departments shall be created by and in full affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. Much will depend upon the consistent, cordial, and loyal support which the Departments now in existence will continue to give to the general policy of the trade union movement as understood and practiced by the American Federation of Labor.

It was in this city of St. Louis in 1898 that I had the honor to report to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor upon the subject of industrial divisions or industrial

departments. Because of its probable helpfulness as well as appropriateness, I quote the language submitted to the consideration of the delegates to that Convention:

"The thought has frequently occurred to me whether in the near future the basis of our Federation should not be modeled upon a somewhat different basis from the present one, by having the various industries classified by the divisions of these industries, such as, for instance, the iron, steel, or metal industry to have a convention of the representatives of all the trade unions in that industry, the building trades to have their convention of the representatives of the unions in their trades, the railroad employes theirs, and soon, each legislating upon the questions that affect the general interests of their particular trades; these industrial divisions to be in turn represented by their proportionate number of delegates in the Convention of the American Federation of Labor and a representative of each industry elected a member of the Executive Council.

"The conventions of the industrial divisions might be held simultaneously in different halls, of course, but in the city in which the Federation would hold its Convention immediately after their adjournment. The idea may not be practical for immediate adoption, but discussion of it can only lead to good results. One thing is certain, the autonomy of each trade and industrial division would thus be more firmly secured."

It is not because of any particular pride in outlining a plan of organization, now nearly verified, that this suggestion of twenty-two years ago is quoted. It is commended to your attention simply for the purpose of endeavoring to suggest that greater consideration be given to the entire subject of improving and making more effective the entire organized labor movement of America, the hegemony of which is generally conceded to the American Federation of Labor. I recommend that this Convention authorize the selection of a special committee to give consideration to the subject of Departments, the relation of the Departments to the American Federation of Labor, how they can be practically extended and improved, to the end that the cause of labor may be the more effectively pursued and the promotion and advancement of the interests of the workers attain the greatest degree of success.

The reports of the progress made by the Departments are, in condensed form, made part of this report as appendices.

#### CANADA.

The movement in Canada has shown greater progress during the past year than in any previous year in its history. Numerically, representation in the Congress has increased by 40 per cent over the year 1909, while the balance in the treasury of the Congress over that reported for 1909 was almost 50 per cent. The Congress in its legislative capacity has also exceeded anything done in former years. It secured the appointment of a commission on Technical Education, with its ex-Vice-President as a member of it; amendments to the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act that further protected the interests of those affected by the act; and the exemption of trade unions from the Combines Investigation Act. It offered such strenuous opposition to the Belcourt bill, which was designed to keep International officers out of Canada, that its promoter asked permission to withdraw it, which was agreed to, although the Senate threatened to throw it out bodily.

In fact, says Secretary Draper of the Trade and Labor Congress, "the last session of the Dominion Parliament may be said to have been a labor session, inasmuch as besides dealing with the above matters there were before it for consideration bills dealing with the following matters: Proportional representation; land line and wireless telegraphy on ships for the protection of sailors; to make election day a public holiday, and to do away with the election deposit; to provide for the fortnightly payment of wages on railways instead of monthly as at present; to abolish the Senate; bringing cable companies under the jurisdiction of the Railway Commission, the railway companies, express, telegraph and telephone companies being already subject to the commission; bill for the legalizing of co-operative societies, and other proposed legislation.

"Needless to say these are largely attributable to the activity of the organized workers and of the Trades and Labor Congress representing them.

"Apart from legislation, it is a pleasure to report that the sentiment in favor of international trade unionism is stronger than ever in Canada. Throughout the length and breadth of the land the wage-earners realize that their safety lies in the international bond, and despite the efforts of the employing interests to build up a so-called 'national' movement, the trades unionists of Canada will continue to give their allegiance to their various international bodies.

Looking over the whole field, it can be said that never before was labor so well united and so ready to defend its interests as now. It views with sincere pleasure the growing strength of the American Federation of Labor. It rejoices in the victory for individual liberty achieved by the officers of that body in their fight with the Buck's Stove and Range Company. It watches with true fraternal interest the struggle in the United States for the betterment of the conditions of the workers, and it is prepared to continue its affiliations until such time as the workers come into their own."

## PORTO RICO.

The first years of labor organization in Porto Rico witnessed a continuous struggle for the conquest of civil emancipation for the working classes. Through the healthy influence of the American Federation of Labor the organized workmen of Porto Rico are now achieving a worthy civil standing. The Free Federation of the Workmen of Porto Rico, American Federation of Labor, has sent two labor delegations to Washington this year to work for the demands of the people of the island. Last December one of the labor delegations, accompanied by your President and other representatives of the American Federation of Labor, called on President Taft and delivered to him a petition requesting American citizenship for the Porto Ricans and recommending other measures in favor of the people of the island in general and the toilers in particular. President Taft, on my suggestion, referred for investigation the whole question regarding Porto Rican affairs to a Government specialist who has had experience in Porto Rico and besides sent a commission, which included the Secretary of War, Mr. Dickinson, General Edwards of the Bureau of Insular Affairs and other officials, to Porto Rico for the purpose of investigating conditions, with a view to drawing up recommendations for Congress. A bill being introduced in Congress by Mr. Olmsted, of Pennsylvania, providing for American citizenship for the islanders and for a political and civil constitution and a health law, and for thoroughly changing the governmental organization of the island, upon my cabled suggestion the Labor Federation sent a delegation to Washington for the purpose of having labor demands included in the bill. With similar ends in view, on invitation of Governor Colton, of Porto Rico, the political parties and the Federation each sent a delegation to Washington to work together for the island's welfare. Assisted by the American Federation of Labor, the delegations succeeded in having embodied in the Olmsted bill the principal provisions recommended by the Federation of Porto Rico, credit being due for their advocacy to Congressman Wilson, of Pennsylvania.

The main feature in which we are interested is the subject-matter of United States citizenship for the inhabitants of Porto Rico, and in the bill No. 23000—which was finally reported out of committee as a substitute for all other bills and which provides for a civil government for Porto Rico—is incorporated this section:

"That all citizens of Porto Rico are hereby declared and shall be deemed and held to be citizens of the United States."

The bill came up in the House June 15, 1910, and while being debated upon the floor, Representative Wilson, of Pennsylvania, offered several amendments and succeeded in securing three of the most important provisions formulated by organized labor of Porto Rico adopted by the House and incorporated in the act as passed by the House. These provisions are:

"1. The establishment of eight hours as a day's work in all cases of employment by or on behalf of the government or any municipality of Porto Rico.

"2. The prohibition of employment of children under the age of 14 years in any occupation injurious to health or morals, or especially hazardous to life or limb.

"3. That a right of action to recover damages for injuries resulting in death shall not be abrogated, and that the amount recoverable shall not be subject to any statutory limitations whatsoever."

Representative Wilson also offered an amendment specifically directing the establishment of a Department of Agriculture, Commerce and Labor, but it was defeated. The pending bill provides that the Legislature of Porto Rico may create a Department of Agriculture, Commerce and Labor.

Many other valuable provisions were included in the bill looking to the safeguarding of the public health; also stringent regulations governing sanitation and progressive measures for better educational facilities. The bill as amended passed the House June 15 and is now before the Senate Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, of which Senator Depew is chairman, and from which committee a favorable report is confidently expected at the forthcoming session of Congress. Such a report would be materially helpful in securing its enactment into law.

Governor Colton, who accompanied the delegations to Washington, has been the first American official in Porto Rico who has ever taken up the labor problem intelligently and sympathetically. He believes that the paramount question confronting the island today is the raising of the native workers to a higher standard of living.

The Sixth Labor Congress of Porto Rico was held last March. These congresses are held every two years. Fifty-five delegates, representing seventy-two organizations from all over the island, were present.

The unions organized during the eight months were twelve, with a membership of 1,239. The literature of every class distributed in Spanish reached over 200,000 copies.

Labor Day was most fittingly observed throughout the island. The celebration in San



Juan included a civic parade which was photographed and is being now exhibited in moving picture plays in and out of the island. Porto Rican labor has sent more than \$1,000 to assist the cigarmakers' strike at Tampa.

The island has made great progress during the last ten years of American government, but the toilers' share has not been in the same proportion, owing to the state of ignorance in which they were kept in the time of Spain's domination.

Governor Colton sent a special message to the Porto Rican Legislature, which the representatives of organized labor of the island had urged him to do. It dealt with the subject of Employers' Liability. The house adopted it, but it failed of passage in the upper house. There are strong hopes of its early enactment. The Governor issued a Labor Day proclamation full of intrinsic merit and urging the people to observe the day in its best sense as a legal holiday. The favorable attitude of the Governor toward labor, and his knowledge of the subject, is due to the persistent work of the American Federation of Labor in Porto Rico, as well as in Washington, in advocating the rights of the people of the island. Indeed, the general consensus of opinion among all Porto Ricans is that to the work performed and the assistance rendered by the American Federation of Labor much of the economic, political, and social progress is due.

At present Porto Rico has 180 local unions, with a membership of over 6,000.

In view of the splendid achievements in the interests of the Porto Rican workers made possible by the assistance of our American trade union movement, and because of the close identity of their people with ours, I strongly urge the continuation of every effort to thoroughly organize the wage-workers of Porto Rico.

#### IRON, STEEL AND TIN WORKERS.

In compliance with the directions of the Toronto Convention, on November 27, last year, one week after its adjournment, I issued a circular to the officials of affiliated national and international unions calling for a conference, to be held in Pittsburg, December 18, at which a course of action should be outlined, in accordance with the Convention's adopted policy toward the United States Steel Corporation, and toward the workers engaged in their justified struggle with that corporation.

At this conference it was decided to recommend that each national or international union assign at least one organizer, and the American Federation of Labor as many organizers as possible, to assist the Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, all to proceed under the direction of the President of that union. Arrangements were made for financial contributions, and a recommendation adopted that the Tin Plate Workers' Association should amalgamate with the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, the new body to be entitled the Amalgamated Iron, Steel and Tin Plate Workers' Association. A special committee was appointed to lay before the President of the United States, the President of the United States Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives the grievances of labor in the employment of the Steel Corporation, and, further, to demand a thorough investigation as to the legality of certain actions, as well as the existence, of that corporation. Special committees were also appointed to wait upon the Governors of States and officials in counties and municipalities in which the corporation has plants, to protest against the wrongs inflicted upon the people in such communities and demand that these wrongs be righted.

On January 10 the special committee accordingly waited on the President and submitted to him in writing the charges against the Steel Trust. On February 18 and 26 conferences were had with the Attorney-General, to whom the President had referred labor's charges. This was followed on March 22 by the formal presentation to the Attorney-General in pamphlet form of "The Statement and Evidence in Support of the Petition and Charges Presented to the President of the United States against the United States Steel Corporation by the American Federation of Labor," in the preparation of which your officials had been assisted by Hon. Frank S. Monnett, former Attorney-General of Ohio, and Hon. A. G. Ballard of Gary, Indiana. On March 28, the Attorney-General sent us his reply, the gist of it being: "This Department does not deem it expedient to take any action until the Supreme Court of the United States shall have decided the appeals now under consideration by it from the judgments of the Circuit Courts in the proceedings against the American Tobacco Company and the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, respectively." These cases, the Attorney-General explained, call for a "comprehensive construction and application by the court of the provisions of the Sherman act," under which the Steel Corporation must be proceeded against. The appeals referred to have not yet been decided.

Meantime, the entire corps of organizers who had reported for the work were actively engaged in the Steel Trust's territory. A diversion of effort and of public attention, however, was caused in February by a walk-out of several thousand of the unorganized workmen of the Bethlehem Steel Company, in revolt against conditions as to hours, wages, and dangers to life

and limb, the descriptions of which shocked the nation. Consequently, the United States Senate allowed a resolution to pass, introduced at the instance of the American Federation of Labor, which authorized the Federal Bureau of Labor to investigate conditions in the steel works at South Bethlehem. The investigation began March 17, its findings and those of independent investigators being from day to day made public in the press. On March 21 the Steel Trust, bending to public opinion, through its President, directed a limitation of Sunday work in subsidiary companies; on April 15 it announced an increase of 6 per cent in the wages of a majority of its employes, and on April 16 further announced its adoption of a system of accident compensation. While none of these concessions reach the level of either union demands or the standards of disinterested investigators, they are manifestly due to the militant activities of organized labor, evoking a widespread response from the unorganized workers in the industry.

Further incidents of the campaign for organization and inquiry into the status of the Steel Corporation were: Presentation March 30 by American Federation of Labor representatives of a bill of grievances to Governor Marshall, of Indiana, with a petition to investigate the Steel Corporation's subsidiary companies in that State; passage of a resolution in the House of Representatives, inspired by the American Federation of Labor, directing the Attorney-General to investigate the Steel Corporation; passage of a bill by the Senate, also introduced at the request of the American Federation of Labor, directing the United States Bureau of Labor to investigate and report the industrial conditions prevailing in the iron and steel industry of the United States.

Public statements have been made, and it is otherwise currently reported, that the report of the Bureau of Labor will soon be forthcoming and that the same will receive the attention of the Administration.

It is recommended that during the approaching sessions of the Legislatures in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Alabama, and elsewhere, that the State authorities be urged to institute thorough investigations and proceedings against the corporation in so far as it is operating illegally and improperly within the State or States, and it is further urged that the investigation be extended to the industrial and economic conditions prevailing among the workers in the industry. In our time it is not enough that a great industry such as prevails in iron, steel and tin, which has practically become a monopoly, shall be operated within the letter of the law. Such an industrial concern owes to society and humanity a deeper and broader concern for the welfare of its workers.

### LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' STRIKE AND INJUNCTION.

This strike, breaking out the first of July and continuing for nine weeks, involved in the course of its progress as many as 75,000 men and women of the "cloakmaking" industry in New York City. From the beginning it was characterized by an unexpected spirit of enthusiasm, resistance, and solidarity on the part of the workers. Previous to their cessation of work, the vast majority of them had been unorganized. But their experiences had been such that the necessity for a union became so deeply impressed upon them that they decided to refuse to accept any terms that might place their organization in jeopardy. Before August 2, 800 small employers, employing 30,000 persons, had made settlements with the union. An attempt made at that date for a general agreement, through negotiations carried on by representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the counsel for the two sides in conflict, was not successful, but on September 2 the following terms were accepted by the union and the Employers' Association:

"Each member of the manufacturers is to maintain a union shop, a union shop being understood to refer to a shop where union standards as to working conditions, hours of labor, and rates of wages prevail, and where, when hiring help, union men are preferred, it being recognized that, since there are different degrees of skill, employers shall have the freedom of selection as between one union man and another, and shall not be confined to any list nor bound to follow any prescribed order whatever."

The conditions secured by the workers are substantially as follows: Electric power free; no work at home; discipline of any manufacturer proved guilty of discrimination among his employes; six days' work a week and a cash weekly pay-day; all sub-contracting within shops abolished; nine hours' work a day five days a week and five hours the sixth day; the price of piece-work agreed upon by a committee of employes and their employers; double pay for overtime.

Treasurer John B. Lennon was at the outset of the strike assigned to assist on behalf of the American Federation of Labor, and was later joined by Organizer M. Grant Hamilton. Our local organizers were also concentrated on the work, and on request I paid several visits to New York to assist at mass-meetings and at the conferences. The General Executive Board of the

union, at its quarterly meeting, September 23, in a resolution after conveying to individual representatives of the American Federation of Labor their deep sense of gratitude for the services rendered in the course of the strike, recorded this minute:

"We all feel that the co-operation of the American Federation of Labor in this strike has done a great deal toward helping us to achieve such a complete and brilliant victory."

An incident toward the close of the strike was the issue of an injunction by Judge Goff, of the New York City Supreme Court, which put before the American people the novel, and undoubtedly fallacious principle that to strike for the so-called "closed shop" is illegal. An immediate effect of the injunction was to arouse a greater determination than ever in the workers to win. While this Judge's action in this case was not taken seriously, either by the press or the public, it served to indicate the necessity that exists for a statute restraining the abuse of power by judges, Federal and State, particularly in the issuance of injunctions by which the liberties of the citizens, when these citizens are wage-workers, are outrageously invaded and denied.

It is not amiss here to call attention to the fact that if workmen may be denied by injunction, or by any other process, the right to leave their employment, either singly or in association, for the reason that they desire to secure the UNION SHOP; if they may be restrained by an injunction from striking in sympathy with their fellow-workers; if they may be enjoined from striking for any given reason whatever, the difference between the so-called free workmen and the workmen who must yield obedience to their masters—slaves—has disappeared. The only reason for slave-holding is to compel men to work in obedience to their masters' will.

If workmen may lawfully leave their employment at all—may strike—and they exercise that right, giving no reason for their act, the judges issuing this species of injunction would not issue an injunction, if we may believe the terms of their injunctive orders. If, on the other hand, workmen give any of the reasons which I have enumerated for leaving their employment—that is, for striking—then these judges will issue injunctions. Attention is called to this absurdity, that the doing of the act—that is, leaving work without giving any reason therefor—is held to be a bar to the issuance of an injunction, but that giving any of the reasons cited for striking affords the grounds upon which these injunctions are issued. It follows that it is not for the act—the strike in itself—that judges enjoin, but for the reasons the workmen give for that act.

But what authority had Judge Goff for his action?

The United States Supreme Court said on January 27, 1908, in its decision on the *Adair* case (sometimes popularly referred to as the "Blacklist" case):

"In every case that comes before this court where the protection of the Federal Constitution is sought, the question necessarily arises, is this a fair, reasonable, and appropriate exercise of the police power of the State, or is it an unreasonable, unnecessary, and arbitrary interference with the right of the individual to his personal liberty, or to enter into those contracts in relation to labor which may seem to him appropriate or necessary for the support of himself and his family? Of course, the liberty of contract relating to labor includes both parties to it; the one has as much right to purchase as the other to sell labor."

Again, the court said:

"The right of a person to sell his labor upon such terms as he deems proper is, in its essence, the same as the right of the purchaser of labor to prescribe the conditions upon which he will accept such labor from a person offering to sell it. So the right of the employe to quit the service of the employer, for whatever reason, is the same as the right of the employer, for whatever reason, to dispense with the services of such employe."

I quote again from the same case. "It was the legal right of the defendant *Adair* . . . however unwise such a course on his part might have been, to quit the service in which he was engaged because the defendant employed some persons who were not members of a labor organization." After this ruling, the court emphasized its position by saying: "In all such particulars the employer and the employe have equality of right, and any legislation that disturbs that equality is an arbitrary interference with the liberty of contract which no government can legally justify in a free land."

The court in its final judgment on this case said: "This decision is therefore restricted to the question of the validity of the particular provision in the act of Congress making it a crime against the United States for an agent or officer of an interstate carrier to discharge an employe from its service because of his being a member of a labor organization." And the court decided that the particular provision in the act of Congress was unconstitutional. The court decided that an employer had the right to discharge a man because he was a member of a labor organization. The court decided that the right of that employe to quit the service of an employer for whatever reason is the same as the right of the employer for whatever reason

to dispense with the services of such employe. In short, for the courts to permit to employers the free play of discharge must carry with it the corresponding free action of employes to work or not to work, for any cause or for no cause, as they see fit. This inherent right can not be successfully abridged, either by a legislature or by the Congress. And yet within a period of one month judges of three courts in three separate States—Goff, in New York, against the Garment Workers, August 27, 1910; Richardson in Massachusetts, against the Photo-Engravers, July 29, 1910, and Houghton, in Indiana, against the Machinists, August 27, 1910—issued injunctions and decided that if men leave their employment for reasons justifiable to their judgment it will be acting illegally. This, too, in the face of the highest judicial authority in our land, the Supreme Court of the United States.

### THE "SHIRT-WAIST" STRIKE.

This strike, which to so large an extent occupied public attention in the winter of 1909-10, brought to the consciousness of the nation a recognition of certain features looming up in its social development. These were the extent to which women are taking up with industrial life, their consequent tendency to stand together in the struggle to protect their common interests as wage-workers, the readiness of people in all classes to approve of trade union methods in behalf of working women, and the capacity of women as strikers to suffer, to do and to dare in support of their rights.

The number of women engaged in the shirt-waist strike was at least 20,000. Previous to their going out they had little or no organization. Their employers at first regarded their unexpected cessation from work as nothing more than an affair of a few days, at the end of which they must return to their places in the workshops, defeated, sobered, and ready to accept once more their accustomed routine and disheartening conditions. The employers were mistaken. The girls were willing to go hungry, and many of them did so; they braved the ruffianly police while peacefully picketing, went to imprisonment as a part of their duty to their comrades when sentenced by unsympathetic magistrates, skilfully and energetically aroused a sentiment in their favor in the community, and finally convinced their employers that they had learned the merits of combination for their plainly just purposes. It required twenty-three weeks to work their revolution in the shirt-waist industry, but it was accomplished. The bulk of the 450 shops of the trade in New York signed agreements with the union, and those which held out against formally signing generally accepted the terms for which the union had contended.

Under the agreement, wages were arranged in each shop, there being much variety in the character of the work done in the different shops. For overtime, price and a half and double price scales came into operation, in most cases for the first time. A fifty-two-hour week was established for the industry, even for the non-union shops. A limit of two hours overtime was fixed. As there are about four months in the slack seasons of the year, it is desirable for the union to devise a scheme of extending the working seasons. Abolition of sub-contracting, the establishment of a fixed wage scale, and the maintenance of hygienic work-place conditions are among the union purposes to be noted. It is a matter of congratulation to the women of the country that the organization of the shirt-waist girls of New York is now in good working order as a regular trade union, a local of the International Ladies' Garment Workers of America.

In connection with this subject, attention is called to the fact that after the strike's successful termination one of the employers brought suit against the international and the local union, its members, and several of the public-spirited, non-wage-working women who assisted the girls in the strike. The suit was brought for \$150,000 under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, the complaint as alleged being upon the same lines as that brought by Loewe & Co. against the United Hatters of North America.

### MINERS' STRIKES AND OTHERS.

The members of the United Mine Workers of America at the last regular annual convention of their union declared for an increase of wages and for other improved conditions of their labor. The failure of many of the mine owners to agree with the representatives of the men resulted in a strike in the bituminous regions of more than one hundred thousand men which lasted more than five months. It resulted in the full demands of the men being conceded.

In western Pennsylvania several thousand miners have been on strike for conditions more nearly alike to those enjoyed by their fellow-craftsmen in the region and in the industry. These contesting miners were comparatively unorganized when they entered upon the strike. They became unionized soon after the strike was inaugurated. In view of the drain upon the funds of the United Mine Workers, in consequence of the great strike of a large part of its

membership, that organization could not financially aid these other men to the extent both officers and members desired, yet every possible financial and moral assistance has been rendered. These men have made and are still making a splendid and heroic struggle for better wages and conditions, and for the right to organize for their protection and advancement. It is difficult to understand the awful privations these men, their wives and children, have endured and are enduring in the endeavor to secure to them a standing in their relations with their employers which makes for the consideration and justice to which these workers are entitled. They demand a voice in the determination of the wages, hours and conditions under which they shall dispose of their only possession, their labor power.

Numbers of organizations report that the largest gains and improvements in conditions have been received by conference and agreement.

### **DIRECTLY AFFILIATED LOCALS.**

In regard to the struggles of our directly affiliated local trade unions and Federal Labor Unions, it is to be said that they have been unusually successful. A number have been engaged in protracted strikes, all of them but one proving successful. Even the one lost strike resulted in securing some improvement over former conditions and some relief from the conditions under which the workers suffered before the effort was made. With the experience and aid of our Federation's officers and organizers, these directly affiliated locals have been guided aright, and they have gained many advantages without the necessity of a strike. The fact that these locals have the advice and moral support of our Federation's officers and organizers, and if necessary the financial support of the American Federation of Labor, is regarded by the workers and their employers of sufficient potency to compel respectful consideration of Labor's needs and rights.

In addition to general strikes there have been a number of trade contests in many parts of the continent, but these have been local in character. They have been quite as important as those specifically mentioned, but they have generally been confined to well directed efforts by organized bodies to obtain higher wages, shorter hours, and better conditions. But better than all have been the improved conditions in respect to wages and hours which have been secured by the workers without the necessity of the cessation of labor through a strike or lockout.

In recent years a lesser number of international unions have been formed from directly affiliated unions than has formerly been the case. This is due largely to the fact that the directly affiliated local unions have urged that they are now under the immediate direction and advice of the Federation's officers and organizers, as well as to the fact that the American Federation of Labor has accumulated a considerable fund, to assistance from which they are entitled in times of stress. These benefits together with the prestige they enjoy of direct affiliation to the Federation, are of great advantage to them in dealing with employers—advantages which they declare they would not otherwise have had for a long time. They assert that by reason of the inexperience of their own men when dealing with the industrial interests of their fellow-workmen, and in the administration of the affairs of an international organization, and on account of the time necessary for the accumulation of funds for the promotion and protection of their rights and interests, they would comparatively suffer in the meantime.

In several of the trades there is a sufficient number of organizations to form a national union, and I have endeavored, and our officers should continue to endeavor in the future, to have international unions formed whenever there is a sufficient number of local unions of a trade or vocation to institute such a body. Men learn more by their own experience than by the advice or leadership of others. These unions must be organized into national or international unions some time, and they should begin at the most convenient practical time.

### **CONGRESS—ITS DECADENCE AND RENAISSANCE.**

In establishing the new Nation the great statesmen who reared the structure of our Republic conceived the idea of providing three separate, distinct and co-ordinate departments of government, the legislative, the executive and the judicial. Each of these departments was designed to be within itself absolutely independent of the other, exercising supreme and exclusive jurisdiction in its respective sphere, and yet all were intended to be interdependent.

No similar experimentation with government had ever been attempted in other lands. This new plan was born out of the iron law of necessity. It was ideal in form, although somewhat cumbersome in operation when compared with the monarchical form, which it was designed to replace. The cardinal idea, the thought that inspired all, the intent that riveted the attention of those pioneers, was to show the whole world that no one man was or could ever be wise enough or good enough to control the destinies and the welfare of other men.

That cardinal point must be clearly understood for a comprehension of the basic principles upon which our Republic was founded.

In connection therewith these early pioneers of the new government saw farther than merely exhausting their energies by making protests which were heard around the world; they coupled with those protests one of the most constructive features of self-government. The central thought was that the destinies of the people of the new nation should be left in the hands of the people themselves. For want of better machinery, with which the people might express their will, the old English system of expressing their collective will through representatives, our representative form of government, was established.

For years the fathers wrestled with this great problem of self-government. The spirit that had called forth the sentiments and principles of the Declaration of Independence struggled and contested for a popular government in all that that expression implies. The opposition, fearing to intrust the people with full sway, exerted their greatest efforts to limit the people's power. Yet all agreed upon one point, and that was, that the source of all power, of all new legislation, of every vital principle of law, should rest in the hands of the people through their representatives in Congress; aye, and by a two-thirds vote even over the veto of the President. In short, the Congress, composed of the House of Representatives and the Senate, was charged specifically under the basic laws contained in the Constitution to make provision for revenues and expenditures, to establish a fiscal system, and above and beyond all to form a code of law, in respect to which the executive and judicial branches of the Government were and are required to yield obedience, these branches on this point being not co-ordinate, but subordinate. For example, the executive was granted no authority to create law; the judicial department was granted no prerogative to make law; the law was to be made solely and distinctly by the people's representatives in Congress, and then it was designed that the judicial department should administer the law as it found it, and the executive should execute the law as it was clearly written and interpreted.

If present conditions were not so serious, it would appear absurd that at this late day such a restatement of fact and principle should be found necessary. But flagrant departures from the Constitution in the recent past not only justify but compel criticism and protest. When others who should speak are silent, when others are willing to allow the vital principles of self-government to be either misapplied or betrayed, it is time that the men of labor should speak, directing the attention of their fellow-workers and fellow-citizens to the evils that threaten.

One of the greatest dangers now confronting the people and the people's government is the effort to overrule, to disregard, to treat with contempt that part of the Government nearest the people—the House of Representatives. This is not generally understood, but it is a fact nevertheless, and the character and the composition of the House in the last decade are chiefly to blame. For sake of party, of party harmony; for patronage, or its possible loss; for the sake of a re-election, the members have sat idly by, closed their eyes, refused to listen to the voice of duty, until such weakness has culminated in establishing the custom by Representatives of "holding their tongues" for fear they might lose caste with the Speaker whom they periodically and mechanically elected as their servant, yet to whom they have submitted as their master. For fear they might be considered fault-finders, for fear they might be called "irregular," for fear of their non-appointment on important committees, for fear they might lose the patronage the President has to bestow, they have acted as though paralyzed. Fear! Fear! Fear! Always the ghostly apparition of fear haunts the life of the average Congressman, and while this un-American attitude prevails the privileges, the dignity, the unquestioned prerogatives of legislation, the bedrock basis of constitutional rights, the fundamental requirement of fearless, faithful representation that gave this nation birth—these precious, valued, and holy elements of liberty are being gradually alienated from the House of Representatives by the courts and by the Presidents, and all that is now left of the power of the House is a theoretical recognition by the other departments that the House shall "hold the money bag" and provide revenue for the operation and continuation of the Government. That the House has not availed itself of even this power is current history patent to any observer.

#### HOUSE NEW RULE.

That the American Federation of Labor has made the people's fight its fight was demonstrated in the House of Representatives on June 17, when it adopted the new rule under House Resolution 808, which reads in part as follows:

"Any member may present a motion in writing to discharge a committee from further consideration of any public bill or joint resolution referred to such committee," and "Recognition for such motions shall be in order in which they have been entered . . . and shall have precedence over motions to suspend the rules and shall require for adoption an affirmative vote of the majority of the membership of the House."

Taking advantage of this new rule, that faithful and alert Representative, Mr. W. B. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, on June 24, moved to discharge the Committee on Judiciary from further consideration of H. R. 25188. The number of this bill on the new "Discharge Committee" Calendar is 24.

Special attention is invited to these matters; first, because it indicates progress, and second, because it justifies the American Federation of Labor in its incessant struggle to regain and re-establish a fundamental principle in representative government which has so long been denied the people by Speaker Cannon and his cohorts.

It is therefore confidently expected that the anti-trust and the anti-injunction bills will be discussed by the House of Representatives at the coming session of the present Congress, instead of being smothered by committees, and if the present Representatives and other Congressional candidates have been definitely pledged on these bills during the campaign just closed, it may be reasonably hoped that they will be enacted into law before the close of the next session of the Sixty-first Congress. If so, the fight will have been worth while, and the most important step toward maintaining the original form of true representative government will have been won through the initiative and activity of the American Federation of Labor.

### SUMMARY AND STATUS OF LABOR LEGISLATION.

The following is the summary of legislation passed by the Sixty-first Congress in which Labor is particularly interested:

Amendment to the Employers' Liability Law and the creation of a Commission to inquire into the subject of extending employers' liability and the establishment of compensation.

The law requiring the standardization of equipment, such as ladders, running boards, grab irons, on cars of railroads.

The law requiring common carriers to report to the Interstate Commerce Commission all accidents of whatever character, and the cause.

The law for the better enforcement of the Child Labor Law of the District of Columbia.

The application of the Eight-Hour Law to the construction of government vessels by private contractors.

The establishment of Postal Savings Banks.

The creation of a Bureau of Mining for the investigation of the causes of accidents in mines and their prevention, and the rescue of workmen when accidents may occur.

The following are several of the most important bills pending before Congress, the enactment of which Labor seeks:

The Wilson bill, H. R. 25188. This bill is intended to remedy the injunction abuse and to restore to Labor the rights of which it was deprived through the interpretation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. It is now with the Judiciary Committee. Mr. Wilson offered a motion to discharge the committee from further consideration of the bill. Pending in the House.

The Eight-Hour Bill, H. R. 15441, before the Committee on Labor. Mr. Hughes, of New Jersey, offered a discharge motion so that the bill may come before the House. Pending in the House.

The bill to regulate the labor of convicts, H. R. 12000. Ordered reported favorably by the committee to the House for passage.

The Spight and LaFollette Bill, H. R. 11198 and S. 6155, for the protection of seamen and the prohibition of undermanning of seagoing vessels, and the training of the youth for the American Merchant Marine. Still in committee.

The Locomotive Boiler Inspection Bill, S. 236 and H. R. 9736, 9965, and 10689. Still in committee.

The Forty-Eight Hour Bill, S. 5900, H. R. 19796, being the eight-hour day or forty-eight hour week for Post-office clerks. Still in committee.

Bills to limit and regulate immigration. Before the various committees of the House and Senate. Mr. Gardner, of Massachusetts, introduced a bill requiring the educational test. A discharge motion is before the House.

The Asiatic Exclusion Bill passed the House and is before the Senate Committee.

The creation of a Federal Department of Labor ordered to be reported favorably by the Committee to the House.

H. R. 19546 and S. 3731, are bills to accord to those engaged in the Civil Service the political rights exercised by all citizens. The bills are before the committees of the House and Senate.

S. 4676 and H. R. 2374, being Industrial Education Bills. Before committees.

**H. R. 19718**, providing citizenship for Porto Ricans and other measures in the interest of labor and the people of the island. Bill still in committee.

The bill to secure to the official journals and our fraternal societies the second-class postal rates, **H. R. 22239**, passed the House and is pending before the Senate Committee.

### ANTI-TRUST AND INJUNCTION.

In spite of our best endeavors it seemed impossible to obtain consideration by the House Committee on Judiciary of **H. R. 3068**, or as it was with Labor's advice later reintroduced by Representative Wilson as **H. R. 25188**. The majority membership of the committee was composed of the most docile representatives whom Speaker Cannon could have possibly selected. His ingenuity in his choice of this most important committee was characteristic. It became the object of derision of the Sixty-first Congress. One of its members, Mr. Reuben O. Moon, of Pennsylvania, obeyed orders and introduced "the administration bill" **H. R. 21334**. It was a bill providing legal authority for the issuance of injunctions, an authority which does not now exist. The President at first urged him and the committee to report the bill, but party exigency evidently forbade it. On March 2, 1910, I addressed a letter to Mr. Moon, and not hearing from him in response thereto I sent to each member of the committee an identical letter, inclosing a copy of the letter I had submitted to Mr. Moon. I herewith submit both these letters as an appendix to this report.

To the identical letter I received formal acknowledgments from Messrs. Parker, Nye, Howland, Malby, Carlin, Henry, and Denby, with assurances that the matter would receive their careful consideration. Messrs. Nye and Henry said they would oppose the Moon bill, both in committee and in the House.

President Taft, in an address at Passaic, N. J., on May 9, after discussing the provisions of the Moon bill, said:

"The great difficulty in respect to the matter is that if the bill is reported from the committee and put upon its passage in the House there will be a movement to introduce amendments in accord with the recommendations of the Federation of Labor, by which a jury trial shall be required in contempt cases and boycotts shall be made legitimate. It is feared that if such amendments were proposed they might pass and thus make the bill an obnoxious one. Whether a parliamentary condition can be created which will prevent the submission of such amendments or not is a question that I can not anticipate."

In other words, the President was apprehensive that if that bill which he favors came before the House of Representatives amendments would be offered securing to the workers the rights to which Labor is entitled equal with all other citizens, and that these amendments would be adopted by the House. Further, he hoped that a parliamentary condition might be created to prevent Labor's amendments being brought to the consideration of the House. Of course, it is a misstatement, more than likely an unintentional one, when the President declared that Labor has asked for a jury trial in contempt cases. The President's misinformation upon this subject indicates clearly that he has not understood the provisions of the Wilson bill, **H. R. 25188**. As a reading of the bill will disclose, we have not asked anything of the kind. For convenience, a copy of the bill is made an appendix to this report.

The session being then well advanced, it was found impossible to obtain further attention, but a well organized portion of the House members was prepared to attack the bill if it came up and also to add to it as an amendment the Wilson bill, **H. R. 25188**. This information coming to the President, he relaxed his eagerness to obtain the passage of the Moon bill. He feared that if that bill came before the House the opportunity would come to carry the Wilson bill as an amendment and by that means extend to Labor the legitimate relief for which it has been contending and to which he is aggressively opposed.

It might not be amiss to call attention to an occurrence in the early part of the year which showed an invasion by a court of the prerogative of a legislative branch of the Government and a supine acquiescence and surrender on the part of the House of Representatives. Each house of Congress for convenience conferred upon one of its committees power to pass upon and determine matters which otherwise itself would have to determine. Justice Wright, of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, issued an order to the members of each of these committees of Congress citing them to appear and show cause why a writ of mandamus should not be issued compelling the committees to perform a certain act upon which the committees had discretionary power. The Committee of the House and of the Senate each reported back to its respective chamber, asking for instructions as to the attitude to be taken toward the court. The Senate instructed its committee to disobey the order and not to put in an appearance, and to so notify Justice Wright. The House instructed its committee to make appearance and to answer, thus surrendering its right and independence as one of the legislative bodies representing a distinct arm of the Government, whose deliberations are constitutionally defined to be free from judicial interference. Justice Wright later dismissed the writ



of mandamus on what he termed "its merits," yet the fact remains that by yielding to the court's order the House left the original subject to the discretion of the court, that is, whether the House committee should be compelled to perform an act which might be contrary to the judgment of the committee or the House itself and contrary to the interests of the people. The action of the House established what Justice Wright aimed to secure, the jurisdiction of his court, and therefore the jurisdiction of any court in issuing an order compelling a legislative branch of the Federal Government to perform an act contrary to its will.

In addition, your attention is called to the fact that the writ of mandamus and the writ of injunction differ only in this respect: a *mandamus compels* the doing of an act; an *injunction forbids* the doing of an act. If a court has the right to issue a mandamus or writ to compel the doing of a certain act by Congress or by one of its committees, it follows that the court has also the right to issue an injunction forbidding it to do that same act or to pass some other act. What is of additional interest to Labor is that the Senate in totally disregarding the order of Justice Wright did not incur his wrath; he did not have the temerity to exercise his power and cite the Senate or its committee before him for their refusal to disobey his mandate. If his order was not void, he had the right and the power to punish for contempt through disobedience.

It is not pleasant to be compelled to record such observations and reflections as these relative to a department of government generally considered the most popular, and which is and must always naturally be the closest to the people, but it is useless to wait longer for time to correct these deficiencies, and it is absolute folly to expect that reformation and regeneration will be primarily effected inside the House. To purify and rehabilitate are achievements that must originate with the people themselves, never forgetting that eternal vigilance is essential to secure and preserve that priceless treasure, liberty. The popular branch of the Congress must be restored to its original intent, and our Congressmen must be prompted by the people to exercise their every constitutional right and to jealously conserve their inalienable prerogatives.

If the House of Representatives had exercised the power and the rights with which it was originally endowed, the men of labor would not have occasion to persistently protest against the application and abuse of the writ of injunction in labor disputes. Neither would they be confronted with the confusing interpretations of law which have emanated from our courts in the latter's attempts to link up a trade union with an industrial or commercial trust **DEALING IN THE PRODUCTS OF LABOR.**

For ages before our Government was organized there had been an irrepressible conflict between two distinct forms of government—government of law and personal government, or government by discretion. In the long run civilization has always made progress toward government by law, not court-made law, but law formally enacted by representatives of the people (and at least in theory) with the people's approval.

One of our chief grievances is the tendency of our modern American courts to get away from government by law—statutory law—law enacted by the people through their duly accredited representatives—and to hark back to the old system of personal government, government by discretion, that discretion resting with men; good men, strong men, frail men—Judges.

To submit to such a reaction would be the extreme of folly; it would be equivalent to setting the hands of the clock backward. It would be an admission on our part that the struggle of the Revolutionary fathers was all in vain and that government by the people is a delusion.

We can not, we dare not, permit this tremendous power to be in the hands of any one man or any few men, and we most assuredly must not permit one man, or a small proportion of men, to arrogate to themselves a discretion amounting to dominion over the lives and the liberties of the people. Yet when our courts issue unwarranted injunctions in labor disputes restraining men from persuading, from inducing, from congregating, from soliciting, from speaking, from printing, from performing the simplest acts clearly compatible with the inherent, and inalienable rights of every citizen, or of a number of citizens, the courts have come to assume a power that the Constitution and the laws do not confer upon them, and indeed explicitly deny to them.

Judges must have a substantial basis of concrete law upon which to base their decisions. The Congress must provide this basis; if it has been and still is unwilling or incapable, the people in their might and by the exercise of their constitutional rights must compel the remedy.

The habit of countenancing courts in their invasion of the most sacred rights of man, and then allowing such invasion to be followed because of precedent, no people deserving freedom can long tolerate or, tolerating, can long retain their freedom.

Congress must come to the rescue in an intelligent, courageous, progressive manner and reassert the personal rights of men and lay down definite laws from which the courts may not depart.

In short, the Congress must legislate, the courts must administer, the executive must execute, and the people's will must prevail. When these separate and co-ordinate departments re-establish themselves within their authorized and constitutional limitation and jurisdiction, the dangers of usurpation shall have been curbed and the people shall have set the faces of their servants once more toward the horizon of the rising sun of progress, liberty, and everlasting justice.

We must reassert an old truth in a new way, and herald it broadcast: The courts are made for the people, and not the people for the courts.

Let me close these observations on this vital subject by quoting a guarantee contained in the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780:

"In the government of this Commonwealth the legislative department shall never exercise the executive and judicial powers, or either of them; the executive shall never exercise the legislative and judicial powers, or either of them; the judicial shall never exercise the legislative and executive powers, or either of them; to the end that it may be a government of laws and not of men."

That declaration contains the whole pith of genuine representative republican government. If the Congress and the courts and the executive had observed these first principles there would not now be any need of protest on this issue from the men of labor, who, by reason of their position in and relation to society, must of necessity be the defenders and standard-bearers of true freedom.

### INJUNCTION-CONTEMPT-APPEALS.

It becomes my duty to report to you the status of the injunction issued by the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, as sustained after being modified by the Court of Appeals of that District, and of the contempt case resulting in the sentences imposed upon "Gompers, Mitchell, and Morrison," of twelve, nine, and six months' imprisonment, respectively. The American Federation of Labor directed that such steps as may be necessary be taken to carry both the injunction case and the contempt case growing out of it to the Supreme Court of the United States, in order that we may obtain a decision which shall define Labor's rights in so far as it can be done in connection with these cases.

It is not necessary to burden this report with a repetition of the history of the case. That history may be found in the reports which the Executive Council and I had the honor to submit to the Toronto Convention, printed proceedings of which have been provided here for each delegate.

In compliance with instructions, our counsel took an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States in the Buck's Stove and Range Company's suit for injunction, and they also presented a petition, supported by brief, for the issuance of a writ of certiorari in the contempt proceedings under which "Gompers, Mitchell, and Morrison" were held as guilty of contempt of court for an alleged violation of the injunction and sentenced to imprisonment. The petition was presented to the court November 29, 1909. The petition and brief are so lucid and interesting that I commend them to your consideration and to that of all others interested in this phase of the law. I deemed them of sufficient importance to publish them in the issue of *The American Federationist* of January, 1910. The U. S. Supreme Court took the petition under advisement, and a week later, that is, on December 6, granted the petition. It should be stated that the counsel opposed to us also appealed against the modified injunction of the Court of Appeals, and that after the granting of the writ of certiorari the U. S. Supreme Court directed the two branches of the case to be considered and discussed at the same time.

In consequence of two vacancies in the U. S. Supreme Court, and the general recognition of the prime importance of the principles involved in these cases, it was deemed advisable by our counsel that an effort should be made to have the cases argued before and decided by a full bench. With this view the U. S. Supreme Court agreed at the October, 1910, term and deferred the argument until January 16, 1911.

The origin of these cases was in the dispute between organized labor and the Buck's Stove and Range Company, which, under its old management and policy, sought the injunction and obtained the decree in the contempt proceedings. It is gratifying to report officially that the industrial dispute between organized labor and the Buck's Stove and Range Company was, in July last, adjusted upon mutually honorable terms. The decease of the President of the company, Mr. Van Cleave, gave the opportunity for the new manager of the company to carry out his lifelong policy of friendliness toward and co-operation with organized labor.

And now the opportunity is afforded to disclose the correctness of the position which we took in the contempt proceedings; that is to say, the American Federation of Labor's representatives made earnest efforts to come to an honorable understanding and adjustment of the

matters in dispute between the Buck's Stove and Range Company and organized labor before the company's products were placed on the "We Don't Patronize" list. The negotiations were conducted then, as they were later, by Vice-President Valentine, who, being President of the International Molders' Union, was authorized to make, and did make, efforts to bring about an adjustment. At that time we were not warranted in making public the names of the men either directly or indirectly associated with the company through whom such efforts were made. Since Labor's agreement of last July with the company we feel justified in stating that the efforts were made through Messrs. Hogan and Cribben, the then executive officers of the National Stove Founders' Defense Association, of which the Buck's Stove and Range Company was a member, and Mr. F. W. Gardner, the present chairman of the board of directors of the company. This fact disproves the position taken by Justice Wright when he declared that no such effort had been made by us.

The agreement reached between organized labor and the Buck's Stove and Range Company was published in the September, 1910, issue of *The American Federationist*, and a later agreement in compliance therewith was entered into at St. Louis, September 7, 1910. In connection with the published agreement, attention should be called to the fact that upon advice of our counsel the representatives of Labor requested that those provisions in section four of the agreement by which the company was to withdraw its attorneys from the cases pending in the courts, be nullified. The company readily agreed to our request.

It will be remembered that the counsel opposed to us in the case is retained by the so-called Anti-Boycott Association, and had appeared for the company as a member of that association. Under the old management and policy this was agreeable to both company and association. Our attorneys advised us that if we desired the U. S. Supreme Court to pass upon the principle underlying the judicial controversy, it would be unwise to insist upon the company's withdrawal of its attorneys of record in the case. In view of this fact, and the further fact that the attorneys of record opposed to us are equally with us fully intent upon having these fundamental principles determined by the U. S. Supreme Court, we were glad to avail ourselves of the suggestion of our attorneys, which, as already stated, was cordially acceded to by the company.

However, from any standpoint, it has been the purpose of the American Federation of Labor, ever since injunctions of this character have been issued, to have the U. S. Supreme Court pass judgment upon them. They are fundamental. They strike into the very bottom of the principles of personal liberty and equality before the law. If it were our purpose to avoid the consequences of the assertion of our rights, there has not been a time during these entire proceedings in the last five years when we could not have avoided them. But there had been developed in employers of labor and business men a mental attitude and a condition in which they undertook to deny to the working people of our country rights which are accorded to all other citizens. The issue was clean-cut, and we have been glad of the opportunity to meet it. For years we have endeavored to make this issue before the courts. The dispute with the Buck's Stove and Range Company and the injunction issued upon its petition afforded the desired opportunity. At our own wish, as well as upon the direction of the American Federation of Labor, advantage was taken of this injunction in order that the case might be made full and complete and the issue tested before the several judicial tribunals until it had reached the U. S. Supreme Court. Inasmuch as the opportunity is afforded equally to Labor's opponents, I feel confident that they also will be glad that the questions at issue shall be determined by our highest judicial tribunal.

#### **SUITS AGAINST LABOR UNDER ANTI-TRUST LAW.**

There are three suits for damages now pending in the Federal Courts under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law:

1. Loewe & Co. against the United Hatters of North America.
2. A. Sitomer against the Shirt-Waist Workers and the Ladies' Garment Workers' unions and others, and—
3. C. W. Post against the officers of the American Federation of Labor, the officers of a number of affiliated organizations and the new management of the Buck's Stove and Range Company.

Inasmuch as I have discussed the Hatters' case in the leading article in the March, 1910, issue of *The American Federationist* under the caption of "The Hatters' Case—The Sherman Law—Amend it or End it," and in the editorial, "Labor Organizations Must Not Be Outlawed—The Supreme Court's Decision in the Hatters' Case," printed in March, 1908, issue, and in view of the fact that the Executive Council will deal fully with this subject in its report to this Convention, I deem it but necessary to state that after a trial before the Federal Court

of the District of Connecticut, running from the first Monday in October, 1909, to February 4, 1910, the jury, under instruction of the Judge, awarded damages against the Hatters, the sum being \$222,000, with costs and counsel fees.

In connection with the strike of the shirt-waist makers of New York, a suit was brought under the terms of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law by A. Sitomer against the officers and members of the local union, the officers of the Ladies' Garment Workers' International Union, and a number of humane women who interested themselves in securing victory for the girls engaged in that great contest. Injuries in the amount of \$150,000 are alleged and \$450,000 damages demanded. An endeavor was made to have the defendants in this suit present a comprehensive defense, so that the fundamental principles involved in Labor's contention in regard to the Anti-Trust law may again be brought to the attention of the courts. My hope is that if a defense is made which shall comprehensively and fundamentally bring the cause before the lower courts, and if necessary through the other courts until it shall reach the United States Supreme Court, we may have a full review by the courts and a possible substantial reversal of the decision in the Hatters' case.

Concurrent with the unsuccessful effort of C. W. Post to secure an injunction to restrain Labor from carrying out its agreement with the Buck's Stove and Range Company, he brought suit as a minority stockholder against the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the officers of a number of affiliated organizations jointly with the Buck's Stove and Range Company, alleging \$250,000 damages, and claiming threefold damages, or \$750,000. As a minority stockholder of the company it is the firm conviction of leading members in the legal profession that the suit can not be successfully prosecuted, and yet it has been necessary to be represented by counsel and to put in an appearance. All parties named in the complaint, and who have been served with a process, have conveyed to me power of attorney, as President of the American Federation of Labor, to defend them in the case and to share equally the costs of defense.

In the October issue of *The American Federationist* the matter is more fully stated in an editorial under the caption, "Post—Cheap Mischief Maker." This matter must necessarily receive due consideration at the hands of this Convention and further authority and directions given.

In New Orleans seventy-five workmen were indicted by the Federal Grand Jury under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, because the men authorized a strike in sympathy with fellow-workers engaged in a dispute with their employers.

A few months ago six farmers in Kentucky were indicted, tried, convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, their offense being that they had co-operated to obtain better prices for their product.

Let any right-thinking, liberty-loving American read these cases, the reports of which have been made to the American Federation of Labor conventions, the editorials in *The American Federationist* dealing with these subjects, as well as the grave opinions by high legal authorities which have been published therein, and he will become convinced of the great injustice done to the workers by the interpretation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. By that interpretation its provisions have been extended to the voluntary organizations of the working people, and by it the toilers are and may be mulcted in damages for the exercise of their personal endeavors to protect and promote their own interests. Further, by that interpretation, at the whim, fancy, or pique of a Federal administration, its officers or subordinates may proceed criminally against the men of labor because of efforts they may make in furtherance of a fair standard of wages, hours, and conditions of employment by withholding their labor-power and their patronage. Labor will continue to emphasize its protest against the conception and decision, whether judicial or otherwise, which would place in the same category the trusts and corporations, dealing with material things, the products of labor, and the voluntary associations of men and women, the sole purpose of which is to protect the physical well-being of their members.

Every effort made by the American Federation of Labor and the men of labor, whether political, legislative, or industrial, in the past several years, was not only justified, but necessary to safeguard the right of organization of the toilers. Their safety and well-being are involved. It is the bounden duty of the workers to subordinate political partisanship in the one great effort to which we should concentrate our best energies, to attain the right to organize.

In view of the fact that these matters will be dealt with more fully in the report of the Executive Council, by the proper committee, and later on by this Convention, there is no necessity for more than this brief statement of facts in regard to these subjects.

**HUGHES AMENDMENT—PROSECUTION OF LABOR.**

The President carried his opposition to such an extreme that he exercised the limit of his power, working with all his might and main on June 22 and June 23, to defeat the amendment our friend, Mr. Hughes, of New Jersey, proposed to the section of the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill on June 2, 1910. The section provided an appropriation for the prosecution of the criminal trusts. Mr. Hughes' amendment was as follows:

"Provided further, That no part of this money shall be spent in the prosecution of any organization or individual for entering into any combination or agreement having in view the increasing of wages, shortening of hours, or bettering the condition of labor, or for any act done in furtherance thereof NOT IN ITSELF UNLAWFUL."

An interesting debate occurred on the amendment, as the Congressional Record discloses. The House, in Committee of the Whole, adopted it by a vote of 82 to 52. The bill with the proviso went over to the Senate and after debate was defeated by that body by a vote of 34 to 16.

Because of the disagreement the entire bill was sent to conferees of both houses. They reported to their respective bodies their inability to agree. The majority of the conferees on the part of the House, while obeying the House instructions, opposed the proviso in the House. They were out of sympathy with, indeed were hostile to, the proposition they were supposed to urge on the conferees of the Senate.

On June 21 the House, by a vote of 164 "yeas" to 106 "nays," 12 answering "present" and 119 "not voting," indorsed its former action and instructed its conferees to insist upon the Hughes proviso being retained in the bill.

The Senate again rejected the proviso and the bill again went to conference, Speaker Cannon again naming the majority of the House conferees who were hostile to its enactment.

The situation evidently angered the President as he immediately took the matter into his own hands. He suspended other public business and swept aside every engagement. He called "wavering" Representatives to the White House and insisted upon their active opposition, even going so far as to say that if it cost him the support of every laboring man in the country he would not approve of such a proviso in the law. It is reported that when he learned that the House had receded from its insistence upon the proviso by the close vote of 138 to 130, he made no effort to conceal his great gratification because he had succeeded in defeating Labor to this extent.

Your attention is called to the Hughes proviso. It directed that no money should be expended by the Government in the prosecution of any organization or individual in an effort to increase wages, shorten hours of labor, or bettering the conditions of labor when that effort was "not in itself unlawful." The proviso was important in a declaratory sense. What is the obvious inference from the action of its opponents? None other than that, notwithstanding every action of Labor should be fully within the law, they desired to hold over the heads of the toilers the threatening sword of Damocles—criminal prosecution.

Since the vote taken on June 23, some representatives have said that they would vote for a direct measure to exempt Labor from the provisions of the Anti-Trust Law when it comes before the House. Others have said that they can see no reason why the great corporations should be continually exempted from the law while the labor organizations are subjected to and continually harassed by it. Others, again, have said that they have come to the conclusion that Labor had made possible the fight that had been made and was being made in Congress for the benefit of the whole nation, and that henceforth they intended to make our fight their fight.

**IRRATIONAL ANTAGONISM TO ORGANIZED LABOR'S PROTEST AND PROGRESS.**

There are men prominent in the industrial and political affairs of our country who do not or will not understand the present trend of economic and social development, nor the position which the organized labor movement takes relative thereto, expressing as it does an orderly and rational progress, and they consequently set themselves against the projects and aspirations of the toilers. They will, as a matter of grace, yield a crumb of materiality, yet deny to the toilers the fundamental principle of freedom—freedom to exercise those personal activities necessary in the struggle to work out their own amelioration and emancipation. It is most unfortunate that opponents assume such an attitude of hostility to the growth of the much misunderstood and misrepresented labor movement of our country and our time, and endeavor to circumscribe its activities within such limitations as would deprive its members of their inherent, natural, and constitutional rights.

For what does organized labor contend if not to improve the standard of life, to uproot ignorance and foster education, to instill character and manhood and an independent spirit among our people, to bring about a recognition of the interdependence in modern life of man,

and his fellow-man? We aim to establish a normal workday, to take the children from the factory and the workshop and give them the opportunity of the school, the home, and the playground. In a word, the unions of labor, recognizing the duty to toil, strive to educate their members, to make their homes and lives more cheerful in every way, to contribute an earnest effort toward making life the better worth living, to avail their members of their rights as citizens and to bear the duties and responsibilities and perform the obligations they owe to our country and to our fellow-men.

In the constant struggle, in the struggle of the ages, as well as of our time, the self-same elements of bitter antagonism have been and are now encountered. Labor contends that in every effort to achieve its praiseworthy ends all honorable and lawful means are not only commendable but should receive the sympathetic support of every right-thinking, progressive man. The wheels of industry must not be turned back nor the movements of commerce halted. The industrial and commercial development can not and must not be checked.

Concentration of wealth continues. The tools of labor have been alienated from the toilers. Vast and intricate machinery has supplanted them. The toilers must work. Their economic position in society is changed. They can no longer act as individuals to redress a wrong or to attain a right. They must pool their individual effort for their associated protection and weal, and if the concept of the sovereignty of citizenship is not a meaningless phrase the toilers must in their common effort under modern industrial conditions be accorded the exercise of their rights as citizens, as men, and as workers, to protect themselves from the tyranny which concentrated wealth and industry impose if left unchecked, and wherever necessary to contend against that tyranny and to work for a higher and better opportunity to live and to progress. Judicial decisions and legislative enactments are to be expected in the course of the evolution through which we are passing, but whatever their character the workers in our Republic must be accorded at least the same rights as those enjoyed by the subjects of the monarchy of Great Britain and of nearly every other civilized country.

Because the labor movement in our country is so thoroughly imbued with the consciousness and the responsibility to rationally, naturally, and in an orderly manner work out the great problems of the relations of the workers to society and to the evolution of industry and commerce, and particularly with the necessity to work for a higher and better life for the workers and for common humanity, I regard the attitude of such hostility as I have recalled from men prominent in political and industrial affairs as not only unjustified, but highly prejudicial to the best interest of all our people and particularly dangerous to an orderly adjustment and solution of the economic problems and social difficulties of our time.

In all countries of the civilized world the economic problem is up for discussion, and its solution, gradual, peaceful, or otherwise, is a question of imminent importance. What in many other countries is sought or accomplished by force or the show of force is in our movement undertaken or achieved by the American methods of agitation, education, and organization, and the exercise of the personal rights of man in association with his fellows—rights which must not under any pretense be denied by the subterfuge of injunctions or outlawed by the perversion or interpretation of law.

If the labor movement of America can be outlawed and its normal endeavors in the interests of the toilers and all the deprived stratum of humanity made impossible, the discontent of our people with existing wrongs and their efforts for relief will find their expression in another form, a form perhaps not quite so rational or orderly. On another occasion I have expressed this thought, whereupon malicious opponents have perverted it to make it appear the utterance of a threat. It is not a threat; it is a diagnosis of societal conditions; it is a prediction—a prediction based upon a knowledge of the struggles of the peoples in the past and an understanding of human nature.

The toilers must, for their own safety now and for the future, organize. Their organizations must be accorded the full legal status recognized in all voluntary associations dealing with purely personal affairs and instituted not for profit. In the same degree that these rights are recognized and conceded by present irrational opponents, will the great economic and industrial problems of our time and of the future be rationally, safely, and peacefully solved. Solved they must be at all hazards.

#### EXTENSION OF EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

The experiences encountered were many and varied during the past session of Congress in the effort to obtain effective legislation extending the beneficent provisions of the Federal eight-hour law to all Government employees and employes of contractors and sub-contractors engaged on work for the United States Government. So far as the results obtained with the regular eight-hour bill before the House Committee on Labor are concerned, it is not possible to report any progress, but nevertheless some material progress was made in other ways

toward extending the eight-hour law, in spite of the House Committee on Labor, which was more deliberately and ingeniously packed by Speaker Cannon than ever before. First, he repeated his unfair practice of appointing on the committee eight of the majority party to five of the minority party; second, he appointed a majority of the members from distinctly non-industrial districts, who do not know anything and seemingly care little about the lives and welfare of the workers in congested urban centers; third, he selected several members to serve on the committee whom he knew to be openly hostile to labor—men who spare no pains to show their antagonism to the real welfare of the toilers. In fact the chief aim of the Speaker toward this committee has been to use the Committee on Labor as a mortuary, instead of a cradle, for Labor's hopes and aspirations.

It was not until February, 1910, that the Committee on Labor held its first meeting (long after other responsible committees had got down to work and disposed of considerable public business), and its only proceeding then was to afford an opportunity to Chairman Gardner to vote for his own bill and report it out of committee, but instead of seizing the opportunity he deliberately adjourned the committee meeting over the protest of the other members present, thus making clear his lack of sincerity in behalf of his own bill. The committee met again February 15, and referred the bill to a hostile sub-committee after a motion was defeated on a regular party division (8 to 5) to report it out March 1.

After considerable urging, the committee met again on March 24, when Mr. Madison of Kansas, moved to instruct those interested to furnish the committee by April 8 with written statements or briefs upon the constitutionality of the bill; that time was extended to April 18, and on that date the time was further extended in order to permit hostile interests to furnish additional briefs. I report these proceedings in detail to indicate the subterfuges adopted by the committee in order to prevent any action being taken on this bill.

On April 6 I replied to the committee's request for a brief, affirming the constitutionality of the bill, and protesting against any further policy of delay, but the sub-committee refused to print my letter in the public document containing the briefs. In the meantime, on April 23, I addressed a letter to each member of the committee, reciting in detail the history of the effort to obtain this legislation and furnishing them in substance what I had previously submitted to the sub-committee on the constitutionality of the bill. A copy of my letter to the committee was published in the June, 1910, issue of *The American Federationist*. In addition thereto the attorney for the International Association of Machinists submitted an argument and brief affirming the bill's constitutionality.

Every available influence was used and every possible effort made to secure action by this committee. Many thousands of circulars were sent out by the American Federation of Labor and the International Association of Machinists. Every Member of Congress was deluged with petitions from his constituents. Members were personally interviewed and a substantial majority of both houses committed favorably to the bill, but it was impossible to get action from the committee either of the House or the Senate. The Senate Committee's determined not to meet. Call after call was issued by its chairman, Senator Boral, a member polled by our Legislative Committees the day before and the morning of the meeting, but without avail. The Congressional Committees on Labor are wrongly named. They should be called Committees of Indolence. They are either afraid to labor or afraid of the justice of Labor's demands and unworthily shirk their duty. Nevertheless, progress has been made by dint of some strategy and persistent effort on Labor's part, aided by faithful representatives in the House.

The appropriation bill providing for the construction of revenue cutters was amended by Mr. Hughes of New Jersey, directing the Secretary of the Treasury to construct the vessels in accordance with the provisions of the Federal Eight-Hour Act approved August 1, 1892. The bill as amended passed the House March 2, 1910, and the Senate April 14, 1910.

When the Naval Appropriation bill was before the House April 8, Mr. Fitzgerald of New York offered an amendment requiring the contract for the construction of the vessels to contain a clause making it mandatory for the contractors to observe the Federal eight-hour law of 1892. The amendment passed the House by a vote of 131 in favor to 15 against. The manufacturers' and shipbuilding interests made a desperate effort to persuade the Senate to eliminate this amendment, but the vigorous, persistent work of the American Federation of Labor, with its affiliated organizations, particularly of the metal trades, overcame the opposition. On April 23 I addressed a personal letter to each Senator giving the history of the many endeavors made by us to obtain an eight-hour law covering contractors and sub-contractors doing work for the United States Government, and in it I brought documentary evidence to the attention of the Senators as to the undignified, un-American tactics of opposition employed

by the Fore River Shipbuilding Company of Quincy, Mass. The result was that no opposition was made to the proviso on the floor of the Senate when it passed the bill with the amendment intact.

This eight-hour provision was referred by the Secretary of the Navy to the Attorney-General for an opinion as to the extent of its application. On July 8, he rendered his opinion, in which he said:

"I think it clear that the provision in the Naval Appropriation Act must be construed to apply simply to work done upon the vessel itself at the place where it is built, and not as applying to the manufacture of machinery or other material elsewhere which is to enter into the construction of the vessel. This would limit the provision to work upon the vessel at the shipyard."

This limitation of the interpretation of the Fitzgerald eight-hour amendment as applied to the construction of the vessels authorized by Congress may be in accordance with the letter of the law, but it is not in conformity with its spirit. However, some progress has been made, but we must apply ourselves to the extension of the law until all work done by or for the Government shall, as provided in our bill, come under the operation of an eight-hour workday.

When the Sundry Civil Bill was before the House June 4, Mr. Kendall, of Iowa, twice sought to include eight-hour amendments to apply to contracts provided for in that appropriation bill, but in both cases the amendments were ruled out on points of order and sustained on appeal by the House by a vote of 99 to 61.

Much more could be said upon this important subject, but it must suffice to add that the immediate prospects for eight-hour legislation are brighter now than ever, and if we persistently continue our efforts it will be secured in the very near future.

I make this statement without reserve and predicate it upon these reasons: first and best, our fellow-workers are determined to obtain this legislation; second, the new element aspiring to political preferment is committed to the eight-hour workday on principle as well as policy; third, we have succeeded in breaking the thralldom that has hitherto bound Members of the House of Representatives.

By our incessant efforts, we, the members of the American Federation of Labor, have succeeded in obtaining a larger measure of freedom for our Congressmen. They need not be bound and gagged as formerly. They can command attention; they can get their bills out into the open daylight by means of the new rule adopted June 17, 1910, viz., House Resolution No. 808, referred to elsewhere in this report.

Taking advantage of this new rule, Mr. Hayes, of California, on June 20, moved to discharge the House Committee on Labor from further consideration of H. R. 26984, which is a meritorious eight-hour bill. Its number on the "Discharge Committee" Calendar is 16.

On the same date, Mr. Hughes, of New Jersey, made a similar motion relative to H. R. 15411. Its number on the calendar is 21. Once these bills come squarely before the House, they will use, and Chairman Gardner's vain boast that he is "sitting on the lid to prevent consideration of labor measures" will be finally and forever exploded, and he will be deprived of the perch which could have been his, of being the "father of the eight-hour law."

The discussion and vote in both houses of Congress show clearly that when definite propositions have been before them providing for the extension of the eight-hour workday, favorable action has been taken. The fact stands out clearly that the greatest obstacle to success on this line of action is the failure or refusal of the committees to report the labor and reformatory bills which have been referred to them.

### CHILD LABOR.

The persistency and patience of the organized workers in behalf of the children of the nation are being rewarded.

After years of heroic effort and weary periods of misrepresentation and misinterpretation by the gradgrinds of industry, the goal of ultimate success gradually but surely is being reached.

The child, our nation's most priceless possession, is at last being recognized by society as its most valuable asset.

Some other influential portions of society have at last, after our repeated warnings, continual struggles, and gratifying successes, been convinced that we are right in asking protection for the child. They are taking a leaf from our book of endeavor and aspiration and are now rendering us valuable aid in behalf of better child labor laws. This is as it should be, and as it should have been years ago. If it had been so, our newly discovered auxiliaries could more consistently claim credit they are now appropriating without stint. This is another evidence of the truism, "Nothing succeeds like success."

The period has now arrived when the average Member of a Legislature is proud if he can make a good record on "child labor legislation," and while this inclination prevails it will be



well to press home in every State Legislature the most complete and efficient measures in the interest of the children.

The Ohio law is without doubt the most enlightened and humane. It provides fourteen years as the age limit for employment of children in factories, fifteen years in mines (during school term), and sixteen years in dangerous or unhealthful employments. That State has also enacted a law making eight hours a maximum day's work for children, including girls up to the eighteenth year.

The most essential feature now required in some States is more capable factory inspectors to enforce the child labor laws of the State. These can be obtained if a firm demand is made for them.

We succeeded in having the child labor law of the District of Columbia strengthened during the last session of Congress. Formerly, inspectors were appointed at the option of the District Commissioners. We protested that the duty should be made mandatory, instead of optional. The District of Columbia appropriation bill now contains a provision requiring the detail of two privates of the Metropolitan police for the enforcement of the provisions of the act to regulate the employment of child labor.

Several efforts have been made by persons interested in exploiting the labor of children to have what they are pleased to call "broad and liberal interpretations of the law," but the courts have decided otherwise. The last case, under Judge De Lacy, was decided October 6, 1910, in which he held that the spirit as well as the letter of the law should be strictly observed, saying: "Violators of the child labor law deserve the severest censure. The boys and girls taken from school and play are deprived of their birthright. Those who exploit them should be punished severely." It is not so long ago that when Labor's representatives made similar statements they were denounced as "blatant agitators" "dreamers," etc., but through their righteous endeavors we have lived to enjoy hearing judges, ministers, statesmen, and even politicians, applauded for such lofty sentiments.

Forty-four States now have child labor legislation of some form. In twenty-eight States the working age limit is fourteen years; in ten, twelve years; in three, sixteen years; in two, fifteen years, and in one State (Georgia) ten years. Five States now have a forty-eight-hour week for children; five, a fifty-four-hour week; two, a fifty-five-hour week; two, a fifty-six-hour week; two, a fifty-eight-hour week; twenty-four, a sixty-hour week; two, a sixty-six hour week.

The law should provide that the maximum working hours for minors should not exceed eight hours per day. Uniform State legislation in this regard should be immediately urged.

### LABOR OF CONVICTS.

The chief argument of those who exploit the labor of convicts under the contract system and those who defend the exploiters—for profit to themselves—has been that the convict must be employed during incarceration. This cry, as old as the contract system of convict labor itself, is hypocritical and sophistical. The use of it by profit mongers is an endeavor to place labor in a false position and to cover their own heartlessness and perfidy.

Certainly no thoughtful, humane person, and most assuredly no trade unionist, wants the inmates of our prisons to remain idle. Every one is in agreement that they should be employed. No labor representative has privately suggested or publicly expressed a desire to keep these offenders against society in idleness.

Impositions upon the credulity of the people have always been inspired by the grasping prison-labor contractor and his hirelings. And the sole plea of those who fatten upon the misery and shortcomings of the unfortunates, and those who have successfully thrived upon the cupidity of State legislators, is an imposition.

The convict contract labor system is a curse to the convict, the State, the prison officials the fair employer, the short-sighted merchant, and the honest toiler for wages.

The contract system of prison labor is inhuman, dishonest, and stupid. It is a disgrace to our highly trained scientific twentieth century and a blot upon our boasted civilization. It is deceptively presented to the representatives of a State as a device that will procure ample revenue to reimburse the State for the expense of caring for the convicts, allow the convicts to "earn something for themselves," and of late a more specious but not less transparent claim is made that the "poor convict" is being taught a trade so that when he is released he can procure honorable employment at good wages.

Not one of these statements can be successfully maintained. They fall of their own weight when analyzed. In the first place, the largest part of the profit of the labor of the prisoners under the contract system does not go to defray his expenses to the State. It does not go to the convict himself. It goes to the third party, the contractor who has no interest whatever, either in the welfare of the convict or the interest of the State, other than to add to his

swollen profits from the misfortunes of the criminal. Consequently, no reformation results. The prisoners are not deceived. They know they are robbed. They become hardened and learn to hate society for the crime society permits to be practiced upon them under the name of law.

"The contract system furnishes revenue to the State," say the prison labor contractors and their apologists. Your attention is called to what Mr. Scates confessed at the last hearings before the House Committee on Labor. Said he:

"I speak by the book. I had seven years' experience in the Maryland Penitentiary on the shoe contract. Maryland is one of the few contract States which nets a profit from its prisoners. . . . I know the State made about \$40,000 one year. . . . At that time the contractor divided with his partners. One got \$5,000, another \$10,000, another \$15,000, and he took \$35,000 as his own profit from the Maryland Penitentiary."

The State got \$40,000 and the contractors \$35,000. The contractors got over 70 per cent of the total, nearly two and one-half times as much as the State obtained from the labor of its convicts.

Mr. Floyd, a member of the committee, testified that in his State (Arkansas) the contractors pay the State 50 cents per prisoner per day and then hire them out to the railroads and on the public works of the State for \$1.75 per day. Could any scheme be more venal or more stupid?

The suggestion that men are taught trades in prison under the contract system is ridiculous. They learn how to make shirts and overalls, which is women's employment. They make hollowware, which is now a prison monopoly. They make chairs, and by so doing have driven fair employers and honest wage-workers in that industry out of business. "Your prisons," recently said an eminent English penologist, who, visiting the United States in connection with the International Prison Congress, had concluded a tour of investigation, "are not reformatories. They are factories."

This transparent fraud must be abolished. Convicts must be employed by the State direct on its own account and not on account of the contractor. The State may derive economic, but it must secure social, advantage from the labor of the convict. The first consideration must be the welfare of, and the influence upon, the prisoners during incarceration and after their release; the second, consideration of the free, honest citizen workman, and third, the interest of the State as a financial and political entity.

Prisoners should be employed at useful and practical productive toil. The labor of the States' unfortunates and derelicts should never be exploited for profit and certainly never for the private profit of contractors. Let our States employ their prisoners in the production of the necessities of life, for the maintenance of themselves and the inmates of the other State eleemosynary institutions, or else road building.

The police power of a State undoubtedly extends without question to all laws regulating the health, the morals, and the general peace, comfort, and safety of the community, and is broadly construed to include all laws that promote the general welfare. In no essential can the general welfare of the State be better protected than for the Congress to assure each State of its right of home rule within the confines of the State, so that no State should become without its will the dumping ground for goods made by convicts of other States. The enactment of H. R. 12000, now before Congress, would give the Legislatures of the States the right and power to protect their own citizens from the unfair competition of the contract convict labor of those States which care more for the profits of their prison labor contractors than for their prisoners, and whose only success is the dumping of the products of that labor on other States. Such a law would destroy the arrogant boastfulness of some prison officials, who declare that they can sell their goods against the will and desire of the people of the State in which they dump their unfair products.

The enactment of such legislation, which will mark in fact a progressive growth and outcome of the necessities of an intense economic, industrial, commercial, and social struggle, the American Federation of Labor must bend its best energies to secure from the Federal Congress and State Legislatures.

Several hearings were held by a sub-committee of the House Committee on Labor on the Convict Labor Bill, H. R. 12000, indorsed by the American Federation of Labor, at which our representatives were greatly encouraged and their arguments strongly fortified by many statements of incontrovertible facts presented by influential employers of labor, representatives of national committees on prison labor, attorneys of employers, prison officials, and other penologists. This was a new but gratifying experience, and the representatives of the American Federation of Labor called the attention of the committee to the fact that the presence of such advocates from other walks of life and their corroborative arguments vindicated and justified the contentions made by Labor before this committee for several years past.

The sub-committee was sympathetic; it refused delay or extension of time for further hearings to the opponents of the bill. The hearings closed March 31, and a peremptory order issued that all briefs and written arguments upon the subject, pro and con, were to be in the hands of the committee by April 11. On May 20 the sub-committee reported the bill favorably to the full committee, and on June 17 the full committee agreed to report it favorably to the House, which was done on June 22. Its number on the House Calendar is 294.

On June 24, the chairman reported H. R. 12001, a bill to prevent any officer, employe or agent of the Government from contracting for products in which the labor of convicts entered. Its number on the House Calendar is 299.

Owing to the fact that so much unnecessary delay was caused by the full committee in reporting these bills, and to their unfavorable position on the calendar, it is scarcely expected that any action will be taken on either during the forthcoming short session of the Sixty-first Congress, unless great pressure is brought to bear upon Representatives and Senators. I urge that every effort be put forth in the hope that despite appearances success may crown our efforts before the close of this Congress.

### IMMIGRATION, GENERAL AND ASIATIC.

A veritable flood of bills designed to check immigration was introduced during the last session of Congress.

Even reactionary members of Congress and others who have obeyed every whim of the Speaker in a most docile manner apparently refused to be longer held in check. In response to the nation-wide sentiment they introduced bills tending to regulate and limit the avalanche of immigration of recent years.

These bills have covered every imaginable phase of the subject, such as deportation of felons, of defectives, of the insane and otherwise diseased persons, higher head taxes, illiteracy tests, so-called white slave regulations and prohibitions, Asiatic exclusion, etc.

The House Committee on Immigration held extended hearings upon the several bills and upon the special features contained in the bills, with the result that one act covering deportation and prohibition of white slaves was passed, and another measure, supplementary to the first, prohibiting interstate commerce in white slaves was enacted.

Great interest was manifested among the representatives on the general subject, so much so that it was finally arranged that the House Committee should take a vote on March 14, 1910, on the propositions to increase the head tax and establish an educational test for immigrants, but when the committee was convened for that purpose it was found impossible to reconcile the contending factions, so it was finally agreed to defer any further legislation until the next session of Congress, awaiting the report of the Immigration Commission, which has been ordered by Congress to make its complete and final report by December 1, 1910.

Later on Representative Gardner, of Massachusetts, moved to discharge the Committee on Immigration from further consideration of his bill, H. R. 15413, requiring an educational test for immigrants. Its number on the "Discharge Committee" Calendar is 24.

### ASIATIC EXCLUSION.

Representative Hayes, of California, was active in his endeavors to obtain practical and effective legislation excluding Asiatic immigrants. He succeeded in obtaining the passage through the House, on May 2, 1910, of an amendment to section 2169 of the Revised Statutes.

The Hayes bill, H. R. 24993, which passed the House as an amendment to the Revised Statutes, declares specifically which foreigners shall be eligible to citizenship in the United States, and by omitting Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Hindoos, and Malays consequently denies them the right of naturalization. The bill is now pending before the Senate Committee on Immigration.

In the meantime Mr. Hayes followed this success by pressing another bill, H. R. 20379, as an amendment to section 2 of the present immigration law by adding the following:

"That the following class of aliens shall be excluded from admission into the United States:

... Persons who, under the provision of section 2169 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, are ineligible to become citizens of the United States, unless they are merchants, teachers, students, or travelers for curiosity or pleasure."

Representatives of the American Federation of Labor consulted with Mr. Hayes on this line of procedure and aided him in pressing these measures. The latter bill was reported out of committee on February 10, 1910, and is No. 86 on the House Calendar. It is confidently expected that if these two measures can be enacted into law, Asiatic emigration to the United States will be effectually prevented.

## EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY-COMPENSATION.

Thirty-seven States have enacted some form of employers' liability law, very few of which, however, have been interpreted favorably for the workers by the courts. This is to be accounted for largely because the courts have clung tenaciously to certain former precedents, arising out of peculiar judicial reasoning, which have at times been referred to as the "unholy trinity," viz, the "assumption of risk," "contributory negligence," and "fellow-servant" rulings. As if these obstacles were not enough to offset a workman's claim for damages, another method has been devised, which the courts have duly recognized as affording grounds valid and sufficient to prevent an injured employe from obtaining an award for damages. This cunning device has been to induce—manifestly in the last analysis through coercion—an employe when arranging for employment to sign a contract "waiving his rights," or his widow's and orphans', to sue for damages in case of injury or death during employment.

The following States have abrogated the defense of "fellow-servant" responsibility, either for general employments or in particular industries (usually transportation): Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma (by constitution), South Dakota, Texas, and Wisconsin. The Colorado law is the most notable example. It completely eliminates the defense of the "fellow-servant" rule in all employments, and upon a test case being made (in *Vindication Mining Co. vs. Firstbrook*, 36 Colo., 496) it was upheld as constitutional. To the credit of organized labor, this humane measure was introduced in the Colorado Legislature and pressed to a successful enactment by a trade unionist member of the General Assembly.

In California, Mississippi, Ohio, Oregon, South Carolina, Utah, Virginia, the "fellow-servant" rule is modified without being abrogated.

Several States have enacted legislation modifying the old common law rulings of "assumed risk." Others have modified the rulings of "contributory negligence" to what is more euphemistically termed "comparative negligence," but such tinkering and trifling with measures of such grave import to the workers in industry is but transparent pettifoggery. Just, humane, positively affirmative and effective legislation must in honor and duty be enacted by the States and by the United States. All legislation on identical subjects should be uniform among the States, but, pending the time when that desirable end can be reached, it is essential that legislation dealing with the important subject of employers' liability should be uniform among the States, not only uniform in technique, but uniformly good—effective legislation that will forever abolish the antiquated, barbarous, so-called common law defense known as "fellow-servant" rule, "contributory (or comparative) negligence," and "assumption of risk," as well as the waiving of rights. If any reason ever existed for these circumscribed rules, formulated by judges, the time has long since passed when they should be applied.

The modern use of steam power, electricity, compressed air and explosives, often under control of men who fail to understand their nature, and whose routine duties make them so accustomed to danger that they fail to realize it, has made it utterly impossible to protect society against the weakest of all human agencies, viz, the failure or forgetfulness of the human factor. Then also must be considered the dangers to life and limb in the operation of fast-driven intricate machinery as well as the accidents due to the massing together of great numbers of workers in modern industry.

The stubborn resistance of corporations, common carriers, mine owners, and other employers to the most moderate laws for the protection of human beings from injury, and their general reluctance to provide protection through their own volition, ought to convince reasonable and fair-minded legislators that true justice demands an expansion of the law, with more humane interpretation of it on the part of judges, instead of there being, as the court reports in many of the States now so amply record, a studied effort to restrict the law and apply new exceptions to it, to prevent the allowance of damages for the injured and killed workmen in industry.

Seemingly the American public has just awakened to the fact that of all civilized countries of the world, Turkey and the United States are the only two left that still cling to the old common-law doctrine of liability with respect to industrial accidents. This awakening will force upon the workers of the United States some kind of workmen's compensation legislation, and unless Labor takes an active part in the movement its interests in regard to this will not be properly safeguarded.

Industry must bear the financial burden of accidents to the human being, exactly as it does now in case of accidents to machinery or to other property.

The organized workers are thoroughly aroused on this subject, and in several States, notably New York, Minnesota, Ohio, New Jersey, Washington and Illinois, commissions have

recently been appointed to deal with it as an all-important life-conserving measure. Life-conserving is the true title, because if it becomes too expensive to the employers to maim and kill employes in industry, more and better safety devices and measures will be speedily adopted to prevent the massacres rather than cure the patients or pay money for injuries.

Through the instrumentality of the organized workers an "automatic compensation act," passed by the Congress May 30, 1908, took effect August 1, 1908. It granted to certain employes of the United States engaged in hazardous occupations the right to receive compensation from the Federal Government for injuries sustained in the course of their employment. On June 25, 1910, Congress passed a joint resolution providing for the appointment of a commission to investigate the subject-matter of employers' liability and compensation to workmen for injuries sustained during employment, with instructions to report to Congress through the President December, 1911. This commission is composed of United States Senators William Warner, of Missouri, and C. J. Hughes, of Colorado; Representatives W. G. Brantley, of Georgia, and Edwin Denby, of Michigan; Daniel L. Cease, editor of the *Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen's Journal*, and W. C. Brown, President of the New York Central Railroad. The commission held its first meeting in Chicago October 22.

The Employers' Liability Law (applicable to common carriers by railroads in interstate commerce only) approved April 23, 1908, during the few months of its operation has been found to be defective because of certain rulings by the courts. The courts held, first, that an injured employe could only bring suit when the defendant railroad company could be found, that is—the headquarters of the company; second, that in case of death, either before suit for damages was instituted or during pendency of suit, the right of action did not survive to the benefit of the widow and children or other dependents on the deceased employe; third (by the Supreme Court of Connecticut in the case of *Hoxie vs. The New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company*), that the State court had no jurisdiction. In the latter case the court went further and declared the act unconstitutional after rendering a decision bristling with all of the old out-of-date and cruel exceptions common to courts in such cases.

All of these defects were corrected by an act passed during the last session of Congress. The organized labor movement, comprising the American Federation of Labor and Railroad Brotherhoods, is entitled to the credit of presenting all of the above-mentioned measures to Congress and pressing them to a successful passage.

#### DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

Very interesting hearings were held on May 25 and 26 before a sub-committee of the House Committee on Labor, in support of H. R. 3046, by Mr. Sulzer, Representative in Congress from New York, which provides for a Department of Labor with a Secretary at its head, to be a member of the President's Cabinet. No one appeared before the committee in opposition, and the committee expressed itself as being in favor of the general principle contained in the measure. On June 14 the sub-committee reported the bill favorably to the full committee, with the recommendation that Chairman Gardner redraft the bill so as to provide for an enlarged scope of activities for the proposed Department of Labor. The full committee accepted the report of the sub-committee and on June 17 decided to report the bill favorably to the House when redrafted, but in spite of many urgent requests made to Chairman Gardner he failed to report it before Congress adjourned.

Many Members of Congress seem to be favorably inclined toward this proposed "Department of Labor," and it is within reasonable possibilities that the administration will favor it and urge its early passage. Continued demands, with pressure from the ranks of organized labor and other broad-minded citizens in behalf of this measure, are sure to meet with favorable response and action.

The hearings and arguments on the bill to create a Department of Labor are printed by Congress as a public document. Copies can be obtained without cost, by citizens or organizations, upon application to the Congressmen of their respective districts. The matter contained in the hearings is of great interest to all labor.

#### INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.

Conservation is one of the topics uppermost in the mind of the American public today, but there is one phase of conservation which is not receiving the attention which it deserves; I refer to the *conservation of the brain and brawn of our American youth*. Our school systems are giving only a one-sided education; the boy may go to school and prepare himself for professional or commercial life, or he may drop out of school and enter a trade with no particular

preparation and become a mediocre workman. Training of brain and muscle must go together for the complete preparation of men.

While the public schools and colleges aim only at teaching professions, the greatest need of America, educationally, is the improvement of industrial intelligence and working efficiency in the American youth. We need an educational uplift for the work of the boy who will work with his hands, and we not only need to give an educational uplift to craftsmanship, but the school needs the help of the workman and his better work in education. We should realize better the interdependence between our common education and our common industries. This can be effectuated only by a system of industrial schools, differentiated from the manual training schools, which shall actually train workmen for the trades and at the same time give them a broader mental culture.

In accordance with a resolution passed by the Toronto Convention, a committee was appointed to confer with Secretary Nagel of the Department of Commerce and Labor and with Commissioner Neill of the Bureau of Labor, to present the request of the convention that the United States Department of Commerce and Labor investigate the entire subject of Industrial Education. The committee, consisting of Vice-Presidents Mitchell and O'Connell, Secretary Morrison, and myself, conferred with Secretary Nagel and Commissioner Neill December 20, 1909, and after an exhaustive discussion of the matter in all its phases it was agreed that an investigation was desirable to all interests concerned and should be undertaken within the year. The investigation was begun April 8, 1910, and is now nearing completion.

From my observation and information it is evident that the investigation comprehends a thorough and exhaustive study of all schools in the United States which are giving real trade or vocational training—that is, training which will fit a boy (or girl) wholly or in part for a trade or vocation.

The interest of organized labor in industrial education has always been progressive as in contrast to the employers' interest. For five years the employers in associations have been talking, but they have made little progress. The trade unions have talked, but they have also accomplished something. A special committee made a deep study of industrial education and has reported. That report we published and it has had a wide circulation. Action upon the report has been taken by us. The Federal investigation, as already shown, was brought about through the efforts of organized labor.

In pursuance of the recommendation of your Committee on Education, Labor's bill for congressional action was drafted. This Vocational Education Bill, better known as the Dolliver bill, was introduced by the late Senator Dolliver, and through the efforts of your committee was put upon the calendar.

The bill provides for educational co-operation with States, and consists of five parts; (1) (sec. 2) Providing \$5,000,000 for instruction in the trades and industries, home economics, and agriculture in the city high schools; (2) (secs. 3 and 4) Providing \$5,000,000 for State district agricultural high schools and branch experiment stations; (3) (sec. 5) Providing \$1,500,000 for extension departments in the State colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts; (4) (sec. 6) Providing \$1,000,000 for the preparation by State normal schools of vocational teachers; and (5) (secs. 7, 8, and 9) Providing \$70,000 for the administration of these funds and for assistance to the States by the Departments of the Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce and Labor.

Prior to 1910 employers announced themselves willing to indorse the Davis bill provided the words "Trade Training" be substituted for "Manual Training." The proposed legislation comprehends training for "Trades and Industries," but subsequent action (or lack of action) by employers would suggest only a transient interest on their part in the promised Federal legislation. They were not even sufficiently interested to attend the hearings on the Vocational Education Bill before the Senate Committee.

Taking advantage of the new committee discharge rule, Hon. Charles R. Davis, Representative from the Third District of Minnesota, on June 20 (only three days after the adoption of the rule by the House) moved to discharge the House Committee on Agriculture from further consideration of the bill (H. R. 20374) and for the House to consider the bill directly. This action by Mr. Davis will undoubtedly bring this bill before the House at an early date when Congress convenes for its next session, and there is scarcely a doubt that the House will give this very essential and progressive legislation favorable consideration.

The fact that industrial education, like academic education, is becoming a public function and that it should be paid for by public funds is fast gaining supporters. At a recent meeting in Indianapolis the department of superintendents of the National Education Association placed on record its approval of the general plan, and especially emphasized the desira-

bility of enlarging the work of the Federal and State Departments and Bureaus which have to do with public education. But most significant is the following declaration by that organization:

"That the department, while heartily approving every agency that may be used to advance the educational interests of both States and Nation, places itself on record as disapproving any appropriation made by either legislatures or Congress for any institution which is not supported exclusively by public funds and which is not subject to complete Federal and State control and investigation."

May 6, 1910, at a joint meeting of the American Education and Co-operative Farmers' Union and the American Society of Equity, the following resolution was passed:

"Resolved, That we approve the provisions of the Dolliver Vocational Education Bill, which provides national funds for the establishment of rural high schools to be administered by State authority, and earnestly urge members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives to favor this bill."

In the death of Senator Dolliver the cause of industrial education has lost one of its ablest and most enthusiastic supporters. Late in December, 1909, the representatives of the American Federation of Labor and a representative of the farming interests conferred with the Senator for the purpose of interesting him in the matter of vocational education, and for the specific purpose of having him introduce a bill in the United States Senate making provision for legislation covering this general subject. On its being explained, he expressed himself emphatically in favor of the proposed legislation, and he introduced the bill on the reconvening of Congress after the holiday recess. In addition it is only just to say that Senator Dolliver in the last years of his life realized the great humane cause which the labor movement espoused. On one occasion, a few months before his demise, he declared that the labor movement is the most potent force to secure the present day needs of the people and to work out the great problems for the future, adding, "God being willing, in the future Labor's fight will be my fight."

#### SECOND-CLASS MAIL RATES.

In accordance with instructions of the Toronto Convention (Resolutions Nos. 6 and 71), every effort was made to have Congress amend the postal laws to allow trade union publications to carry advertisements and to permit the membership to subscribe for these publications through the monthly per capita tax or dues paid by the members. Suitable bills were prepared and introduced in the House by Representative Dodds, of Michigan, and in the Senate by Senator Owen, of Oklahoma.

Extended hearings were held by the House Committee on Post-Office and Post-Roads, at which representatives of the American Federation of Labor united with the representatives of the Railroad Brotherhoods, the National Fraternal Congress, and the Associated Fraternities, in behalf of the purposes embraced in the bill H. R. 22230, which was suitably amended to cover every detail and to embrace all interests. It was reported out of the committee June 2 and passed by the House without opposition June 6, 1910. The bill then went to the Senate, and every effort was made there to get the Senate Committee on Post-Office to make a report upon it. Thousands of petitions were sent to the Senators and many interviews held with the members of the committee, but because the Chairman, Senator Penrose, was absent, no meeting of the committee could or would be held by its other members, and consequently no action was taken by it on the bill.

Outside of the Post-Office Department no definite opposition has been made apparent, and when the Postmaster-General, Mr. Hitchcock, was interviewed on the subject by members of the Executive Council, he agreed not to press the departmental rulings pending the outcome of the anticipated legislation or until reasonable time was allowed international organizations to adjust their laws requiring personal subscriptions for the publications.

#### INSURANCE LAWS AND TRADE UNIONS.

In March last the Commissioner of Insurance of South Carolina notified the General Office of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America that that organization comes within the scope of the insurance laws of the State and that it was required to take out a license in order to do business in the State. Correspondence being unsatisfactory, Mr. Frank Duffy, Secretary of the Brotherhood, and Mr. D. F. Fentherston, one of its organizers, proceeded to Columbia, S. C., and held a conference on the subject with Insurance Commissioner McMaster. They informed him that the Brotherhood is a labor organization, a voluntary, unincorporated association, not paying insurance in any form, merely making an allowance of a funeral benefit, to provide decent burial for deceased members. A copy of the constitution of the Brotherhood was submitted to him, with the list of its various trade union purposes and the sections governing the payments of benefits marked. In reply the Insurance Commissioner informed the labor representatives that he adjudged the Brotherhood fraternal, rather

than otherwise, it having a restrictive method of gaining admission to its meetings, with its own form of transacting business. Coming under the head of fraternal associations, it must be governed by the provisions of the act recently passed by the Legislature of that State for the regulation and control of such bodies. Not being classed as an insurance organization, and not falling under the provisions requiring either a deposit or a bond, the Brotherhood's sole financial qualification to do business in the State would be attainable by taking out a license from the Commissioner at a cost of \$25 a year. Without a license the organization could have no standing and would be prohibited from doing business in the State. Further, under the law in its present provisions, the Brotherhood must show that it admits members of one race only (the Commissioner admitting that on this point the law would require remodeling); and it must file an annual financial statement, giving its income with the sources thereof, its expenses and for what purposes, its assets, money invested, indebtedness, etc. Among the additional requirements was registration with the Commissioner of each organizer, person, agent, or representative going into the State to do business for the organization, neglect of which rendered the person soliciting membership liable to a fine of \$100 or imprisonment for thirty days. A similar fine or imprisonment might be inflicted for neglect to comply with any other provision of the act.

The Commissioner warned the Brotherhood's representatives not to solicit new membership in the State until complying with the law and holding a license. In reply, they informed him that the General Executive Board, which was to meet in July, would take up the question, and that the entire matter would be placed before the Annual General Convention, which was to take place in Des Moines, Iowa, in September. The Commissioner cautioned the representatives against admitting new members in any of the local unions of the State in the meantime. This means that the work of organizing is forbidden in the State until a license should be procured. At a meeting of the Brotherhood's General Executive Board the General President was instructed to procure a license from the South Carolina Insurance Commissioner and also to communicate with the President of the American Federation of Labor, and with the labor organizations similarly affected as the Brotherhood, asking that joint action be taken to have the insurance laws of South Carolina and of the various States modified to such an extent as to exempt from the operations of laws never intended to cover them—the voluntary organizations of labor.

In connection with this subject your attention is called to the fact that in several States discriminatory laws have been enacted against labor organizations at the instance of insurance companies organized for private profit. The companies realize that in the voluntary co-operative effort of trade unions to protect their membership against the vicissitudes of life the greatest benefits result to the membership, and that the work is done at a minimum cost and with the avoidance of red tape and circumlocution.

It is recommended that this Convention make further declaration on this question, directing that such assistance be continued to be rendered and such further action be taken as to protect and promote the rights of organized labor in the humane work in which our trade unions are engaged.

### OKLAHOMA CONSTITUTION.

The railroads and other vested interests early this year undertook to have the excellent constitution of Oklahoma changed in their own interests. The effort was unsuccessful. An energetic campaign was carried on by the organized wage-workers and farmers to prevent the proposed amendments being adopted. The Oklahoma State Federation of Labor, together with Organizer M. Grant Hamilton, representing the American Federation of Labor, carried on a vigorous campaign throughout the State. Besides the railroads and other vested interests favoring these amendments, the Railway Employees and Investors' Association had agents in the field advocating their adoption. The representatives of the Oklahoma State Federation of Labor and the representative of the American Federation of Labor, as well as the advocates of the amendments, appeared before the Governor of the State at the same time and debated the provisions contained in the amendments. As a consequence of this joint meeting the Governor of Oklahoma issued an open letter against the amendments. I issued a letter to the workers and farmers of Oklahoma urging them to perform their duty and defeat the amendments. The letter was reproduced and largely circulated throughout the State. There is no question but that the assistance rendered by the American Federation of Labor and the State Federation materially aided in arousing the people to the serious situation so that they cast their vote and encompassed the defeat of the amendments. The proposed amendments were submitted to a referendum vote of the people of Oklahoma on June 10, with the result that they were defeated by almost 40,000 majority.



**CONSTITUTIONS—ARIZONA AND NEW MEXICO.**

On June 20, 1910, an act that had passed Congress granting statehood to Arizona and New Mexico was approved by the President of the United States. In passing this bill Congress evidently had in mind the constitution adopted by Oklahoma and the provisions therein relative to the initiative, referendum, right of recall, and particularly that clause in that constitution upon the issuance of injunctions. It must have been the evident fear of Congress that the constitutional conventions in both of the new States might adopt similar provisions, and therefore it embodied in the act granting statehood to New Mexico and to Arizona the following conditions:

"That when said constitution and such provisions thereof as have been separately submitted shall have been duly ratified by the people of New Mexico as aforesaid a certified copy of the same shall be submitted to the President of the United States and to Congress for approval, together with the statement of the votes cast thereon and upon any provisions thereof which were separately submitted to and voted upon by the people. And if Congress and the President approve said constitution and the said separate provisions thereof, or, if the President approves the same and Congress fails to disapprove the same during the next regular session thereof, then and in that event the President shall certify said facts to the Governor of New Mexico," etc., etc.

The elections in both the proposed new States for delegates to the constitutional conventions have been hotly contested, centering around the plank calling for the initiative and referendum and right of recall. In each State the Democratic platform advocated this plank, the Republican platform opposed it. In Arizona a majority of the fifty-two delegates elected to the constitutional convention were elected on a platform pledging them to incorporate this plank in the constitution. New Mexico elected a majority of Republicans to the convention, five-sixths of whom are opposed to the initiative and referendum, while the measure is favored by all the Democrats, the minority. The New Mexico constitutional convention, however, adopted a provision by which the entire judiciary is to be elected by the people.

I have endeavored to be of assistance to our fellow-citizens in the two new prospective States so that they, like Oklahoma, may start aright in statehood. We should all endeavor to be of such further assistance as is possible in this direction.

The subject of the initiative and referendum has also been under consideration in other States and in the city of Denver, Colo. The State of Arkansas voted upon this proposition in its late election, giving it a splendid majority. In Denver, after an intense and exciting campaign, in which "the interests" were arrayed against any really progressive legislation, the initiative, referendum and recall were established on a popular vote.

**OREGON.**

Of all the States in the Union, Oregon has taken the most advanced ground in the establishment of the people's rule. There they have the initiative and referendum, the recall, the direct primary, and the corrupt practices act as well as the election of United States Senators by direct instruction of the people. Recently, however, the old and almost discarded political bosses, acting at the behest of "the interests," attempted to swing the people back to the old condition of bossism through the manipulation of party conventions, where they could corral, coerce and dominate, despite the people's will. In conformity with the declarations of our Federation upon this subject, I have deemed it my pleasurable duty on all occasions to render such assistance as lay in my power so that the people of that State might retain the splendid vantage ground they have achieved. In connection with this, your attention should be called to the masterful address delivered by Hon. Jonathan Bourne, Jr., in the Senate of the United States, May 5, 1910, giving a clear and concise exposition of the admirable form of government in Oregon, which should prove an example and an incentive to the toilers and to the people generally in extending its principles to our entire system of government, Federal, State and municipal.

**LABOR'S PRACTICAL POLITICAL ACTION**

Some of the fruits of organized labor's participation in the political activities of the States and the Nation are coming to the surface.

We who have been conscious of what has been and what is being accomplished have had the gratification of witnessing the fact that other influential sections of society have also seen fit to make some effort to cleanse politics of contaminating influences.

Since the American Federation of Labor has taken a more active part in the political affairs of the Nation, we have had the satisfaction of removing from office many bitter opponents to Labor's advancement, which includes and implies the advancement of the interests of the whole people.

We have curbed the sordid, self-seeking agents of predatory interests—now somewhat softened by the new title of "big business." We have seen Mr. Cannon, the most potent evil influence against the people's rights and interests, stripped of his autocratic, arbitrary power as Speaker of the House of Representatives. We have seen the Rules Committee of the House reconstructed and reformed so that it shall respond to the will of the majority rather than be the pliant tool of "the interests" under domination of Speaker Cannon or any future Speaker of a like caliber and make-up.

When we said in the now historic "Bill of Grievances," which we submitted to the President, and to the chief representatives of both houses of Congress in 1906, that unless the rights to which Labor is entitled were accorded by legislation we should appeal from the Representatives in Congress "to the conscience and the support of our fellow-citizens," the declaration was jeered at by those at that time entrenched in power in the House, and we were damned from Dan to Beersheba by the penny-a-liners who scribble for a hostile press as being dictators to Labor and scheming to "deliver the Labor vote." But their rantings were in vain. Their efforts to hold the workers of America in mental servitude to party idolatry and party slavery have been abortive. The militant organized wage-workers have been so aroused, and the appeals to the people on the ground of humanity, liberty and justice rewarded with such manifestations of accord and co-operation, that success now appears on the horizon. Our achievements in both the industrial and political fields, especially during the year now closing, warrant the justification of our brightest hopes and the prediction of greater successes as time goes on.

Passing, as we are, through the gravest crisis ever faced by the workers in the history of this country, Labor has not faltered. It has not abated one tittle of its activity. It has not hesitated in the face of the most trying circumstances to stand loyally, faithfully, and tenaciously for the rights of the toilers, for the rights and liberties of all the people.

When we pledged ourselves to exert every possible legitimate effort to secure for the workers their inalienable liberties as a vital portion of the fabric of our civilization, a new declaration of human rights was recognized by our associates, and when we further pledged our fealty to carry on this work until every industrial and political right of the workers shall be guaranteed its permanent place and sphere of usefulness in the progress of our country, we challenged our opponents to try to prevent the achievement of these aspirations—if they dared.

Today we are standing on the threshold of successful accomplishment. By the persistency of our endeavors in the interest of human welfare we have shaken the crafty and the greedy out of their position of confident self-assertion and converted them into apologists before their fellow-citizens.

A great majority of the public news-venders have conspired to keep silent on our extraordinary political successes in California, Washington, Oregon, Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, New York, Maine and elsewhere throughout the country. They ascribe a thousand and one fictitious reasons for the uprising of the people. Anything and everything in their eyes has been responsible except the one real cause.

When so many elements, through their common interests, tacitly or by agreement try to suppress or pervert the truth, and thereby to keep the people in ignorance as to the most potent factor which has caused the important political upheaval and the legislative reforms in recent times it would be a false modesty, a modesty which is not a virtue, it would be wasteful and wrongful, did not organized labor claim the just credit due it after the years of struggle and sacrifice which the toilers have undergone to bring about these achievements; achievements in the cause of a progress which is but at its beginning. Labor—militant organized labor—owing allegiance to no political party or formulated partisan creed, inspired the revolution of independent political thought and action and with practical aims called upon the people to claim their own.

The political defeats that have taken place this year in districts and States which can be named, whereby many of our opponents have been consigned to political oblivion, have demonstrated beyond all quibble what element was responsible and hence is deserving of credit for the upheaval. The wholesale overthrow of the legislative and political jugglers with the people's rights and interests can unerringly be traced to organized labor's appeals to the people to defend their common interest and precious rights.

In this day of reckoning which has arrived I am firmly convinced that the American Federation of Labor is most directly responsible for the strength of the aroused indignation of an offended and aggrieved nation.

In this great awakening our men of labor have brought forcibly to the attention of the rest of our people the evils with which we have contended and still have to contend. We protest and shall protest against the abuse of the injunction writ by the courts—against being denied the manifest and fundamental right of equality before the law. We have been denied

our constitutional rights of free speech and free press; we have suffered under laws primarily enacted to regulate and control great combinations of capital which have been interpreted to apply to the voluntary organizations of working people. We have so forcibly called these grievances to the attention of the public mind that we are now meeting with an unmistakably sympathetic response. If Labor will but maintain the vantage gained and persistently pursue the course it has adopted, it will not only effectively prevent any reaction or possibility of returning to the old basis of injustice and misrepresentation, but it will also steadily advance toward the goal of justice and freedom, the consummation of Labor's aspirations.

We must never forget—never forget the men and their associates who did their utmost to reduce Labor to a bargain-counter commodity; never forget that the courts were made for men and not men for courts; never forget that legislators for State or Nation are but the representatives of the citizens, in duty bound to enact such laws as shall make secure the freedom of all our people and be in furtherance of their rights and interests.

In connection with this subject of injunctions your attention is called to the high legal authorities quoted in the letter to Mr. Moon and which is an appendix to this report.

Attention is also called to the report of the Labor Representation Committee to the Executive Council which will in turn be submitted by the Executive Council as part of its report.

### LABOR'S RIGHTS AND ITS ECONOMIC POWER.

Essential to the welfare and independence of the masses is the free exercise of certain of their rights and powers in the economic field. This truth becomes clear to our minds when we consider it as applied to the individual possessing those rights and powers. Let a man have the right to decide when he is to work or is not to work, and let that decision be backed by his power to keep himself from being obliged by immediate necessity to offer his labor to an employer, and the consequence must be that he will not sell his labor-power until the terms offered him are the best that the industry can warrant. Similarly, when a number of associated persons may freely decide as to whether they shall work or not, and uphold that decision, they have in their hands the economic power to secure to themselves from the products of industry a share restricted only by industrial success.

In the mere statement of the conditions indicated by my words there are suggested the reasons why Labor is compelled in present circumstances to engage in the political struggle. It is, in a word, in order to set itself free.

Labor is bound by the fetters of unjust laws. It is Labor's task to break those fetters one by one. The first to be removed are necessarily those which are the most painful, binding, and destructive of Labor's rights and powers.

There must in justice be no law, formulated by judge or lawmaker, which can deprive a wage-worker of his own exclusive ownership of himself, or, in other words, of those rights over his own labor-power which are guaranteed by the Constitution and the concepts of liberty implied in the fundamental principles of our Republic.

There must be no law which can deprive the laborer of his right over his power to purchase or to refrain from purchasing whatever is legitimately on sale in the community.

There must be an end to the untenable doctrine that a right pertaining to an individual singly becomes a wrong when exercised by him in combination with other individuals legally enjoying the same right singly.

These examples illustrate points at which the labor movement comes into contact with politics, since only by force of law-making can present laws be abrogated or the limits of law-making itself be outlined.

As the defense of rights, manifestly varying in their scope with respect to men, women, and children, and in times of peace or war, is the legitimate domain of government, so the defense of those rights which peculiarly bear upon the wage-worker is inevitably the especial concern of the labor movement. I am impressed with the conviction, however, that with the free exercise of the rights which will leave untrammelled the regular and recognized functions of trade unionism, the workers of this country will move forward by leaps and bounds to a general condition of unexampled welfare. With those rights in full play they will be possessed of the economic power to enable themselves to push forward to greater successes, to justice, freedom and a better humanity, the goal of Labor's aspirations.

Trade unionism is self-help. The possibilities of self-help by its means have never yet been reached nor with certainty foreseen by any authority however prescient. The dividends thus far declared in its history by trade unionism have been immeasurably the highest ever known to any movement of the unprivileged and deprived classes. Every trade or calling in each year since the formation of our Federation has moved its members upward from the state in which they previously lived. In every walk of life the men of this continent recognize the

benefits worked through trade-unionism. By far the greatest of its benefits have come through the exercise of its economic power. Let that lesson be taken to the hearts of all workingmen. Let that thought be kept uppermost with any of them when in danger of being lured away from union work by any political party, whatever its name or its pretenses or its promises.

### POLICE OPPRESSION—THE "THIRD DEGREE."

It seems to me proper to call the attention of the delegates attending this Convention to a police practice, not only unauthorized by the law, but in positive terms forbidden by the law, which nevertheless has become a public scandal throughout the civilized world. I refer to what is known as "the third degree," or obtaining confessions from prisoners held for trial through terrorizing or brutally maltreating them. From the nature of this outrageous measure it is difficult to obtain legal evidence of its existence. However, that it does exist, and is regarded by the police as one of their functions tacitly accepted by the courts, we have the testimony of the press in general and even of that branch of periodicals which is devoted to recording and commenting on the proceedings of the courts. One of the latter journals recently said:

"It would be unjustly disparaging the dignified and learned gentlemen who preside at the trial of criminal cases in our courts to say that they do not at least suspect what every child in their community knows, to wit, that the alleged voluntary confession ordinarily relied on was not the spontaneous outpouring of a guilt-burdened conscience, quickened into action through grateful response to the touching kindness of captors and keepers. Things don't happen that way."

While it is the very first maxim in criminal law that every man is presumed innocent of crime until proven guilty, the police "sweat-box" proceedings are based on the idea that when a man has been arrested the presumption that he is guilty must amount almost to a certainty, and that if sufficiently frightened or put in pain he will tell the truth. This idea men in general know is often without foundation, for a poor and innocent man may be accused and thrown in prison by powerful enemies through revenge or even by the police themselves in default of detecting the really guilty. Moreover, on several recent occasions psychologists of the foremost standing have testified to the fact that innocent prisoners who had made confessions of guilt had done so under mental conditions superinduced by their third-degree tormentors. It may with truth be said that a State or a country which will permit the police to act in any other capacity than detainers of persons charged with crime is in danger of a tyranny over men's persons that is without bounds, and it is from this aspect of the case that our duty arises to protest against any such powers being exercised by them. Public attention has not yet been fully aroused to this danger, which everywhere is beginning to menace the plain citizen. While the law itself positively prohibits police officers from exerting any other authority than securing the person of an accused or suspected man, bringing him before a magistrate for examination without unreasonable delay, keeping him meantime in security to answer the charge made against him, the power is assumed by detectives and policemen of the higher ranks to put prisoners in special lock-ups for convenience of "sweating," to cross-question, browbeat, and maltreat them by physical force, and even to resort to means so terrible as to be compared with those of the inquisition, in order to extract a confession. This is the uttermost perversion of law. As a fact, a confession made as a result of either an inducement or a punishment is inadmissible as evidence if the law itself is to be obeyed.

I repeat that it is a principle in law as well as in every concept of justice that "a man is presumed to be innocent until proven guilty." This applies with equal force to the man who may be subsequently proven guilty of the most heinous crimes as to the accused who may be subsequently proven entirely innocent. The correction of this police abuse of power lies primarily in the hands of our judges on the bench and finally in an aroused public conscience against such a flagrant violation of rights to which even the most insignificant of the human race is entitled. When the police so far abuse their powers and violate the rights of man, no matter how insignificant or vile that man may be, it endangers the rights and the liberties of all the people. It is the beginning of tyranny— injustice. The constitutional and inherent rights of the citizen are not wholly invaded and destroyed with one fell swoop. Their beginning is ushered in under the pretense that a righteous purpose is to be served. The people having accepted invasion by degrees, it is extended until no man's liberty or life is safe. Our people are not unfamiliar with the history of police tyranny in other countries as well as our own.

This Convention should take cognizance of this subject and make some declaration and take such action as may be deemed necessary in regard to it. In addition, the State Federations and city central bodies, indeed all organized labor, should express itself upon this question.

**MAINTAIN LABOR DAY'S SIGNIFICANCE—LABOR SUNDAY.**

It is well within the limits of the truth to assert that Labor Day, 1910, was fittingly celebrated throughout the country wherever Labor is organized.

The co-operation of the organizations of labor in the various cities in the observance of Labor Sunday was also enthusiastic and hearty. Many letters and a large amount of printed matter relating to Labor Sunday were sent to ministers of every denomination. In addition the various committees appointed by different organizations to request the ministers in their respective localities that they prepare a special sermon to deliver on the Sunday preceding Labor Day, that day to be known as Labor Sunday, were provided with circulars and leaflets on the subject. At headquarters numerous letters from ministers have been received in reply, and it is interesting to report that these show a deep interest in the cause of labor and a sincere desire for information, the writers expressing their intention of rendering every possible assistance in the work of the labor movement.

While it is a fact beyond contradiction that as time passes observance becomes more general of the day set apart for the honor of Labor, the commemoration of its achievements, and the public testimony to its essential dignity and its fundamental worth to society, there yet remains a fraction in the ranks of organized labor which is inclined to believe that the money cost of parades and other non-revenue features of Labor Day may be a waste of means that ought to be devoted to objects more obviously material. Consequent upon this reasoning, demonstrations on Labor Day have on occasions been suspended in one or other industrial centers.

In my judgment this course is mistaken. A sincere, heartfelt, enthusiastic, and general demonstration is in a high degree practical, both in its methods and results. The very base of organized labor's work lies in aroused sentiment—in the spirit of fraternity, the avowal of unity, the public declaration of each to share in the struggles of all, the expressed willingness to obliterate occupational or other sectionalism, and the appeal through massed numbers for a common loyalty among all who toil. Besides, the spectacle of organized labor declaring itself and its purpose by the time-honored means of procession, music, and banners is impressive to all elements in society.

Defense funds are necessary, trade unions are often forced by stress of circumstances to watch carefully the outlay of each dollar for every purpose, and men of experience in the movement become in the course of time deeply impressed with the importance during unavoidable emergencies of having an adequate union treasury to meet the demands of those workers who are in stress and struggle. These men are right in warning their fellow-members against unpreparedness for the certain coming day of need. Themselves convinced and veteran unionists, familiar with the routine of their associated work, they may at times, however, overlook the conditions in America which place the ceaseless promotion of general organization in the forefront of union duties and indeed union necessities.

Every locality and every occupation sees a stream of new workers incessantly pouring into it, to mingle and perhaps to compete with the old. Besides, the changes in industry constantly tend to the disintegration of certain occupations while building up others. In these conditions, organized labor is confronted with, not the choice, but the urgent necessity of organization, reorganization, and adaptation to change. The ignorant must be informed as to what union labor is doing, the apathetic must be re-inspired, the disheartened once more encouraged.

Labor demonstrations are in themselves a protest against wrong, an agitation for the right, a solicitation to the unorganized to join with their brother workmen, a notification to opponents that labor is up and doing in its own cause. They are an attractive feature in union education of the children of the masses as well as an appeal to the conscience and the emotions of non-unionists, which leads them to put an end to their isolation from those who are fighting their battles.

Moreover, as a matter of fact, if the question be put on the mere basis of the management of finances, a Labor Day demonstration pays frequently as a proclamation and advertisement. The notices it receives in the public press bring up the issue of unionism in every household, obtain for the trade union a general recognition as a national institution closely in touch with community life, and put before readers of all classes the addresses made by labor's spokesmen. The publicity thereby gained for organized labor's objects, sentiments, and principles alone more than repays all outlay incident to the demonstrations.

Before any Central Labor body decides upon giving up the now generally accepted features of Labor Day demonstration, including the parade, meetings, and addresses, let its delegates discuss what would happen if these observances should be abandoned for a single year in all the cities of the country. Opponents would declare that the labor movement had collapsed,

non-unionists would no longer on Labor's own day be made to feel the reproach of their absence from among the defenders of their rights, the press would remain silent where it now is a helpful vehicle for the cause of unionism, and much of the opportunity and occasion for our propaganda of unionism would be lost.

If the emphasis of Labor Day as an American holiday should come to be placed on mere jollifications for private profit, which has generally been the tendency when genuine Labor Day demonstrations have been suspended, the significance, the honor, the pride of trade unionism would receive a serious blow.

All the men and women in a labor demonstration, and all who line the sidewalks to cheer the passing procession, feel that they are doing something for the cause the event represents. They are participators, not mere spectators to be amused. To all of them, banner, motto, and slogan, the serried rank and the marching step, symbolize and consecrate principles and ideals for which they desire to manifest their devotion. The least interested outside observer is impressed by the enthusiasm and warmth of fellowship evinced by the throngs united on a great purpose.

The labor movement of our time owes it to the future that the inherent purposes and principles of our cause be upheld and maintained with constantly increasing intensity. In line therewith nothing is more important than that the one day in the year secured by labor, for labor, and for all the people—Labor Day—shall be celebrated in the best and most effective manner, in larger numbers, and with a deeper resolve to work on for the day of Labor's disenfranchisement from every vestige of wrong and injustice, for the attainment of a higher and better life, and the establishment of the universal brotherhood of man.

In the past the governors of several States issued annual proclamations urging the people to appropriately observe Labor Day. This practice in later years has almost gone by the board. There is no good reason why the custom should not be revived and extended, not only to the governors of States, but also to the President of the United States. And if deemed advisable by our Canadian fellow-workers, such proclamations might be urged upon the proper officials of the Dominion government.

In connection with the subject of Labor Sunday it should be stated that several protests have been made against what has been termed discrimination against religious sects—Seventh Day Adventists and Jews—who celebrate their Sabbath, or day of rest, on Saturday. It surely was not our purpose to make any such discrimination; we urge and welcome the co-operation of all men in the great uplift work of our labor movement. I therefore suggest a declaration by this Convention on the subject.

### INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT.

The Toronto Convention having decided that the American Federation of Labor should become affiliated with the International Secretariat, I duly transmitted information to that effect to the Secretary in Berlin. This Federation was thereupon placed in the list of the organizations connected with the Secretariat. The annual dues, amounting to \$567.21, were forwarded in August. The dues are 30 cents per thousand members of affiliated organizations.

A considerable correspondence has since been carried on between Secretary Carl Legien and myself, among other matters dealt with being the methods to govern international contributions for assistance in case of labor disputes, the attitude to be preserved toward one another by the national organizations of different countries, the steps to be taken to prevent the transfer of employers of strike-breakers from one country to another, and the character of the contents of letters or circulars to be sent from the headquarters of the Secretariat to the affiliated organizations.

The last-named point refers to a matter of some passing interest to this Convention. Just before adjournment of the Paris Conference, September, 1900, the Secretariat directed its secretary to send to the various organizations a copy of a lengthy communication from America which had been received too late for reading and discussion. On receipt at our headquarters, it turned out to be a protest against the admission of the American Federation of Labor to the Secretariat coming from a so-called "National Industrial Union of Textile Workers," speaking on behalf of the so-called "Industrial Workers of the World," and claiming the latter to be the only bona fide American labor organization entitled to representation in the Secretariat. The contents of the communication were beneath notice except as having a value in informing the various European bodies affiliated with the Secretariat as to the sort of fanatical ravings and malicious fabrications which continually emanate from the all-round malcontents who mislead the corporal's guard of "yellow" unionists that makes up the Industrial Workers. The document has, indeed, served in Europe a good purpose for the American Federation of Labor, in showing our comrades there who have read it the improbability that the perpetrators of such

criminal literature could ever accomplish more than attempting to assassinate character and disgracing those elements in the wage-working class which endeavor to move upward in the light of reason and by virtue of patience, forbearance, insistence and truth. The International Secretariat in due time received from me sufficient information relative to the I. W. W. to permit a fair judgment of the organization to be formed.

The International Secretariat meeting at Stuttgart, 1902, made the following decision: "Only one national center of trade unions will be recognized for each country, and only representatives of this national center will be admitted to the international conferences."

Our affiliation to the International Secretariat has afforded a greater feeling of international fraternity among the workers of the various countries, and has helped pave the way for a larger, freer mutual acceptance of clear cards of trade unionists. It has also given the opportunity by correspondence to a better understanding of the American trade union movement, its history, its struggles, and its aspirations. With such extension and development of the International Secretariat as we hope to witness, it must be helpful in bringing to a minimum and possibly the entire abolition of the fratricidal wars between nations of men.

As per your instructions, which were approved by the Toronto Convention, I submitted for consideration to the Paris Conference two propositions, as follows:

*"Resolved, That the International Trade Union Congress recommends to the trade union centers (general trade union federations and congresses) of all countries the discussion of the proposition of establishing an International Federation of Labor, the autonomy of the trade union movement of each country being ordained and guaranteed, the purpose of the Federation being for the protection and the advancement of the rights, interests and justice of the wage-workers of all countries and the establishment of international fraternity and solidarity."*

*"Resolved, That it shall be the purpose of the labor movement of all countries to endeavor to the fullest extent to prevent the workers from one country being induced to emigrate to other countries during periods of industrial depression or when trade disputes exist or are in contemplation; that it shall be the duty of the recognized representatives of the labor movement of the country affected to notify the International Secretary, who in turn shall at once communicate the situation to the representatives of the trade union movement of each country."*

These propositions were ordered to be placed upon the program for consideration and action at the Budapest meeting, August, 1911. If when these propositions come before the meeting during the coming year they shall be adopted, I feel confident that a bond of unity and fraternity will be more firmly established and an effective International Federation of Labor brought into existence to help in the great work of amelioration and final disenthralment. The American Federation of Labor is entitled to, and undoubtedly should select or authorize to be selected, a representative to attend the Budapest meeting, August, 1911.

In connection with the correspondence which I have had with the international secretariat, I found myself placed in an unsatisfactory situation by reason of the fact that I have been unable to furnish any sort of a detailed statistical report of the work of our affiliated organizations, particularly in respect to wages, hours of labor, strikes, payments by members, and benefits paid to them and for what purpose. Most of our international unions lack such statistics by reason of the fact that so many of them have no uniformity of initiation fees, dues, assessments, and benefits throughout their jurisdiction. As a matter of fact, these are largely determined by the local unions, the internationals having in these respects no jurisdiction and often no knowledge.

Then again, a number of our organizations have relied upon the State and national Bureaus of Labor to collect and publish these statistics when the organizations of labor should gather and promulgate them. Our unions have done so much for Labor that there is no need for them to hide their achievements, and even in instances where great progress and results can not be shown it must be remembered that in our industrial struggle and enlightened time, often the very weakness of some of our organizations forms the sympathetic tie that grips the hearts and consciences of our people and turns to their advantage and strength. We should earnestly press upon all organizations the need of high dues, extension of benefits, greater uniformity and discipline in methods and preparation for a statistical showing of trade union achievements.

#### VITAL STATISTICS.

Under present conditions of employment there is constant temptation to misstate the age of the child seeking work. Valid evidence of the date of birth is often lacking. Many of the States have wisely set limits to the age at which children may work in gainful employment. Without a birth certificate the age of a child is always in doubt. In such case neither the employer nor the factory inspector can feel safe in permitting the child's employment. In a recent paper an authority said:

"Of 28,600 children, native-born and foreign-born alike, who get working papers each year in New York City, between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years, three-quarters have birth

certificates. The remaining quarter, who fail to get birth certificates, are native American children and those who come from certain parts of Russia or from the earthquake district of Italy. What earthquake and revolution do in Europe, official slovenliness accomplishes throughout the greater part of this nation, in depriving the children and citizens of the most fundamental of all vital and industrial statistics, the record of births."

It is thus seen that the registration of births lies at the basis of vital statistics, the necessary foundation of modern health organization, and hence is indispensable for the safety of the lives of children as well as the older members of the communities in cases of preventable diseases, but, what is especially to the point with the wage-workers of any community, is most important in order that the legislation for the prevention of child labor shall be carried out thoroughly. Evidence should be furnished by certificate made out at the time of birth by the attending physician, filed with the local registrar of vital statistics, and preserved at the office of the State Registrar at the capital of the State, according to the requirements of the model law for the registration of vital statistics which has been recommended by a number of the foremost health and medical associations of the union, as well as by the Bureau of the Census, and has already been carried out in practice in several States.

If laws providing for a free and happy childhood and the prevention of the ills which follow from the employment of children under legal age are to be enforced, there should be the means of obtaining evidence of age beyond doubt.

Members of organized labor should take a personal interest in this matter from its importance to their families. Through their unions questions such as these might be asked of the public authorities:

"Is there a law for the registration of births and deaths in State and city? Is it thoroughly enforced? Are the births of children registered, and if not, why not?"

Information upon this subject may be obtained from the Division of Vital Statistics, Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of Census, Washington, D. C. The officers of our Federation will certainly aid in securing this information.

#### OUR EFFECTIVE CORPS OF ORGANIZERS.

Since my last report the number of volunteer organizers I have commissioned has been 430, a large majority of whom have entered upon their labors since the close of last winter. The number of new unions formed and membership in existing unions has correspondingly increased. The total number of organizers now holding commissions October 1 is 1,462.

When it is remembered that these organizers perform their duties without remuneration or emolument, moved entirely by their loyalty to our cause, the value and merit of their services will be appreciated. They see a benefit which they can accomplish, and paying no attention to the selfish motives which by many are supposed to actuate the man of today, they follow wherever duty leads them. Not only are the results which they bring about good in themselves, but their actions are illustrative of the sturdy manhood inherent in the character of workmen and indeed which seems to be nurtured by their daily life and experiences. If the maxims of success common in those walks of life which are wont to shun hard labor tend to teach men to calculate every move with a view to one's own profit, since, as alleged, self-sacrifice is no longer a living virtue, on the contrary, in the labor world there is often to be witnessed an uncontrollable tendency on the part of the strongest men to risk everything personal for the sake of doing good for the mass. And on the part of the many there is a response in appreciation that is spontaneous, enthusiastic, and more precious than gold to the man thus evoking the admiration of his fellow-workmen.

It is a part of the record of our organizers that they are in every particular exceptionally law-abiding men, and ascertaining their own and the workers' rights as American citizens they proceed accordingly. At the meetings at which they speak, the people in attendance are instructed in immediate and practical means of bettering their condition and in those laws regarding conditions of employment, in which they, as husbands and fathers, are directly interested. Little time is wasted in vain declamation or empty promises. To qualify himself to be a worthy organizer of the American Federation of Labor requires a man to voluntarily subject himself to a course of discipline and education that will always remain of profit to him as a man of character. Let us all thank our organizers for the good they do.

#### THE LABOR PRESS.

Again I direct the attention of the trade unionists of the country to the excellent services on their behalf performed by the labor press. In the work of organizing, of giving correct information to union men during controversies with employers, of carrying on the discussions of questions arising in the course of the movement, a newspaper which is labor's own is indispensable in every large organization and in every considerable industrial community.



The patronage extended by unions or individual unionists to the labor press is an investment in support of a principle. As such the amount contributed ought to be made at all times as great as possible. A full and truthful account of an incident during an emergency in the course of the struggles of an organization may turn the tide of affairs in its favor, and an intelligent defense of the justifiable actions of Labor's representatives may at the opportune moment save the members from hurtful misunderstandings and even disastrous dissension. The average labor periodical of America affords to its readers an opportunity to keep up with the discussion of the important social problems of the day. Every union man, therefore, should bear in mind his obligations to the labor press, and regard it as an imperative duty to give a liberal support to the periodicals which can be called on at any and all times to defend union principles and promote union projects. It may be said without invidious reflection upon the efforts of labor-press managers and editors in the past that a steady advance is observable in the appearance and contents of labor newspapers, while the number is increasing. I urge Labor's representatives to vote and work for the assistance of their printed messengers, even when any immediate beneficial result may appear doubtful. A good labor paper, like a good tool, is a thing which it is well to have at hand.

### AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST.

Necessarily, during the last twelve months the issues of our official magazine have contained much matter relating to the principles of the law bearing on the case of Labor now before the Supreme Court of the United States. It has been my good fortune as editor to be able to place before the readers a number of excellent articles, emanating from pens that command the respect of our country, showing the strength of the position your officials have taken in the matter in question. Indeed, whatever the outcome otherwise, the case has assuredly had the effect of familiarizing Labor with its fundamental rights as expounded in the courts by many eminent jurists. The file of the year 1910 of *The American Federationist* is valuable in this respect to unionists wherever their liberties may be endangered.

Our magazine has also attracted more than usual attention on account of the controversial articles it has contained in the course of the year. Whether or not opponents have been convinced of the errors of their ways, it has been my aim to accord to those entertaining differences in opinion a treatment never lacking in due courtesy. In no instance has an opponent been able to charge the magazine with unfairness or error of importance in its statement of facts. It may be said also that the general contents of *The American Federationist* have given contradiction to those who charge the trade union movement with narrowness and selfishness. Tolerance has been exhibited toward all organizations whose aim is social betterment. If it is in any degree a part of the function of this magazine to suggest to the labor press and the labor platform the plane on which subjects germane to our movement should be treated, I trust that in this respect its pages have not failed to uphold proper ideals.

The issuance of *The American Federationist* was not originally directed for any financial returns it might yield. The authorization for its publication by the Convention of 1893 was "for the discussion of labor and its interests in all its phases," and in the seventeen years of its regular monthly issues it has been my single aim to make it ring true to the cause, the rights and interests of the toiling masses of America. And through it all *The American Federationist* as an advocate and defender of our great cause—the cause of humanity—has been of insignificant financial cost to our fellow-workers or our Federation itself.

In view of the good service our magazine has performed and the greater good it could render if a wider clientele were secured for it, I earnestly hope that greater interest be generally manifested by the rank and file of organized labor to extend its circulation and to secure for it a larger number of subscribers.

### CONCLUSION.

It would be unpardonably remiss in me did I not acknowledge the deep sense of gratitude which I owe to my colleagues of the Executive Council, who by their advice and co-operation have so materially aided me in the duties which I have been required to perform, and the many difficulties I have had to encounter. Our relations have been sincere, fraternal and helpful.

To the officers of our organizations, and to the mass of the workers I am eternally obligated because of their kindly consideration and helpful support in bearing the burdens of our ennobling cause, and in giving it an essential impetus and an enduring impress. If we shall but be true to ourselves, true to one another, true to the best that is in us, we shall in our time contribute our share to the early realization of that day when man to man shall brothers be—"for a' that and a' that."

The foregoing subjects, as covering the most important features of the year's work, I have deemed it my duty to report to you for your consideration and action. The report which the Executive Council will make to you deals largely with matters of an executive character. To some of these I have made reference. I am conscious of the unsatisfying character of this report, even to myself. And yet it is submitted to you with an abiding faith that you will esteem it for the purpose it is designed to serve, rather than to censure it for its shortcomings.

Such as it is, this report is made to you, and through you to the rank and file of labor, to the thoughtful, earnest men of our time, and to the great mass of humanity, whose rights, whose liberties, whose progress it has been my one aim in life to serve.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
*President, American Federation of Labor.*

## APPENDIX A.

## BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT.

This Department, authorized by the Norfolk Convention, was instituted at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, February 8, 1910. Twenty international unions participated in the formation of the Department, nineteen of them subsequently ratifying the action of their representatives. One international union has since been admitted, making the present total membership twenty. These are:

National Association of Heat, Frost, General Insulators, and Asbestos Workers of America.

International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

American Brotherhood of Cement Workers.

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America.

International Union of Elevator Constructors.

International Union of Steam Engineers.

The Granite Cutters' International Association of America.

International Hodcarriers and Building Laborers' Union of America.

International Union of Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers.

International Association of Marble Workers.

Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance.

Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America.

Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada.

United Association of Plumbers, Gas-fitters, Steam-fitters, and Steam-fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada.

International Brotherhood of Roofers, Composition, Damp and Waterproof Workers of the United States and Canada.

International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America.

Journeymen Stonecutters' Association of North America.

Ceramic, Mosaic, and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union.

With one exception, the foregoing represent the eligible organizations of building mechanics.

Intimations were made by other international unions of a desire to join the Department. But its policy is to admit to membership only those international unions a majority of whose membership are strictly employed in the building industry. Two State charters and 181 local charters have been granted since the time of organization; 170 are at present in good standing.

The revenues of the Department from the time of organization until the close of the fiscal year, August 31, 1910, amount to \$48,980.70, as against a total disbursement of \$40,157.14 expended in the creation, development, and maintenance of the Department. Besides organizing local councils, the Department has devoted its efforts in large measure to the adjustment of jurisdictional differences in the building industry. As a result of these efforts agreements have been entered into by the following organizations:

American Brotherhood of Cement Workers and Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada; Ceramic, Mosaic, and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union and Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada; United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and International Hodcarriers and Building Laborers' Union of America; United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and International Association of Marble Workers; Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance and International Union of Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers; Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance and International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

In jurisdictional disputes in which the parties in interest failed to reach a mutually satisfactory agreement, the Department rendered decisions affecting the following organizations:

United Association of Plumbers, Gas-fitters, Steam-fitters, and Steam-fitters' Helpers of United States and Canada and International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America; International Hodcarriers and Building Laborers' Union of America and American Brotherhood of Cement Workers; American Brotherhood of Cement Workers and International Hodcarriers and Building Laborers' Union of America; International Union

of Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers and International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance and United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

In the work of the Department a difficulty has been encountered in requiring local unions to identify themselves with chartered councils. A number of the international unions have not so amended their constitution as to give the officers a right to discipline a local union for its failure to carry out the constitution of the Department. It is expected, however, that all organizations will be vested with the necessary authority to require their local unions to join the councils organized under the Building Trades Department.

It is gratifying to report that in the larger cities of the country the Department has been successful in adjusting all adverse local conditions that have for so long a time kept the building tradesmen apart. Indeed, it may be said that in the cities of the greatest size there is the best general feeling prevailing among the workmen in the building industry that has been manifested in the past decade, and with the fusion of the local unions in the councils of the Department there has immediately followed a steady improvement in the condition of the workers and a gradual movement toward the final elimination of those abuses against which organized labor has been constantly compelled to contend.

### METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT.

The broad scope of this organization has brought its members to realize the need for greater uniformity of laws among its affiliated unions, joint action implying equalization, especially in per capita tax, strike and lockout benefits. These needed changes have been recommended in conventions to the Department's affiliations. The Executive Board of this Department will therefore call general conferences of the officers of the affiliated internationals to discuss changes in laws and policies pertaining in general to the Metal Trades.

The Department's international affiliations are as follows:

International Association of Machinists,

International Molders' Union of North America,

Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance,

International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths,

Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America,

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America,

International Union of Steam Engineers,

International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America,

International Brotherhood of Foundry Employes,

Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, and Brass Workers' International Union of North America,

Patternmakers League of North America,

Stove Mounters' International Union,

representing approximately a membership of 280,000. With the exception of the International Brotherhood of Stationery Firemen, all internationals declared eligible have affiliated.

The organizing of local councils has been accomplished almost entirely by correspondence, showing a ready response from metal trades locals. Sixty-seven local councils are now organized. The delegates to the last Department convention favored having each affiliated international insert in its by-laws a section making it compulsory for all locals to affiliate with local Metal Trades Councils.

A council's efforts are in the direction of organizing all metal trades, it being the medium by which all trades can be organized and kept alive. Acting upon instructions, by resolution of the Toronto Convention, that all general and special organizers of the American Federation of Labor organize the men in the blacksmith trade into the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers, the Executive Board of the Department, previous to the adjournment of the convention, adopted the following:

*"Resolved, In view of the fact that the resolution calls for an adjustment of jurisdictional claims and instructs that all organizations admitting to membership blacksmiths other than the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, be called into conference for the purpose of adjusting the claims contained in the resolution, the board recommends that inasmuch as all organizations involved were not eligible to affiliation with this Department, therefore having no jurisdiction over these internationals, and having no power to enforce a decision on unaffiliated internationals, we recommend that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, with the recommendation that the blacksmiths' claim of jurisdiction be granted."*

This recommendation has been agreed to.

Much dissatisfaction being expressed by members employed on the Panama Canal Zone because the annual leave granted to the per annum employes is six weeks, whereas that to the

per diem employes is only fifteen days, the Department had the matter up with the Canal Commission, the War Department, and the President of the United States. The Department feels confident that some additional leave will be granted the per diem employes. The Department's attention was recently called to the fact that the molder on his enlistment in the service was given the corresponding rating to that of blacksmith, \$55 per month. The Department took the matter up with the Bureau of Navigation of the Navy Department, with the result that the molder can now, during the time of his first enlistment, obtain a rating equal to that of chief machinist's mate, which is the highest rate paid in this branch of the service. An attempt will be made to equalize navy yard ratings according to the rates paid outside of the service.

With the view of preserving the permanency of the eight-hour day in San Francisco much work was done by various representatives on the Pacific Coast in the months previous to June 1, 1910, in organizing, and it is believed that the eight-hour day will be established on the Pacific Coast. The last Convention of the Department considered setting a date on which the metal trades of the United States and Canada should demand the eight-hour day. This question has not as yet been decided by the Department Executive Board.

The last Convention also instructed the incoming Executive Board to meet and confer with the Executive Board of the Building Trades Department and other Departments, to the end of securing their co-operation for mutual advancement. In turn the Building Trades Executive Council instructed its officers to confer with the Executive Officers of the Metal Trades Department, with a view to working out some tangible plan of understanding, to be later reported to the Executive Council for adoption. There are therefore prospects of an early conference, which will result in benefit to all concerned.

#### **RAILROAD EMPLOYES DEPARTMENT.**

In this Department are represented the following organizations:

International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths.

Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

Switchmen's Union of North America.

International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes.

International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America.

Order of Railroad Telegraphers.

Brotherhood of Railroad Freight Handlers.

International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders of America.

International Association of Machinists.

International Association of Car Workers.

Thus far this Department has issued charters to eighteen System Federations.

The various System Federations are striving to get other affiliated class organizations to join them in the movement, and there is good reason to believe that they will be successful. They have adopted a broad and liberal policy in the matter of entering into working agreements with any and all legitimate organizations, whether affiliated or not, on any railroad system where such an arrangement may be mutually agreeable. The employes on any and all railroad systems now have the necessary machinery at their command to bring all organizations into close compact with each other whenever they desire to do so.

The employes on many other large systems of railroad besides the eighteen specified have taken the preliminary steps toward applying for System Federation charters, and it is confidently expected that the employes on all the large railroad systems in the United States and Canada will adopt this method of conserving their own interests.

#### **UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT.**

Practically all matters with reference to the union label brought up at the general offices have been referred to the Union Label Trades Department for its consideration and action. The Convention of the Union Label Trades Department was held in this city just prior to the opening of this Convention, and in conformity with the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor the officers of that Department will make a report to this Convention. During the year the Secretary-Treasurer of the Union Label Trades Department has reported from time to time through the columns of *The American Federationist* the work in which that Department has been engaged.

Reports shows that a wider and deeper interest is being taken than ever before in the history of our movement in the promotion of the sale of union label products and the patronizing of such establishments as display union store or shop cards.

The Union Label Trades Department has affiliated with it at the present time thirty-nine national and international unions, with an approximate membership of about 432,000. There are still a few organizations that issue labels, store and shop cards and buttons which have not joined the Department, and it is strongly recommended that these organizations immediately take such steps as may be necessary to bring about the desired affiliation.

## APPENDIX B.

### LETTER SENT TO HON. REUBEN O. MOON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 2, 1910.*

HON. REUBEN O. MOON, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The bill you introduced in the House of Representatives, H. R. 21394, entitled "An Act to Regulate the Granting of Restraining Orders and Injunctions," seems to be entirely superfluous, unless it is fathered with the intention to issue to the judiciary a title in fee simple to a territory of jurisdiction which thus far has remained unrecognized by statute law. A most careful reading of your bill does not disclose any section or any idea that will materially alter existing conditions. The injunctions issued by many of our courts would be changed in little or no particular. The famous (or otherwise) injunction issued by Justice Gould in the Buck's Stove and Range Company case was issued after following the lines laid down by your bill. There was a citation to show cause why a temporary injunction should not issue. Hearings were had. The company proved (to the satisfaction of the court) that its business was being interfered with, the income from its investments diminished, and upon the proposition, contested by us, that the right "to carry on business" is a property right, the injunction was issued. It was so broad in its scope that if its terms had literally been obeyed it would have been impossible even for our attorneys to enter an appeal.

There is nothing in your bill which limits the jurisdiction of the court. It is true your bill provides that "a restraining order shall not be valid for more than seven days unless hearings are had, and that an irreparable injury shall be set forth. So far as I can see, these are the only distinctions from the present practice, or at least in some of the courts. The petitions upon which injunctions have been sought all alleged irreparable injury and were so held to exist by the courts issuing the order.

Some conscientious judges have refused to issue injunctions in similar cases, whether because they doubted the jurisdiction or the justice of the claims of the complainants I know not; but if your bill be enacted into law even those judges will have no discretion. Jurisdiction being conferred, courts will practically be instructed to furnish a remedy, the statutory authority of which is now in serious dispute.

Quite apart from the interest which Labor has in this question, the question of the equality before the law of the workers with all other citizens of our country, we protest against this bill because we protest against the use of the equity power to regulate the personal relations of our people. We believe, and we insist on being right in believing, that the relation between the employer and employe, between possible seller and buyer, can not be property relations.

There can be no property rights either in the labor power of the employe or prospective employe, or in the patronage or possible patronage of the public or any individual member thereof. The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States stands as a bar in either case. Within its proper field equity power is necessary and beneficent. Within its true sphere it prevents the immediate invasion or destruction of property or property rights, and within that sphere of usefulness and necessity its operation must be swift and certain. If, however, equity power is permitted to invade the sphere properly belonging to the courts of law, it will attract to itself and exercise all jurisdiction. Permit me briefly to call to your attention a few quotations from some eminent jurists:

In October, 1897, Hon. W. H. Moody, now Justice of the United States Supreme Court, said:

"I believe in recent years the courts of the United States, as well as the courts of our own Commonwealth (Massachusetts), have gone to the very verge of danger in applying the process of the writ of injunction in disputes between labor and capital."

Hon. Thos. M. Cooley, President of the American Bar Association, said:

"Courts, with their injunctions, if they heed the fundamental law of the land, can no more hold men to involuntary servitude, for even a single hour, than can overseers with a whip."

Judge M. F. Tuley, of the Appellate Court of Illinois, used these words:

"Such use of injunction by the courts is judicial tyranny, which endangers not only the right of trial by jury, but all the rights and liberties of the citizens."

Governor Sadler, of Nevada, said:

"The tendency at present is to have the courts enforce law by injunction methods, which are subversive of good government and the liberties of the people."

Hon. J. H. Benton, Jr., of Massachusetts, said:

"The courts have gone too far. It is impossible for them to go in the course they have taken and retain the confidence of the people or preserve their own powers. It is idle to say that the popular complaint on this subject means nothing, or that, as one judge has said, 'nobody objects to government by injunction except those who object to any government at all.' It does mean much. It means that the courts have, in the judgment of many of the most intelligent and thoughtful citizens, exceeded their just powers; that they have, by the so-called exercise of the equity power, practically assumed to create and to punish offenses upon trial by themselves without a jury, and with penalties imposed at their discretion.

"The people will not, and they ought not to, submit to decisions like those in the Northern Pacific and Ann Arbor cases" (Taft's injunction).

Prof. F. J. Stimson, of Harvard, one of the greatest legal authorities, in his new work on "Federal and State Constitutions," after citing many authorities, says:

"These are sufficient to establish the general principle that the injunction process and contempt in chancery procedure, as well as chancery jurisdiction itself, is looked on with a logical jealousy in Anglo-Saxon countries as being in derogation of the common law, . . . taking away the jurisdiction of the common law courts and depriving the accused of his trial by jury."

Judge John Gibbons, of the Circuit Court of Illinois, declared that:

"In their efforts to regulate or restrain strikes by injunction, they (the courts) are sowing dragons' teeth and blazing the path of revolution."

In the last edition of his great book, the legal authority, High, on "Injunctions," says:

"Equity has no jurisdiction to restrain the commission of crimes or to enforce moral obligations in the performance of moral duties; nor will it interfere for the prevention of an illegal act merely because it is illegal, and in the absence of an injury to property rights it will not lend its aid by injunction to restrain the violation of public or penal statutes or the commission of immoral or illegal acts."

Hon. S. S. Gregory, in his address before the graduating class of the John Marshall Law School, Chicago, 1909, among other things, said:

"He who attacks trial by jury impeaches the capacity of the people for self-government; for it is in this that the people directly and immediately participate in the administration of justice, the highest concern of government.

"He who has no confidence in juries must indeed believe in the Rule of the Few and not in popular government.

"Another serious and quite analogous invasion of popular and constitutional right is threatened in the disposition shown by some courts to restrain the liberty of speech and freedom of publication under pretext of enjoining so-called boycotts and conspiracies against trade. . . . The question of law is, can a court of equity, under pretense of enjoining a conspiracy against trade, deny freedom of speech and publication by injunction; and then, having issued such an injunction, can the court try a person charged with its violation upon information, nominally for contempt, but really for slander or libel?

"It would seem as if to ask this question as an abstract proposition were to insult the intelligence of any well-informed lawyer familiar with the glorious traditions of Anglo-Saxon liberty and the long and toilsome march by which we have arrived at our present free and happy condition. . . . But the way free speech and free publication are attacked contrary to the Constitution in this class of cases is by equity arrogating and drawing to itself jurisdiction in matters essentially criminal and then disregarding, as in the libel prosecutions in England over a century ago, the safeguards of human liberty approved by the wisdom and secured by the labors and sacrifice of ages of patriotism and struggle.

"If equity courts persist in administering criminal law they must observe the limitations imposed on similar procedure in other courts. What has equity to do with punishing the crime of conspiracy? Yet this and every other opinion in a strike case deals at large with this subject.

"Every person may freely speak, write, and publish on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty."

"That I understand to be declaratory of the right of free speech and publication known to American constitutional law. Of course, it does not furnish immunity for libel, for slander, for seditious utterances and persuasion to crime.

"But no agency of the State may stifle or prevent speech on the ground that libel, slander, or sedition is to be the theme of the speaker. Any other rule means a censorship which would destroy absolutely this inestimable privilege."

We believe that popular government, democratic institutions, can not exist together with the unlimited discretionary power of either a king or a judge.

Equity power always was the prerogative of sovereignty, and as government by law—popular government—has been advancing, equity power—discretionary power vested in individual man, however exalted his position—has receded, and vice versa.

The history of years demonstrates that man's nature is no more altered by being robed in the ermine than by being covered with the crown.

Discretionary power, at least in so far as personal relations and personal rights are

concerned, is as dangerous in the hands of a judge as it ever was, and even now is, if lodged with a king.

Individual freedom that is not broad and extensive enough to permit individuals to voluntarily associate, to collectively protect their individual rights, is an empty phrase.

In our day, when the collected products of human labor are used to compel the individual worker to obedience, we are as helpless as individuals as is an individual sparrow in the presence of a hawk.

It was generally understood that your bill represented the wishes and desires of the administration, and the President's recent letter to you on the subject has confirmed this. It is further claimed that the last general election authorizes and instructs the enactment of this bill. This last we dispute.

That other matters, perhaps better understood by the electors, were controlling, you will find fairly well confirmed by the article written by the President and published in McClure's Magazine, June, 1909; but be that as it may, even if the election had turned upon that one point alone, it would make the principle involved no more just, no more proper, no more patriotic, no more constitutional.

If in framing the bill you had had the advice of the National Association of Manufacturers and their counsel, Emory and Davenport, no more effective measure than your bill could have been devised to defeat the growing conviction among our people to correct the perversion of the injunctive process.

If the subject with which your bill deals were of a sociological character we might profit by experience, accept a little, and in time, build thereon, for time and growth continually make for improvement; but the question with which your bill deals involves fundamental principles of right, of justice, of equality before the law. In our Republic, where each citizen is sovereign, there can be no compromise, particularly when a compromise would for the first time give statutory authority for the commission of a grave injustice, an injustice which, though existing, exists by the judicial invasion of the law-making domain.

If the workers of our country can not at present obtain the consideration to which they are entitled at the hands of Congress, we may have to bear the burden and suffer cruelty, injustice and discrimination, but we shall have the satisfaction that we are enduring them for the right of all our people now and for the future; that we shall live on and struggle on in the hope, and confident, of ultimate success; that the people of the United States, through their Congress, will at no distant date re-establish by statute law, fully establish, justice and equality before the law of all our people.

In the meantime, we shall protest against the enactment of any bill of the character and species of which yours is a type.

Respectfully yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
*President, American Federation of Labor.*

Identical letter to members of the House Judiciary Committee—Hon. William G. Brantley, Hon. Edwin Denby, Hon. Charles C. Carlin, Hon. Henry Clayton, Hon. Herman P. Goebel, Hon. Richard Wayne Parker, Hon. John A. Sterling, Hon. George R. Malby, Hon. Robert L. Henry, Hon. Paul Howland, Hon. William P. Sheffield, Hon. Edwin Y. Webb, Hon. Gerritt J. Diekma, Hon. Frank M. Nye, Hon. Edwin W. Higgins, Hon. Charles C. Reid, Hon. Charles Q. Tirrell:

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 23, 1910.

DEAR SIR: The workers of our country have been patiently waiting for some action on the part of the Judiciary Committee to report out bills affecting the status of labor and to grant relief in so far as it is concerned in the application of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law to the voluntary organizations of the workers, and also relief from the abuse of the injunction writ.

Numbers of articles in review of the situation have been written and printed, all of which have been forwarded to each member of Congress.

It is noted with much interest and great regret that some bills have been presented dealing with these subjects, and which instead of bringing relief will simply fix more definitely the wrongful situation and make it more acute. One of the bills to which I refer is the one introduced in the House by the Honorable Reuben O. Moon of Pennsylvania. When I saw a copy of the bill and studied its features, I addressed a letter to Mr. Moon, and believing you should have a copy thereof I inclose it herein. It is commended to your serious consideration. At the same time permit me to express the hope that the Judiciary Committee of the House will at an early date report the Bill H. R. 3068.

Very truly yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
*President, American Federation of Labor.*



## APPENDIX C.

## SIXTY-FIRST CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION, H. R. 25188.

In the House of Representatives, April 29, 1910.—Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed:

A bill to regulate the issuance of restraining orders and injunctions and procedure thereon and to limit the meaning of "conspiracy" in certain cases.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That no restraining order or injunction shall be granted by any court of the United States, or a judge or the judges thereof, in any case between an employer and employe, or between employers and employes, or between employes, or between persons employed and persons seeking employment, or involving or growing out of a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment, unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property or to a property right of the party making the application, for which injury there is no adequate remedy at law; and such property and property right must be particularly described in the application, which must be in writing and sworn to by the applicant or by his, her, or its agent or attorney. And for the purposes of this Act no right to continue the relation of employer and employe, or to assume or create such relation with any particular person or persons, or at all, or to carry on business of any particular kind, or at any particular place, or at all, shall be construed, held, considered, or treated as property or as constituting a property right.

SEC. 2. That in cases arising in the courts of the United States or coming before said courts, or before any judge or the judges thereof, no agreement between two or more persons concerning the terms or conditions of employment, or the assumption or creation or termination of any relation between employer and employe, or concerning any act or thing to be done or not to be done with reference to or involving or growing out of a labor dispute, shall constitute a conspiracy or other civil or criminal offense, or be punished or prosecuted, or damages recovered upon as such, unless the act or thing agreed to be done or not to be done would be unlawful if done by a single individual; nor shall the entering into or the carrying out of any such agreement be restrained or enjoined unless such act or thing agreed to be done would be subject to be restrained or enjoined under the provisions, limitations, and definitions contained in the first section of this act.

SEC. 3. That all acts and parts of acts in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

## SECRETARY MORRISON'S REPORT.

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:*

**FELLOW-UNIONISTS**—I have the honor to submit a report to you of the receipts and expenditures for the past twelve (12) months, beginning October 1, 1909, and ending September 30, 1910.

It is with much pleasure that I report at the close of this fiscal year \$182,914.96 in the treasury. Of the amount on hand \$121,963.59 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions and can be used to pay benefits only in the case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions. The balance, \$60,951.37, is in the general fund. Of that fund only \$5,557.88 is available for the general expenses of the American Federation of Labor. The balance, \$55,393.54, is divided as follows: In the fund created by the one-cent assessment levied by the Executive Council, in accordance with the recommendation of the Norfolk Convention, and the receipts from the appeals issued for the same purpose, i. e., to be used for the legal defense of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and officers and members of affiliated unions in the injunction suit of the Buck Stove and Range Company, \$34,079.04. In the fund created by the three-cent assessment for the Hatters' strike, \$63.91. In the fund created by the two-cent assessment levied by the Executive Council to take an appeal from the decision rendered against the United Hatters in favor of Loewe & Company, \$21,196.80. In the fund created by the one-cent assessment levied by the Executive Council, in accordance with the recommendation of the Norfolk Convention, for the purpose of placing organizers in Los Angeles and other cities, to offset the efforts of the Manufacturers' Association, which were, and now are, endeavoring to disrupt the labor organizations, \$58.79.

The total receipts from all sources are \$198,470.84; the total expenses are \$177,859.84; leaving a balance of receipts over expenditures of \$15,611.50.

The following is a summary of the receipts and expenses for the twelve (12) months ending September 30, 1910:

### RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand September 30, 1909 .....		\$187,808 46
Per capita tax .....	\$108,928 06	
Supplies .....	10,269 00	
Interest on funds on deposit .....	4,522 10	
<i>The American Federationist</i> .....	21,826 50	
Assessment, United Hatters three-cent (3-c) .....	1,152 11	
Assessment, two-cent (2-c) .....	27,792 68	
Assessment, Los Angeles and other cities .....	55 10	
Assessment, for legal defense .....	55 80	
Appeal for legal defense fund .....	3,984 85	
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions .....	12,570 45	
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions .....	2,874 75	
		<hr/> 198,470 84
<b>Total</b> .....		<hr/> \$380,774 30

### EXPENSES.

General .....	\$140,677 87	
<i>The American Federationist</i> .....	20,621 19	
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions .....	6,484 00	
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions .....	2,392 75	
Assessment, United Hatters, three cent (3-c) .....	1,088 20	
Assessment, United Hatters, two cent (2-c) .....	6,595 83	
		<hr/> 177,859 84
<b>Balance on hand September 30, 1910</b> .....		<hr/> \$182,914 96

## RECAPITULATION.

In general fund.....	\$80 951 87
In defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	121,968 69
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$182,914 96</b>

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses:

<b>Appropriations:</b>	
Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.....	\$600 00
Union Label Trades Department.....	99 61
American Association for Labor Legislation.....	25 00
<b>Rent.....</b>	<b>4,107 00</b>
Refunds of premiums on bonds and supplies returned.....	7 80
<b>Premiums:</b>	
Bonds, local unions.....	2,892 75
Treasurer's bond.....	125 00
Secretary's bond.....	20 00
Fire insurance.....	40 00
International Secretariat.....	567 21
Newspapers, magazines, and books.....	119 70
Stamped envelopes.....	798 22
Expressage, freight, and drayage.....	1,176 78
Printing and binding bound proceedings of Toronto Convention.....	1,670 49
Telegrams, etc.....	976 80
Postage stamps.....	8,112 98
Legislative expenses.....	8,571 48
Supplies and printing.....	12,050 12
Office fixtures.....	45 60
Committee on Industrial Education.....	2,098 26
Expenses for burial arrangements, embalming and shipping remains of Earl E. Russ, delegate to Toronto Convention.....	118 00
Expenses American Federation of Labor delegate to Toronto Convention of the Union Label Trades Department.....	58 30
Expenses of fraternal delegates to British Trades Union Congress and Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	970 50
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada.....	526 25
<b>Toronto Convention:</b>	
Printing daily proceedings.....	1,598 00
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, baggage, stationery, reading proof, sending out daily proceedings, rent of typewriters, photographs.....	300 19
Committee rooms.....	287 00
Stenographers.....	788 14
Printing and supplies.....	804 10
Messenger, Sergeant-at-Arms, and Assistant Secretary.....	810 75
Expenses Secretary attending Toronto Convention.....	188 55
<b>Salary:</b>	
President.....	5,000 00
Secretary.....	4,000 00
Treasurer.....	500 00
Office employees.....	25,968 08
Janitor service.....	32 06
<b>Expenses:</b>	
Executive Council meetings.....	4,529 14
President.....	2,115 89
Secretary.....	272 88
Auditing and Credential Committee.....	301 13
Legal.....	295 10
<b>Defense Fund:</b>	
Strike benefits.....	6,484 00
<b>Assessment:</b>	
For United Hatters of America (2-cent).....	4,595 88
For United Hatters of America (3-cent).....	1,089 20
For legal defense (1-cent).....	415 48
For organizing in Los Angeles and other cities (1-cent).....	222 06
<b>Appeal:</b>	
Legal defense fund.....	7,934 01
Organizing expenses.....	53,260 80
Printing and publishing <i>American Federationist</i> .....	20,621 19
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$177,860 34</b>

# AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

63

## RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES 1881 TO 1910.

I herewith furnish a table giving the receipts and expenditures for the past 30 years:

YEAR.	Receipts.	Expenditures.
1881.....	\$174 00	\$154 00
1882.....	268 20	252 25
1883.....	690 19	352 32
1884.....	357 42	548 20
1885.....	584 08	450 58
1886.....	474 11	635 08
1887.....	1,989 82	2,074 89
1888.....	4,512 55	3,938 07
1889.....	6,838 40	6,578 38
1890.....	23,849 74	21,070 57
1891.....	17,702 36	18,190 07
1892.....	17,834 51	18,324 69
1893.....	20,864 62	21,388 36
1894.....	15,346 43	17,302 08
1895.....	13,751 75	15,612 42
1896.....	16,290 18	15,452 95
1897.....	18,639 92	19,118 83
1898.....	18,894 15	19,197 17
1899.....	36,757 13	30,599 22
1900.....	71,125 82	63,373 89
1901.....	115,290 89	113,708 39
1902.....	144,498 21	119,696 74
1903.....	247,802 96	196,015 57
1904.....	220,995 97	203,991 15
1905.....	207,417 62	196,170 10
1906.....	217,815 18	218,540 04
1907.....	174,330 26	159,930 84
1908.....	207,655 23	196,987 36
1909.....	232,377 64	203,702 07
1910.....	193,470 84	177,859 84
Total.....	\$2,248,480 18	\$2,065,565 17

## RECAPITULATION.

Receipts.....	\$2,248,480 18
Expenses.....	2,065,565 17
Balance on hand September 30, 1910.....	\$182,914 96

## TWO-CENT ASSESSMENT.

This assessment was levied on the membership of all affiliated organizations on April 22, 1910, upon the application of the officers of the United Hatters based upon the instructions of the Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor to the Executive Council to take whatever action was necessary to carry into effect the resolution adopted by that Convention, pledging the moral and financial assistance of the American Federation of Labor in their struggle. The proceeds of this assessment are being used to defray the expenses in taking an appeal from the decision of the Federal Circuit Court of Connecticut, under which the Loewe Company was awarded damages against the members of the Hatters in the sum of \$223,000, to the Supreme Court of the United States.

## RECEIPTS.

Receipts from April 27, 1910, to September 30, 1910.....	\$37,792 63
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## EXPENSES.

July 8, 1910: To Bristol, Stoddard, Beach & Fisher, attorneys in the matter of the appeal of Loewe vs. Lawlor et al., for professional services, \$1,000; Disbursements: Paid clerks' fees as per bill of July 1, 1910, as follows: To making copies of exhibits, \$3; to copies of pleadings for Volume I of transcript, \$185.90; to copies of depositions, \$30.50; expenses to Washington, \$23.75; typewriting, Mrs. Joy, \$2.50; telegram, 25 cents; expenses, J. K. Beach, \$4; U. S. Marshal, Edison Bishop, \$2.00; Mrs. Joy, typewriting, \$17.88; expenses to Hartford, \$2.20; expenses to New York, \$4; expenses to New York, \$4.50; expenses to New York, F. H. Wiggin, and postage, \$5.60.....	\$1,296 23
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## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

July 18, 1910: To Frank L. Mulholland, for expenses on trip from Toledo to Washington, for consultation with Messrs. Gompers, Morrison, and O'Connell, and trip to New York for consultation with Mr. Beach and officers of the Hatters' Union, and trip to New Haven, Conn., for consultation with Mr. Beach and examination of records in case, \$54.80; telegram to Mr. Beach, 40 cents; telegram to Mr. Gompers, 25 cents; express on record to Mr. Beach, 65 cents; traveling expenses to New York City, \$5.75; traveling expenses to Baltimore, \$5.75; bill at Hotel Victoria, \$5; meals, car fare, cabs, etc., \$8.86; to an amount agreed upon as retainer in Hatters' Case, \$500.		\$581 45
July 20, 1910, to Henri Rogowski, on account of printing appeal in D. E. Loewe et al. vs. Martin Lawlor et al.	1,500 00	
August 2, 1910, to Henri Rogowski, on account of printing appeal in D. E. Loewe et al. vs. Martin Lawlor et al.	1,500 00	
August 18, 1910, to Bristol, Stoddard, Beach & Fisher, attorneys, for filing bill of exceptions, 10c; recording bill of exceptions, 10,970 folios at 15 cents per folio, less allowance for copy of same furnished at 5 cents per folio, \$1,097; filing petition for writ of error, 10c; filing bond in error and allowance for same, 25c; filing assignment of error, 10c; docket and indexes, \$1; copy of writ of error, petition for, and order allowing same, 15 folios at 10 cents per folio, \$1.50; citation, \$1; transcript for Court of Appeals, 12,525 folios, less allowance for copy furnished at 5 cents per folio, \$626.25; certificate of authentication, 50c; expressage, 35 cents.	\$1,728 15	
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$6,595 83</b>	
<b>RECAPITULATION.</b>		
Receipts	\$27,792 63	
Expenses	6,595 83	
<b>Balance on hand September 30, 1910</b>	<b>\$21,196 80</b>	

**THREE-CENT HATTERS' ASSESSMENT.**

This assessment was levied on February 20, 1909, on the membership of all affiliated organizations to assist the protracted strike of the United Hatters of North America.

<b>RECEIPTS.</b>		
Receipts from October 1, 1909, to September 30, 1910.	\$1,152 11	
<b>EXPENSES.</b>		
Refund of amount paid in excess for United Hatters' Assessment by Retail Clerks' International Union, H. J. Conway.	\$750 00	
Account 8-cent assessment for United Hatters of North America, Martin Lawlor, Secretary.	338 20	
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$1,068 20</b>	
<b>RECAPITULATION.</b>		
Receipts	\$1,152 11	
Expenses	1,068 20	
<b>Balance on hand September 30, 1910</b>	<b>\$68 91</b>	

**ONE-CENT ASSESSMENT.**

The following is a statement of the amount received during the fiscal year from the one-cent assessment to be used for the legal defense of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and officers and members of affiliated unions in the injunction suit, and an itemized statement of the moneys paid out of that fund during the fiscal year ending September 30, 1910:

<b>RECEIPTS.</b>		
Balance on hand September 30, 1909.	\$413 99	
Receipts from October 1, 1909, to September 30, 1910.	55 80	
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$469 79</b>	
<b>EXPENSES.</b>		
On account of attorney fees and expenses:		
Ralston, Siddons & Richardson	\$415 46	
<b>RECAPITULATION.</b>		
Receipts	\$469 79	
Expenses	415 46	
<b>Balance on hand September 30, 1910.</b>	<b>\$54 33</b>	

**ONE-CENT ASSESSMENT.**

The following is a statement of the amount received during the fiscal year from the one-cent assessment levied to place organizers in Los Angeles, California, and other cities where the manufacturers are endeavoring to disrupt labor unions, and an itemized statement of the moneys paid out of that fund during the fiscal year ending September 30, 1910:

RECEIPTS.	
Balance on hand September 30, 1909.....	\$220 75
Receipts from October 1, 1909, to September 30, 1910.....	55 10
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$275 85</b>
EXPENSES.	
Salary and expenses, A. A. Hay, September 19, 1909, to October 2, 1909.....	\$119 81
Salary and expenses, O. W. Fredrickson, September 19, 1909, to October 16, 1909.....	102 75
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$222 06</b>
RECAPITULATION.	
Receipts.....	\$275 85
Expenses.....	222 06
<b>Balance on hand September 30, 1910.....</b>	<b>\$58 79</b>

**APPEAL FOR APPROPRIATIONS.**

The following is an itemized statement of the amount received from the appeals issued to local unions requesting appropriations to be used for the legal defense of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and officers and members of affiliated unions in the injunction suit, and an itemized statement of the moneys paid out of that fund during the fiscal year ending September 30, 1910:

RECEIPTS.	
Balance on hand September 30, 1909.....	\$38,024 87
Receipts from October 1, 1909, to September 30, 1910.....	3,984 85
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$41,958 72</b>
EXPENSES.	
On account of attorney fees and expenses:	
Alton B. Parker.....	\$2,883 10
Ralston, Siddons & Richardson.....	1,281 48
Stamps, mailing circulars.....	1,100 00
Clerk hire, addressing, folding and enclosing circulars in envelopes.....	180 77
Premiums on bonds in connection with contempt case.....	245 00
Expenses, conference with Representatives of Congress.....	50 95
Printing in connection with contempt case.....	511 85
Cut and two sets of electro plates.....	43 85
Printing 25,000 pamphlets proceedings, Buck's Stove and Range Co. case.....	366 50
Expenses Executive Council meeting, Washington, D. C.....	829 65
Clerk hire.....	43 21
Expenses, two trips, Mt. Vernon, N. Y., to Washington, D. C., and return, relative to contempt case, John Mitchell.....	83 20
Printing.....	17 50
Printing 30,000 books, trial by judge and jury.....	244 50
Printing 20,000 books, 8 pp., John Mitchell's speech.....	65 00
Copy of bill of complaint, Post vs. A. F. of L.....	26 50
Certified copy of opinion, Cole Mfg. Co. vs. Selden Breck Con. Co.....	4 00
Certified copy of opinion of U. S. Court of Appeals in the Natl. Tel. Co. vs. Kent et al.,	1 55
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$7,934 01</b>
RECAPITULATION.	
Receipts.....	\$41,958 72
Expenses.....	7,934 01
<b>Balance on hand, September 30, 1910.....</b>	<b>\$34,024 71</b>

## CHARTERS ISSUED.

During the twelve months ending September 30, 1910, there have been issued 334 charters to National and International, State, Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.

Of this number, two were granted to the following Internationals:

Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.

Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America.

Trade unions, 152; Federal Labor unions, 96.

One State Branch: Ohio.

Eighty-three Central bodies, as follows:

<b>Alabama:</b> Montgomery and Vicinity.	<b>Maine:</b> Livermore Falls.	<b>Oklahoma:</b> Bartlesville.
<b>Arizona:</b> Phoenix.	St. Croix Valley (Calais).	Chant.
<b>Arkansas:</b> Logan County.	<b>Massachusetts:</b> Bridgewater.	Hobart.
<b>Pine Bluff.</b>	Gloucester.	Lawton.
<b>California:</b> Coalinga.	New Bedford.	Okmulgee.
<b>Canada, Alberta:</b> Edmonton.	Pittsfield.	Sapulpa.
<b>British Columbia:</b> Vancouver.	Waltham and Vicinity.	<b>Pennsylvania:</b> Bethlehem and Vicinity.
<b>Quebec:</b> Quebec and Levis.	Ware and Vicinity.	Bethlehem, South
<b>Colorado:</b> Montrose.	<b>Michigan:</b> Battle Creek.	Brownsville.
<b>Sterling.</b>	<b>Missouri:</b> Columbia.	Braddock.
<b>Georgia:</b> Macon.	Lexington.	Carnegie.
<b>Waycross.</b>	<b>Montana:</b> Anaconda.	Chester.
<b>Idaho:</b> Twin Falls.	Bozeman.	McKeesport.
<b>Illinois:</b> Carrier Mills.	Butte.	Pottstown.
<b>Metropolis.</b>	Hamilton.	<b>South Carolina:</b> Spartanburg.
<b>Witt.</b>	Miles City.	<b>South Dakota:</b> Aberdeen.
<b>Indiana:</b> Bedford.	Missoula County.	Huron.
<b>Brazil.</b>	Powell County.	Lead.
<b>Dugger.</b>	<b>Nebraska:</b> Hastings.	<b>Texas:</b> Amarillo.
<b>Iowa:</b> Centerville.	<b>Nevada:</b> Ely.	Dallas.
<b>Mystic.</b>	<b>New Hampshire:</b> Berlin.	Quanah.
<b>Kansas:</b> Hutchinson.	<b>New York:</b> Dunkirk and Vicinity.	San Angelo.
<b>Lawrence.</b>	Port Henry and Vicinity.	<b>Vermont:</b> Brattleboro.
<b>Mulberry.</b>	<b>Ohio:</b> Cleveland.	<b>Virginia:</b> Fredericksburg.
<b>Salina.</b>	Jackson.	Washington.
<b>Wellington.</b>	Logan.	Cle Elum.
	Lorain County.	North Yakima.
	Niles.	Willapa Harbor
	Newark.	(Raymond).
	Perry County.	<b>West Virginia:</b> Charleston.

## CHARTERS ISSUED, 1897-1910.

YEAR.	In- terna- tional.	De- part- ment.	State.	Central.	Trade Unions.	Federal Unions.	Total.
1897.....	8	.....	2	18	154	35	217
1898.....	9	.....	0	12	129	53	203
1899.....	9	.....	1	35	303	101	449
1900.....	14	.....	5	96	484	250	849
1901.....	7	.....	4	123	575	207	916
1902 (eleven months).....	14	.....	6	127	598	279	1,024
1903.....	20	.....	3	171	743	306	1,333
1904.....	11	.....	5	99	179	149	443
1905.....	3	.....	1	67	143	73	287
1906.....	6	.....	4	53	167	87	317
1907.....	3	.....	1	72	204	93	373
1908.....	0	2	4	73	100	55	234
1909.....	3	2	2	40	77	52	176
1910.....	2	.....	1	83	152	96	334
Total.....	109	4	39	1,069	4,008	1,926	7,155

International.....	2
State.....	1
Central.....	83
Federal Labor Union.....	96
Local Trade Union.....	152

Total..... 334

# MEMBERSHIP.

To more forcibly bring to the attention of the delegates the remarkable growth in the membership during the past nine years, I have prepared the following table, showing the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1902 up to and including 1910. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor by affiliated organizations:

ORGANIZATIONS.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.
Actors' International Union.....	5	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
Allied Metal Mech. Intl.....	61	113	70	a	a	a	a	a	a
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs.' Intl. U. of A.	102	154	162	120	106	110	105	107	127
Barbers' International Union, Jour.....	160	208	236	227	231	241	255	255	265
Bill Posters.....		10	13	14	14	14	14	14	14
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of.....	43	70	105	100	82	93	100	100	100
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.....	95	178	190	134	128	157	152	126	161
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	146	207	320	320	321	320	320	320	325
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of.....	70	81	65	66	68	89	79	71	78
Bottle Blowers' Asso. of U. S. and Canada.....	59	61	66	70	78	80	88	93	100
Brewery Workmen, International Union.....	291	300	305	340	300		400	400	400
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, Intl.....	41	55	73	41	64	43	28	25	38
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.....	9	11	11	10	10	9	8	8	6
Brushmakers' International Union.....			7	7	5	5	4	2	2
Building Employees of Amer., Intl. Union of			8	*	*	*	*	*	*
Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated.....	32	45	50	48	43	58	81	73	71
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of.....	800	1090	1554	1432	1637	1929	1796	1640	1904
Carriage and Wagon Workers.....	31	49	55	32	31	31	15	15	11
Carvers' Union, International Wood.....	23	24	21	16	16	16	13	13	12
Car Workers, International Association of.....	24	128	102	50	49	50	44	50	50
Cement Workers.....		55	44	35	42	58	73	90	90
Chainmakers' National Union.....	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	3	2
Cigar-makers' International Union.....	347	383	405	414	391	399	409	398	432
Clerks, Bro. Railway.....								56	50
Clerks, Order of Railway.....		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Clerks' Intl. Protective Asso., Retail.....	300	500	500	500	500	500	500	150	150
Clerks, National Postoffice.....						9	12	13	14
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, United.....	20	25	29	26	21	23	13	15	21
Clothingmakers, Special Order of.....	60	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Commercial Telegraphers.....		10	20	20	20	35	19	10	10
Compressed Air and Foundation Workers' Union, Intl.....			12	12	13	13	13	8	6
Coopers' International Union.....	57	72	71	56	55	53	49	41	41
Coremakers' International Union.....	12		b	b	b	b	b	b	b
Curtain Operatives, Amalgamated Lace.....	5	5	6	7	8	8	8	8	8
Cutting Die and Cuttermakers, Intl. Union.....				3	3	3	3	3	3
Electrical Workers, International Bro.....	115	183	210	210	210	302	321	188	160
Elevator Constructors.....		21	22	22	22	23	25	20	21
Engineers, International Union of Steam.....	65	142	176	175	175	175	168	161	160
Engineers, Amalgamated Society of.....	19	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Engineers, National Bro. of Coal Hoisting.....	8	9	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Firemen, International Bro. of Stationary.....	62	143	180	122	123	125	173	107	81
Fishermen's National Prot. Asso., Lobster.....						6	6	+	+
Freight Handlers, Bro. of Railroad.....		48	33	34	32	63	78	46	47
Flour and Cereal Mill Employes.....		21	21	9	7	7	8	8	3
Foundry Employes, International Bro. of.....			10	10	10	10	7	5	7
Fur Workers, International Association of.....			3	4	4	4	4	2	2
Furnace Workers and Smelters of America.....	9	15	15	15	++	++	++	++	++
Garment Workers of America, United.....	243	457	457	319	240	334	439	534	512
Glass Workers' Union, Flint.....	71	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**
Glass Flatteners' Asso. of N. A., Window.....			+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Glass Workers' International Asso., Amal.....	7	20	17	16	14	12	11	12	12
Glass Workers of America, Amal., Window.....					58	61	**	**	**
Glass House Employes' International Asso.....		6	6	2	2	++	++	++	++
Glass Snappers, Window.....		9	11	12	10	6	*	+	+
Glove Workers.....		30	20	11	8	8	8	8	8
Gold Beaters' Protective Union, National.....	3	3	3	3	3	5	5	+	+
Grinders' National Union, Table Knife.....	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2
Grinders and Finishers, Pocket Knife Blade.....				2	3	3	3	3	3
Granite Cutters' International Asso. of A.....	82	94	99	103	113	126	130	131	131
Hatters of North America, United.....	80	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85
Heat Frost, Genl. Insulators, and Asbestos.....		7	7	3	5	5	8	8	5
Hodcarriers and Building Laborers.....		83	85	47	50	97	112	88	114
Horseshoers of United States and Canada.....	28	44	42	42	41	41	61	72	72
Hotel and Restaurant Employes, etc.....	191	391	494	387	345	363	386	398	376
Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers' Amal. Asso.....	150	150	135	100	100	100	100	60	80
Iron Workers, Bridge and Struc. Intl. Asso.....	+	100	115	100	100	100	100	100	100
Jewelry Workers' International.....	10	24	24	7	4	6	4	3	4
Ladies' Garment Workers, International.....	21	30	22	18	13	23	16	18	187
Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. and Metal.....	33	44	59	43	40	40	58	50	50
Laundry Workers, International Union.....	42	80	65	46	55	31	40	35	29
Leather Workers on Horse Goods.....	42	48	46	40	40	10	40	40	37
Leather Workers of America, Amal.....	22	36	25	10	10	10	8	8	8
Lithographers' Intl. P. and B. Asso.....					30	23	11	13	17
Lithographic Press Feeders of the U. S. and Can., Intl. Protective Association of.....								10	9
Longshoremen's Association, International.....	347	400	500	478	300	283	218	167	208
Machinists, International Association of.....	355	488	557	485	500	500	621	49	500



## MEMBERSHIP—Continued.

ORGANIZATION.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.
Machine Printers and Color Mixers.....		4	4	4	5	5	5	5	5
Maintenance of Way Employees, Intl. Bro. of	46	87	123	120	120	132	135	100	87
Marble Workers, Intl. Association of.....	5	12	6	19	17	20	22	24	27
Mattress, Spring, and Bedding Workers.....			15	15	++	++	++	++	++
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.....	84	253	344	62	50	53	63	63	54
Metal Workers' Intl. Alliance, Amal. Sheet.	66	126	153	130	129	153	161	160	162
Metal Polishers, Buffers, and Platers, etc.	84	128	128	103	109	100	100	100	100
Metal Workers' Intl. Union, United.....	43	87	96	+	+	+	+	+	+
Mine Workers of America, United.....	1854	2173	2577	2619	2379	2549	2525	2670	2387
Mine Managers and Assts. Mutual Aid Asso.	4	4	4	4	4	+	+	+	+
Mineral Mine Workers, United.....	3	7	a	**	**	**	**	**	**
Molders' Union of North America, Intl.	259	300	300	300	450	500	500	500	500
Musicians, American Federation of.....	97	140	220	308	354	375	375	394	400
Oil and Gas Well Workers' Union, Intl.	3	4	4	4	++	++	++	++	++
Painters of America, Brotherhood of.....	348	536	607	542	555	624	648	596	635
Paper Box Workers, International Union of			12	9	7	+	+	+	+
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of.....	41	107	88	50	35	31	43	10	16
Patternmakers' League of N. A.....	23	29	37	36	40	50	55	50	52
Pavers and Rammermen, Intl. Union of.....				10	12	15	15	15	15
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. & Can.	2	9	12	13	15	18	20	26	32
Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl.			17	22	22	28	29	32	35
Piano and Organ Workers' Union of A., Intl.	57	65	99	90	80	50	50	40	40
Pilots' Association.....		5	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Pilots' Association of the Great Lakes, Lake					10	+	+	+	+
Plasterers' Intl. Asso. of U. S. & Can. Oper.								145	152
Plumbers, Gasfitters, Steamfitters, etc.	128	152	165	150	150	160	180	184	200
Potters, Stoneware.....		++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Powder and High Explosive Workers.....	4	7	7	5	6	5	5	2	2
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.	49	61	58	56	56	58	59	59	58
Potters' National Union of America.....			c	c	c	c	c	c	c
Printing Pressmen, International.....	119	144	160	170	166	166	172	178	186
Printers, Plate, of U. S. A., Intl. Steel and									
Copper.....	7	9	10	11	12	12	12	12	13
Print Cutters Asso. of A., Natl.....		3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4
Printers, Machine Textile.....		4	4	4	4	**	**	**	**
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers of									
United States and Canada, Intl. Bro. of								10	7
Quarry Workers, International.....	12	26	36	38	41	45	45	50	50
Railway Carmen of A., Bro.....								228	228
Railway Clerks.....	13	6	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Railway Employees' Amal. Asso., St. & Elec.	98	256	300	300	300	320	320	333	367
Railway Expressmen.....	14	3	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Roofers, Comp. Damp & Waterproof Wks.								10	11
Rubber Workers.....	10	2	1	+	+	+	+	+	+
Sawsmiths' National Union.....	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Seamen's Union of America, Intl.....	99	139	201	195	194	248	255	168	160
Shingle Weavers.....		18	14	16	17	18	17	18	18
Shipwrights, Joiners and Calkers.....	26	33	24	20	19	19	16	16	9
Slate and Tile Roofers.....		5	7	6	5	6	6	5	5
Slate Workers.....		8	8	9	18	30	27	21	14
Spinnners' Intl. Union.....	26	25	25	22	22	22	22	22	22
Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers	15	*	*	*	54	55	56	56	56
Steel Plate Transferers' Asso. of America								1	1
Stereotypers & Electrotipers' Union of N. A.	18	21	24	28	28	29	31	35	40
Stonecutters' Association, Journeymen.....						85	83	80	80
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	16	16	17	15	15	14	10	9	9
Switchmen's Union of North America.....						92	93	80	80
Tackmakers.....		2	2	++	++	++	++	++	++
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	109	138	159	160	169	167	163	132	117
Teamsters, International Brotherhood of.....	138	320	340	783	402	366	377	320	358
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	80	95	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
Textile Workers of America, United.....	106	150	155	160	160	114	129	100	100
Theatrical Stage Employees, Intl. Alliance	44	45	50	55	60	60	62	80	91
Tile Layers and Helpers, Intl. Union.....	11	14	17	14	19	21	19	17	19
Tin Plate Workers, Intl. Protective.....	21	18	16	14	14	14	14	15	8
Tip Printers.....		2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Tobacco Workers' Intl. Union of America	41	52	56	51	55	51	46	43	41
Travelers' Goods & Leather Novelty, Intl.	5	16	15	13	9	7	5	5	6
Tube Workers of United States & Canada	5	15	15	++	++	++	++	++	++
Tunnel & Subway Constructors, Intl. Union									13
Typographical Union, International.....	393	435	467	467	458	428	410	455	491
Upholsterers, International Union of.....	13	25	30	28	26	26	28	28	28
Watch Case Engravers, International.....	4	4	3	3	2	2	2	2	2
Watch Case Makers, International.....			d	d	d	d	d	d	d
Weavers, Elastic Goring.....	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wire Weavers' Protective, American.....	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Woodmen and Saw Mill Workers.....				11	12	10	3	7	6
Wood Workers, Amalgamated.....	184	273	283	290	150	363	40	41	32
Centrals.....	425	549	569	601	528	574	606	594	632
Locals.....	678	828	553	1016	759	713	616	608	647
State Branches.....	27	29	32	34	36	37	38	39	39

Total vote of Unions.....16705 16238 17355 16312 16237 15880 16737

**CHARTERS**—Reports from the Secretaries of 16 of our National and International organizations furnish us with the information that 2,194 charters have been issued during the past year and 1,513 surrendered—1,347 of the charters surrendered were locals of the National and International unions and 166 affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor.

**GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP**—The gain in membership reported by the Secretaries of 62 International organizations over the membership on the last of September last year is 218,299.

**STRIKES**—Reports from 80 International organizations and from a number of local unions, show that there were 827 strikes in which there were 41,448 involved. Of that number 502,996 were benefited and 12,309 not benefited. The total cost of the strikes reported on was \$1,737,277.83. Adding to that amount the donations made by local unions to other unions, we have a grand total of \$3,890,994 expended to sustain members on strike during the past year.

ORGANIZATIONS.		Charters issued.	Charters surrendered.	Gain in membership.	No. of strikes won.	Strikes compromised.	Strikes pending.	Strikes lost.	Reduction in hours per day.	Gain in wages.	No. involved.	No. benefited.	Not benefited.	Cost of strikes.	Donations to other unions.
A. F. of L. locals.		248	106	1,990	23	13	3	3	4		413	295	121	\$7,908 88	\$4,800 80
Actors		6	8	400	2	1	1			15%	600	600			m
Asbestos Workers		18	8	3,298	16	10		6		25%	100	83	20	67,881 00	
Bakers		41	16	1,560					1	10%	2,706				
Barbers															
Bill Posters		36	11	1,230	1	1	2	3	1 hour	8%	110	3,000		2,000 00	28 00
Blacksmiths		76	42	6,486	39	11	6	23		10%	1,427	663		4,500 00	
Boilermakers		10	1		6			5			380			48,469 59	
Bookbinders		7	7	6,000	9	7		1			576	546	30	22,470 75	
Boot and Shoe Workers		48	40	6,000	32	19	7	2	4		2,796			7,432 92	15,000 00
Brewery Workmen		18	15	13	13	3	1	4		18% b	1,864	1,500		61,001 00	8,725 00
Bridge, Pile, and Terra Cotta Wks		7	2	1,100	6	3	2	1		60% d	1,500	100		3,000 00	
Build and Structural Iron Wks		1	1	100	5	3		2	1	40%	100			370 00	50 00
Broommakers															
Brushmakers		20	271	20,968	60	30	20	8	2	25%				63,537 20	50 00
Carpenters, Brotherhood.		12	5	550					1	25%		60		3,149 79	2,050 00
Carpenters, Amalgamated.			1					1							
Carriage and Wagon Workers			9		4	3		1		28%	100	520		1,574 36	
Carpenters, Wood		27	9		1	1				28%	600	900			
Cement Workers										11%		2,212	170	19,000 00	100 00
Chemists					53	22	4	24	3		6,548				
Climbers		7	7	4,250											
Clockmakers		54	60	507	42	35			7		760	672	97	11,572 00	
Coch and Hat and Cap Makers		5	2												135 00
Commercial Telegraphers		4	3	100	20	12	3	2	p	25%	425	381		3,050 00	
Coopers		1		87										5,247 00	
Cotton and Operatives, Lace.															
Cutlery and Cutter Makers		37		4,000	6						5,000	5,000		30,000 00	25,000 00
Electrical Workers		3		104	2	1		1	r	25%	510	350	100	9,000 40	
Elevator Constructors										50%				6,890 75	
Engineers, Steam		41	47		13	6	1	5							

# CHARTERS, GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP, AND STRIKES—CONTINUED.

ORGANIZATIONS.	Char- ters issued.	Char- ters surren- dered.	Gain in mem- ber- ship.	No. of strikes won.	Strikes com- pro- mised.	Strikes pend- ing.	Strikes lost.	Reduc- tion in hours per day.	Gain in wages.	No. in- volved.	No. ben- e- fited.	Cost of strikes.	Dona- tions to other unions.
engravers, Watch Case.				1	1					15		\$3,246 00	\$50 00
remes, Stationary.	19	1		5	4			40	10%	260		2,500 00	2,500 00
ters, Steam.	15	9		4	2		1		50%	1,250		2,500 00	
our and Cereal Mill Employees.	5	2		1	1				25%	88	28		
undry Employees	23	4	2,045	4	3		1			87			148 00
eight, Handlers.	1	1	58	4					18 1/2%	200	6,682		3,000 00
ur Workers.	87	39	17,634	9	4		2	1		20,000	5,000	50,000 00	
inent Workers, United	21	10	66,235	6	2		2	1	50%	79,700	4,700	383,000 00	6,120 00
lass Bottle Blowers.	3	3	350	2	1					60	60	200 00	8,500 00
lass Workers, Amal.	11	3	258	2	1		1	1 hr. 4	5%	18	18		100 00
love Workers.	3	4	80	1						4,000	4,000	183,635 90	4,450 00
mitte Cutters.	20	9		8					3 1/2%	6,000		186,854 50	1,700 00
atters.	89	25	5,400	22	20		1	1	25 to 62%			600 00	125 00
odcarriers.	9									3,500	4,500	25,208 75	5,000 00
orceshoes	82	88	2,156	16	12		1		3 1/2 to 10%	5,000		257,426 25	19,377 64
otel and Restaurant Employees.	13	22		5			1	4		500			38 00
on and Steel Workers	2	5	181							3,000	450	47,210 00	
welry Workers	40	12		5			5		10%	40			
uthers	15	20		1	1				5%	3,800			
undry Workers	7	23		k	7								
ather Workers on Horse Goods	2		370						\$1 p. wk	40	250	100 00	250 00
ather Workers, Amal	44	4	5,000	3	3		1		12%	2,800	400		
ithographic Press Feeders.	51	20	10,000	3	2					18,000	25,000	188,226 29	6,000 00
ongshoremen	50	3	600	50	25		2	1 hr.	30%	500		2,500 00	3,000 00
achine Printers & Color Mixers	38	27	3,000	2	1		1		50%	170	600	6,000 00	1,200 00
actinists	31	10	1,000	18	10		1		25%	2,800	5,000	18,250 00	3,000 00
arige Workers	55	9	1,000	25	16		3			100,000	300,000	1,826,310 68	
eat Cutters	143	141		10	7					100		205,003 14	5,000 00
etay Pollshers	47	12	1,200	1			40						
ing Workers, Sheet.	17	14	6,638										
ing Workers, United.	83	5	11,000	1	1				5%	5,000	10,000	11,621 30	960 00
olders	12	12	1,079	20	8		2			628	417	3,353 00	3,368 00
insulators	17	5	400	4	3		1			100	100	24 00	650 00
insulators	17	5	353	5	3		1		10%	96	96	800 00	
ing Quakers	12	12		1	1					8			
attent-makers	13	5	400	4	3								
aving Cutters	6	4		1	1								
hoto-Engravers	7	4		1	1								
lano and Organ Workers.				1	1								
late Printers.				1	1								

CHARTERS, GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP, AND STRIKES—CONTINUED.

ORGANIZATIONS.	Char- ters issued.	Char- ters surren- dered.	Gain in mem- ber ship.	No. of strikes won.	Strikes com- prom- ised.	Strikes pend- ing.	Strikes lost.	Reduc- tion in hours per day.	Gain in wages.	No. in- volved.	No. ben- e- fited.	Cost of strikes.	Dona- tions to other unions.
Gunners .....	60	45	71	65	40	25	1	1	\$1.48 <sup>a</sup>	1,500	...	\$29,707 00	...
powder & High Explosive Wkrs.	1	1	25	1	1	1	5 to 20 <sup>b</sup>	...	...	24	150	300 00	\$1,800 00
Print Outlets .....	23	4	1,398	22	10	12	1/2 hr.	...	...	25	437	75	25 00
Printing Pressmen .....	7	9	1,800	22	10	12	...	...	10%	238	1,200	90,000 00	350 50
Ship and Sulphite Workers .....	6	2	3,002	2	1	2	...	...	15%	6,000	10,000	1,000 00	466 75
Shoemaker Workers .....	86	37	5,702	12	8	3	1	...	8%	65	65	883 00	1,000 00
Shoemaker, St. and Elec.	23	4	3,000	12	8	3	1	...	20%	7,500	7,300	67,940 80	4,735 18
Shoemaker, Composition	6	2	200	3	2	1	...	...	35%	85	85	500 00	650 00
Shoemaker, Leather	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100 00
Shoemaker, Woven	4	4	...	3	1	2	...	...	...	8,000	...	5,500 00	...
Shipwrights .....	3	4	130	2	1	2	...	...	50%	300	...	5,000 00	...
Shoemaker, Tile Roofers .....	9	...	...	2	1	1	...	...	...	300	300	5,000 00	...
Shoemaker, Workers .....	1	1	1,500	5	5	3	1	...	25%	100	1,500	1,000 00	1,300 00
Shoemaker, Transferers .....	40	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	5%	600	600	1,000 00	1,000 00
Shoemaker, Tool Plate Transfers .....	7	...	248	1	1	1	...	...	50% to \$1 <sup>c</sup>	3	...	30 00	...
Shoemaker, Typographers and Electrotypes .....	22	3	2,000	5	4	4	...	...	...	300	2,500	52,500 00	1,000 00
Shoemaker, Type Mounters .....	5	5	104	7	3	4	...	...	...	150	70	729 85	...
Shoemaker, Watchmen .....	10	17	471	20	12	3	6	...	...	706	1,588	6,580 00	381 65
Shoemaker, Wagoners .....	8	23	4,035	48	44	3	1	...	...	2,156	1,780	18,725 00	...
Shoemaker, Wagoners .....	90	67	4,035	48	44	3	1	...	...	70	...	5,000 00	...
Shoemaker, Wagoners .....	37	11	200	5	4	1	...	...	20%	275	275	1,000 00	500 00
Shoemaker, Wagoners .....	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	2,000	...	40,000 00	...
Shoemaker, Wagoners .....	...	...	50	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	60	...	1,600 00
Shoemaker, Wagoners .....	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Shoemaker, Wagoners .....	5	...	218	1	1	...	...	...	10%	32	32	150 00	72 00
Shoemaker, Wagoners .....	1	...	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	\$1 <sup>c</sup>	202	600	900 00	...
Shoemaker, Wagoners .....	52	21	4,991	15	6	7	2	...	...	...	122	78,046 21	...
Shoemaker, Wagoners .....	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1 hr.	...	79	...	5 00
Shoemaker, Wagoners .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	200 00
Shoemaker, Wagoners .....	2,442	1,513	230,209	827	470	259	62	...	...	341,448	502,966	3,727,277 68	\$138,716 32

<sup>a</sup> 8 were lockouts; <sup>b</sup> in Chicago district; <sup>c</sup> Minneapolis 40 cents per day. Detroit 30 cents per day. New York City 35 cents per day; <sup>d</sup> 80 local unions have secured increases in wages since January 1910; <sup>e</sup> gained without strike; <sup>f</sup> half-holiday Saturday; <sup>g</sup> lockout; <sup>h</sup> in one city; <sup>i</sup> for 4,000 men; <sup>j</sup> general strike for eight-hour day; <sup>k</sup> strike for eight-hour day won in 4 cities and in 6 cities compromised in a settlement for 9 hours; <sup>l</sup> in cash and beneficial benefits, \$10,000; <sup>m</sup> 18 local and 30 branch charters; <sup>n</sup> 28 locals and 12 branch charters; <sup>o</sup> some places 2 hours, other places 1 hour; <sup>p</sup> 12 locals transferred to United Garment Workers; <sup>q</sup> 4 hours less per week; <sup>r</sup> lockout of January, 1909, pending in 7 factories; <sup>s</sup> nearly all; <sup>t</sup> 2 hours per week; <sup>u</sup> per week. <sup>v</sup> Per day.

# BENEFITS PAID TO MEMBERS BY INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DURING THE PAST YEAR.

ORGANIZATIONS.	Death benefits.	Death benefits members' wives.	Sick benefits.	Traveling benefits.	Tool insurance.	Unemployed benefits.
Asbestos Workers						
Bakers	\$2,700 00	\$525 00	\$11,056 65			
Barbers	22,445 00		40,111 32			
Boilermakers	3,100 00					
Bookbinders	3,750 00					
Boot and Shoe Workers	14,500 00		69,522 05			
Brick, Tile & Terra Cotta Wkrs.	300 00					
Bridge & Structural Iron Wkrs.	11,200 00					
Broommakers	825 00		500 00			
Brushmakers	70 00			\$15 00		
Carpenters, Brotherhood	250,001 77	23,550 00	90,000 00			
Carpenters, Amalgamated	2,054 50		7,755 56	184 55	\$1,158 17	\$81,810 95
Carriage and Wagon Workers	750 00					
Carvers, Wood	2,650 00				139 09	
Cigarmakers	226,000 00	4,800 00	186,000 00	41,000 00		76,000 00
Clerks	7,400 00		16,720 00			
Commercial Telegraphers	1,200 00					
Coopers	2,776 50					
Curtain Operatives, Lace	4,025 00	250 00				
Cutting Die and Cutter Makers	375 00					
Electrical Workers	8,400 00					
Engravers, Watch Case			39 00			
Fitters, Steam	2,000 00					
Foundry Employees	400 00		975 00			
Freight Handlers	3,110 00	1,000 00	1,000 00		23 00	
Garment Workers, Ladies'	150 00					
Glass Bottle Blowers	55,000 00					40,000 00
Glass Workers, Amalgamated	602 00					
Hatters	75,000 00	1,000 00				4,000 00
Hodcarriers	4,100 00					
Hotel and Restaurant Empl's	44,300 00		67,571 22			
Iron and Steel Workers	2,700 00	1,500 00	10,055 00			
Jewelry Workers			134 00			
Lathers	4,461 80					
Leather Wks. on Horse Goods	2,000 00		6,428 00			
Lithographers	12,500 00					
Lithographic Pressfeeders	300 00					
Machine Printers & Col. Mix.	600 00					
Machinists	38,800 00					
Meat Cutters	1,800 00					
Metal Polishers	6,750 00					
Metal Workers, Sheet	11,600 00					
Molders	18,532 00		135,464 10			
Painters	86,249 00	9,325 00	10,975 00			
Patternmakers	3,200 00		6,927 79		2,625 15	
Paving Cutters	1,900 00					
Photo-Engravers	1,875 00		4,023 05			
Piano and Organ Workers	2,000 00	1,080 00	3,938 52			900 00
Plumbers	10,000 00					600 00
Potters	300 00					
Print Cutters	675 25					
Printing Pressmen	17,100 00					
Pulp and Sulphite Workers						3,000 00
Quarry Workers	750 00					
Railroad Telegraphers	85,800 00					
Railway Carmen	3,719 60					24,553 05*
Railway Employees, St. & Elec.	20,900 00		19,777 85			
Sawsmiths			500 00			
Shipwrights	1,900 00					
Slate and Tile Roofers	800 00			300 00		
Spinners	1,500 00		600 00			16,000 00
Stereotypers & Electrotypers	2,400 00					
Stonecutters	1,800 00					
Stove Mounters	1,700 00					
Switchmen	128,550 00					
Tailors	10,412 50		21,820 55			
Textile Workers	70 00					
Tobacco Workers	1,250 00		5,271 00			
Travelers' Goods and Leather						
Novelty Workers	350 00	462 00				
Tunnel and Subway Con.	1,200 00		600 00	1,500 00		800 00
Typographical Union	43,045 00					
Weavers, Elastic Goring	300 00					144 00
Weavers, Wire	1,056 60		200 00			
Totals	1,320,664 52	54,492 00	719,165 66	42,999 55	6,945 41	107,808 00

Your attention is called to the fact that the amounts herein reported as having been expended by the international unions on account of various benefits in the past year, are those paid directly by the internationals, and therefore the totals represent but a small proportion of the aggregate sum paid by trade unions in the way of benefits. A number of international unions have not as yet established benefit features, and others pay only partial benefits. It must be borne in mind that in every trade, local unions have existed independently prior to the formation of the international union, and almost without exception, they provide death, sick, out of work, etc., benefits for their members. In these instances benefit features have thus become identified and recognized as belonging to the jurisdiction of a local union. This system has retarded international unions in establishing and extending benefit features, for the reason that it is difficult to bring locals that have to support their own benefit funds to consent to increase the tax to such an amount as would enable the internationals to secure the means for such purpose. In most instances, benefits paid by internationals are supplemental relief, paid to members in addition to the benefits provided by their local unions.

### INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

- Actors.**—Number of strikes, 3; won, 3. Number of persons involved, 600; benefited, 600. An average gain in wages of 15 per cent per member per day. Gains in other respects, recognition of the union. Improved working conditions were secured in Boston and Chicago without strike. Some reductions in wages were experienced. Other attempts at reductions were successfully resisted. Donations to other unions in cash and theatrical benefits, \$10,000. Through organization members have made good progress in advancing wages and stopping practice of breaking weeks under different managers.
- Asbestos Workers.**—Charters issued, 6. Gain in membership, 400. Number of strikes, 2; won, 1; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 100; benefited, 80; not benefited, 20. An average gain in wages of 25 cents per member per day.
- Bakery and Confectionery Workers.**—Charters issued, 18; surrendered, 8. Gain in membership, 3,396. Number of strikes, 16; won, 10; pending, 6. Number of persons involved, 2,706. Average gain in wages of 10 per cent per member per day and average reduction in the hours of labor of one hour per day. Gains in other respects: better regulation of working and sanitary conditions in bakeries. Cost of strikes, \$67,881.00. Death benefits, \$2,700; death benefits, members' wives, \$625; sick benefits, \$11,656.65.
- Barbers.**—Charters issued, 41; surrendered, 16. Gain in membership, 1,550. Death benefits, \$22,445; sick benefits, \$40,111.32.
- Bill Posters.**—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 2. Number of strikes, 1; won, 1. Cost of strikes, \$2,000. Members have secured shorter hours and better wages as result of organization. Donations to other unions, \$25.
- Blacksmiths.**—Charters issued, 36; surrendered, 11. Gain in membership, 1,300. Number of strikes, 5; won, 1; compromised, 2; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 110; benefited, 3,000. Average gain in wages of 8 per cent per member per day, and an average reduction in hours of labor of one hour per day. Cost of strikes, \$4,500. Recognition and gains in some districts secured without strike. Efforts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. As result of organization the members have secured better fuel, ventilation, and sanitary conditions, and in almost every instance the union shop.
- Boilermakers.**—Charters issued, 76; surrendered, 42. Gain in membership, 6,485. Number of strikes, 30; won, 11; compromised, 5; pending, 23. Number of persons involved, 1,427; number of persons benefited, 693. An average gain in wages of 10 cents per member per day. Thirty lodges secured satisfactory agreements without strike. Cost of strikes, \$48,469.80. No reductions in wages. Death benefits, \$3,100. As result of organization members have increased their wages 16 cents per hour.
- Bookbinders.**—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 1. Number of strikes, 5; pending, 5. Number of persons involved, 350. Cost of strikes, \$22,470.75. Reductions in wages are now being resisted. Death benefits, \$3,750. As a result of organization wages have increased about 10 per cent and the 8-hour workday established in the trade.
- Boot and Shoe Workers.**—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 7. Gain in membership, 6,000. Number of strikes, 9; won, 7; pending, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 576; benefited, 546; not benefited, 30. Substantial improvements secured in many factories. Wages maintained everywhere where union had control, except in one factory. Half-holiday on Saturday secured in many factories. Cost of strikes, \$7,432.92. Death benefits, \$14,500; disability benefits, \$4,545; sick benefits, \$39,522.05. Donations to other trade unions estimated at \$15,000.

- Brewery Workmen.**—Charters issued, 18 local and 30 branch; surrendered, 28 local and 12 branch. Gain in membership in the past two years, 5,000. Number of strikes, 32; won, 19; compromised, 7; pending, 2; lost, 4. Number of persons involved, 2,736. Agreements were signed in 95 cities in the past year, providing for excellent improvements. Cost of strikes, \$51,001. No reductions in wages. Donations to other unions, \$3,725.
- Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers.**—Charters issued, 18; surrendered, 15. Number of strikes, 5; lockouts, 8; strikes compromised, 1; pending, 4; lost, 8. Number of persons involved, 1,864. Members in the Chicago district gained an average increase of 8 per cent per day. Twenty locals secured an average of 10 per cent increase through conference. No reductions in wages. Cost of strikes, \$3,000. Death benefits, \$300.
- Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.**—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 1,100. Number of strikes, 6; won, 3; compromised, 2; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,500; benefited, 1,500. Thirty local unions have secured increases in wages since January 1, 1910, with an average gain of 50 cents per member per day. Cost of strikes, \$5,000. For five years the organization has been carrying on a determined struggle against the open shop policy. As result of organization the members have a daily wage of \$4.50 for 8 hours, as against \$2.50 for 10 hours formerly. Death benefits, \$11,300.
- Broommakers.**—Charters issued, 1; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 100. Number of strikes, 5; won, 3; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 100; benefited, 100. Gain in wages, 40 cents per day. Hours of labor reduced 1 per day. Cost of strikes, \$370. Death benefits, \$825; sick benefits, \$500. Donations to other unions, \$500. As result of organization, members work 9 hours per day with an average wage of \$3.50, instead of 10 hours for \$2 formerly.
- Brushmakers.**—Death benefits, \$50. Donations to other unions, \$50. As a result of organization wages have been increased about 10 per cent.
- Carpenters, Brotherhood.**—Number of charters issued, 201; surrendered, 271. Gain in membership, 20,998. Number of strikes, 60; won, 30; compromised, 20; pending, 8; lost, 2. In some localities an average gain in wages of 25 cents per member per day was secured. Hours of labor reduced one in some districts. Cost of strikes, \$68,537.20. Death benefits, \$250,001.77; death benefits, members' wives, \$33,550; sick benefits, \$30,000.
- Carpenters, Amalgamated.**—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 5. Increase in membership, 550. Unemployed benefit, \$31,810.95; sick benefit, \$7,755.56; tool benefit, \$4,158.17; traveling benefit, \$181.55; accident benefit, \$2,700; death benefit, \$2,054.50. Strikes and lockouts, \$3,149.79. Superannuation benefit, \$9,409.55. Assistance to members and other trades, \$2,050.
- Carriage and Wagon Workers.**—Charters surrendered, 1. Gain in wages of 25 cents per member per day, and hours of labor reduced one per day. Number benefited, 600. Gains in other respects: Successfully resisted attempts to inaugurate piece-work system, which is regarded equivalent to reduction in wages. Death benefits, \$750. As a result of organization piece-work has been abolished, hours reduced from 10 to 9, and wages raised from the former schedule of 27 cents to 30 cents, to 32 cents to 40 cents per hour.
- Carvers, Wood.**—Charters surrendered, 1. Number of strikes, 4; won, 3; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 100; benefited, 320. Gain in wages in three cities of 40 cents, 30 cents and 25 cents per member per day, respectively. Cost of strikes, \$1,574.36. Twenty-two members in one city secured an increase of 30 cents per day through arbitration. No reductions in wages. Death benefits, \$2,050. Tool insurance, \$139.09.
- Cement Workers.**—Charters issued, 27; surrendered, 9. Number of strikes, 1; won, 1. Number of persons involved, 500; benefited, 500. Average gain in wages, 25 cents per member per day.
- Chainmakers.**—Charters surrendered, 1. An average gain of 10 per cent secured for 200 members and 150 non-union men through arbitration. Donations to other unions, \$100.
- Cigarmakers.**—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 7. Gain in membership, 4,250. Number of strikes, 53; won, 22; compromised, 4; pending, 24; lost, 3. Number of persons involved, 6,548; benefited, 2,212; not benefited, 170. Cost of strikes, \$19,000. Death benefits, \$225,000; death benefits, members' wives, \$4,800; sick benefits, \$186,000; traveling benefits, \$41,000; unemployed benefits, \$76,000.
- Clerks, Retail.**—Charters issued, 54; surrendered, 60. Death benefits, \$7,400; sick benefits, \$16,720.
- Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 507. Number of strikes, 42; won, 35; lost, 7. Number involved, 769; benefited, 672; not benefited, 97. Cost of strikes, \$11,572. Among other concessions, the union secured free electric power for more members. Satisfactory adjustment of prices by many locals through arbitration. All attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Since 1902 the organization has gained free thread, free electric power, 35 per cent increase in wages, reduction of working hours from an unlimited number to 9½ per day.

**Commercial Telegraphers.**—Number of charters issued, 4. General increase in wages of from 10 to 15 per cent secured without strike. As a result of organization in the trade the salaries of the members average from \$5 to \$10 per month higher. Death benefits, \$1,200. Donations to other unions, \$125.

**Coopers.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 100. Number of strikes, 20; won, 12; compromised, 8; pending, 2; lost, 8. Number of persons involved, 425; benefited, 334. Average gain in wages of 25 cents per member per day where contracts were signed. In some places hours were reduced 2 per day and in others 1 per day. Increases were gained by several locals through arbitration. Cost of strikes, \$3,050. Death benefits, \$2,776.50.

**Curtain Operatives.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 87. Death benefits, \$4,025; death benefits, members' wives, \$250.

**Cutting Die and Cutter Makers.**—Gain in membership, 10. No reduction in wages in the past year. As a result of organization hours of labor have been reduced from 60 to 50 per week and wages increased 25 per cent. Death benefits, \$375.

**Electrical Workers.**—Charters granted, 37. Gain in membership, 4,000. Number of strikes, 6; won, 6. Number of persons involved, 5,000; benefited, 5,000. Average gain of 25 cents per member per day. Cost of strikes, \$80,000. No reductions in wages in the past year. Death benefits, \$3,400. Donations to other unions, \$25,000.

**Elevator Constructors.**—Charters issued, 3. Gain in membership, 104. Number of strikes, 2; won, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 510; benefited, 350. An average gain in wages of 50 cents per member per day. Hours of labor reduced 4 per week. Cost of strikes, \$9,000.40. As a result of organization members work 12 and 16 hours less per week and wages increased on an average of \$3 per week with improved rates for all overtime.

**Engineers, Steam.**—Charters issued, 41; surrendered, 47. Number of strikes, 13; won, 6; compromised, 1; pending, 5; lost, 1. Cost of strikes, \$4,890.75.

**Engravers, Watch Case.**—Secured recognition of the union in some instances and discharge of an unfair foreman. No reduction in wages in the past year. As a result of organization wages are better and day work has been substituted in place of minute work. Sick benefits, \$30. Donations to other unions, \$59.

**Firemen, Stationary.**—Charters issued, 19; surrendered, 1. Number of strikes, 5; won, 4; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 260; number benefited, 240. 10 per cent increase in wages. Hours reduced from 12 to 8 for 240 men. Cost of strikes, \$3,246. Donations to other unions, \$2,500. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. As result of organization 95 per cent of the membership work now 8 instead of 12 hours a day as formerly.

**Fitters, Steam.**—Charters issued, 15. Number of strikes, 4; won, 2; compromised, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,250. The locals involved secured an average gain in wages of 50 cents per member per day. Cost of strikes, \$2,500. Two thousand members received increased wages without strike. No reductions in wages in the past year. As a result of organization wages have been gradually increased and hours shortened for all members. Death benefits, \$2,000.

**Flour and Cereal Mill Employees.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 9. Number of strikes, 1; won. Number of persons involved, 28; benefited, 28. Gain in wages of 25 cents. No reductions in wages in the past year.

**Foundry Employees.**—Charters surrendered, 2. Number of strikes, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 87. No reductions in wages in past year. As result of organization members of the trade have established 9-hour day, with minimum scale of wages of \$2.15, as against 10 hours with a minimum scale of \$1.35 previously. Death benefits, \$400; sick benefits, \$975. Donations to other unions, \$148.

**Freight Handlers.**—Charters issued, 23; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 2,046. Number of strikes, 4; won, 3; lost, 1. 6,682 members increased their wages 18 cents per day. Double pay for Sunday work. Death benefits, \$3,110; death benefits, members' wives, \$1,000; sick benefits, \$1,000. Tool insurance, \$23. Donations to other unions, \$3,000.

**Fur Workers.**—Charters issued, 1; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 58.

**Garment Workers, United.**—Charters issued, 87; surrendered, 39. Gain in membership, 17,634. Number of strikes, 9; won, 4; compromised, 1; pending, 2; lost, 2. Number of persons involved, 20,000; benefited, 20,000. Secured an average reduction of 1 hour per day in the hours of labor. Cost of strikes, \$50,000. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted.

**Garment Workers, Ladies.**—Charters issued, 21; surrendered, 10. Gain in membership, 66,235. Number of strikes, 6; won, 2; compromised, 2; lost, 2. Number of persons involved, 79,700.



- benefited, 75,000; not benefited, 4,700. An approximate gain in wages of 50 cents per member per day. Hours of labor reduced 1 per day. Gains in other respects: Recognition of the union and abolition of contract system. Cost of strikes, \$383,000. Where attempts were made to reduce wages they were resisted with success. Death benefits \$150. Donations to other unions, \$6,120. As a result of organization hours have been shortened, various evils abolished, and wages increased 15 per cent.
- Glass Bottle Blowers.**—Charters issued, 3. Gain in membership, 350. Trade has been affected by invasion of automatic machinery and reduction in scale on certain lines of bottles has resulted. Demands of manufacturers for further reductions have been successfully resisted through conference. Death benefits, \$55,000; unemployed benefits, \$40,000. Donations to other unions, \$3,500.
- Glass Workers, Amalgamated.**—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 258. Number of strikes, 2; won, 1; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 60; benefited, 60. Average gain in wages of 5 per cent per member per day. Hours of labor reduced in one city from 9 to 8 hours per day; in another city from 10 to 9, without strike. Gains in other respects: One union enforced apprentice clause and prohibited piece-work. Cost of strike, \$200. Death benefits, \$602. Donations to other unions, \$100.
- Glove Workers.**—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 80. Number of strikes, 1; compromised after one week. Persons involved, 18; benefited, 18. Secured union shop, wage schedule signed, grievances adjusted. Agreements were signed with 9 firms and agreements renewed with 6 firms through conferences. Attempt was made to reduce wages in an unorganized shop; it was resisted and compromise was effected on the basis of a slight reduction in two prices. The organization has now secured a union shop agreement with this concern. As a result of organization the charge for machine rent and power has been abolished in several cities, securing Saturday half-holiday and the wages of cutters increased from 10 to 25 per cent.
- Granite Cutters.**—Charters issued, 20; surrendered, 9 (where jobs were finished). Number of strikes, 8; won, 8. Number of persons involved, 4,000; benefited, 4,000. Average gain in wages of 3 cents per hour. Cost of strikes, \$193,635.90. No attempts to reduce wages in the past year. As a result of organization, improved shop conditions have been secured, with some increase in wages, extending Saturday half-holiday in the trade, and better recognition by employers of trade agreements. Donations to other unions, \$4,450.
- Grinders, Pocket Knife, Blade.**—Dull year for the industry. Organization has been able to maintain conditions.
- Hatters.**—Lockout of January, 1909, pending in seven factories. Cost of strikes, \$195,854.50. Death benefits, \$75,000; unemployed benefits, \$1,000. Donations to other unions, \$1,700.
- Hodcarriers and Building Laborers.**—Charters issued, 89; surrendered, 25. Gain in membership, 5,400. Number of strikes, 22; won, 20; compromised, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 6,000. Gain in wages of from 25 to 62 cents per day. Gains in other respects, recognition of union. Cost of strikes, \$900. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. As a result of organization wages have been increased from the former rate of \$2 per day to as high as \$4.75 per day, with the trade working 8 hours. Death benefits, \$4,100. Donations to other unions, \$125.
- Horseshoers.**—Charters issued, 9. Shorter hours and better wages in a number of instances secured through arbitration. No reduction in wages in the past year. As a result of organization, members work 9 hours a day, with 8 on Saturday, with a minimum scale of \$3.25 per day as against 10 hours formerly with the scale of \$2 and \$2.50 per day. Donations to other unions, \$5,000.
- Hotel and Restaurant Employees.**—Number of charters issued, 82; surrendered, 88. Gain in membership, 2,156. Number of strikes, 16; won, 12; compromised, 1; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 3,500; benefited, 4,500. Hours of labor reduced on an average of one-half hour per day. Cost of strikes, \$25,298.75. A number of locals secured agreements providing for better sanitary conditions. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. As result of organization there has been gradual decrease in length of workday and slight increase in wages. Death benefits, \$41,900; sick benefits, \$67,571.22. Donations to other unions, \$19,377.64.
- Iron and Steel Workers.**—Charters issued, 13; surrendered, 22. General strike against the United States Steel Corporation. Number of persons involved, 5,000. Advance in wages for year, average from 3½ to 10 per cent, for 4,000 men. Cost of strike, \$257,426.25. Death benefits, \$2,700; death benefits, members' wives, \$1,500; sick benefits, \$10,655; donations to other unions, \$180.
- Jewelry Workers.**—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 5. Gain in membership, 181. Twenty-five per cent increase in the minimum wage was secured without strike in the past year.

As a result of organization the hours of work have been reduced from 60 to 54 and 52 per week, with better sanitary conditions in workshops. Sick benefits, \$184. Donations to other unions, \$38.

- Lathers.**—Charters issued, 40; surrendered, 12. Number of strikes, 5, now in process of settlement. Number of persons involved, 500. A number of locals secured substantial increases in wages in the past year. Attempts to reduce wages were in every instance successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$4,461.80.
- Laundry Workers.**—Charters issued, 15; surrendered, 20 (12 of these transferred to United Garment Workers). Number of strikes, 1; won, 1. Number of persons involved, 40; benefited, 40. Shortening of hours and slight increases in wages secured by some locals.
- Leather Workers on Horse Goods.**—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 23. General strike was inaugurated for the 8-hour day. Unions in four cities secured the 8-hour day and in 65 cities unions compromised on 9 hours and otherwise fair settlement. Strikes still pending in 12 cities, but with not much prospect of success. Number of persons involved, 3,000; benefited, 3,800; not benefited, 450. Increases in wages averaging 5 per cent were secured. Cost of strikes, \$47,210. There were some attempts to reduce wages, which were successfully resisted. As a result of organization working hours have been reduced from 10 hours and overtime to an almost universal 9-hour day. Death benefits, \$2,000; sick benefits, \$6,423.
- Leather Workers, Amal.**—Charters issued, 6. No reductions in wages in the past year. The organization has succeeded in abolishing sub-contract work in one city.
- Lithographers.**—Charters issued, 2. Gain in membership, \$70. No reductions in wages in the past year. Death benefits, \$12,500.
- Lithographic Pressfeeders.**—Number of strikes, 3; won, 3. Number of persons involved, 40; benefited, 250. An average gain in wages of \$1 per week. Cost of strikes, \$100. Fifteen shops secured increase in wages without strike. There were some attempts to reduce wages, which were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$300.
- Longshoremen.**—Charters issued, 44; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 5,000. Number of strikes, 3; won, 2; lost, 1. An average gain in wages of 12 cents per member per day. Number of persons involved, 2,300; benefited, 2,400; not benefited, 400. Donations to other unions, \$250.
- Machine Printers.**—Charters surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 3. Death benefits, \$600.
- Machinists.**—Charters issued, 51; surrendered, 20. Gain in membership, 10,000. Number of strikes, 50; won, 25; compromised, 2; pending, 23. Number of persons involved, 18,000. Average gain of 30 cents per member per day in wages. Average reduction in the hours of labor of 1 hour per day. Number of persons benefited, 25,000. Cost of strikes, \$198,226.29. Increase in wages for 50,000 members secured without strike. As a result of organization the 9-hour day has been established and wages increased \$1.25 per day, with working conditions improved in other respects. Death benefits, \$38,800.
- Marble Workers.**—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 600. Number of strikes, 5; won, 2; compromised, 2; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 500; benefited, majority. Cost of strikes, \$2,500. No reduction in wages in the past year. As a result of organization wages have been increased 30 per cent with better working conditions. Donations to other unions, \$5,000.
- Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.**—Charters issued, 38; surrendered, 27. Number of strikes, 2; won, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 170; benefited, 600. Average gain in wages, 50 cents per member per day, and in some cases hours of labor were reduced one hour per day. Gains in other respects, cutting down long hour day in many places. Cost of strikes, \$6,000. No reduction in wages in the past year. Death benefits, \$1,800. Donations to other unions, \$3,000. As a result of organization the minimum wage for members has been increased from 20 to 25 cents an hour; secured pay for overtime and the workday reduced from 13 hours to 10 hours per day.
- Metal Polishers.**—Charters issued, 31; surrendered, 10. Gain in membership, 3,000. Number of strikes, 18; won, 10; compromised, 6; pending, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved 400; benefited, 300; not benefited, 100. Members, in some instances, have secured some increase in wages and advantages in hours and better sanitary conditions. Cost of strikes, \$7,512.92. In a few instances members suffered small reductions in wages. Other reductions were offered, but successfully resisted. As a result of organization in the trade wages have been increased 40 per cent, with shorter workday and better sanitary conditions in shops. Death benefits, \$6,750. Donations to other unions, \$1,200.
- Metal Workers, Sheet.**—Charters issued, 55; surrendered, 9. Gain in membership, 1,000. Number of strikes, 25; won, 16; compromised, 5; pending, 3; lost, 1. Number of persons involved,

- 2,800. Average gain in wages, 25 cents per member per day. Number of persons benefited, 5,000. Cost of strikes, \$18,250. No reductions in wages in past year. As a result of organization wages and working conditions have advanced 100 per cent. The 8-hour workday is now approximately universal throughout the trade. Death benefits, \$11,000. Donations to other unions, \$3,000.
- Mine Workers.**—Charters issued, 143; surrendered, 141. Number of strikes, 10; compromised, 7; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 100,000. Gain in wages of approximately 6 per cent. 300,000 members benefited. Cost of strikes, \$1,326,310.63.
- Molders.**—Charters issued, 17; surrendered, 12. Forty strikes pending. Cost of strikes, \$206,003.14. Improvements in working conditions were secured in 30 cities, without strike. Death benefits, \$28,532; sick benefits, \$135,464.10.
- Musicians.**—Charters issued, 42; surrendered, 14. Gain in membership, 1,200. Number of strikes, 1; pending. Number of persons involved, 100. Strike against attempt to reduce wages.
- Painters and Decorators.**—Charters issued, 83. Gain in membership, 6,658. Death benefits, \$36,249. Death benefits, members' wives, \$9,325. Disability benefits, \$10,975. Donations to other unions, \$5,000.
- Papermakers.**—Charters issued, 17; surrendered, 5. Gain in membership, 11,000. Strikes won, 1. Number of persons involved, 5,000; benefited, 10,000. Average gain in wages of 5 per cent per member per day. As a result of organization, in addition to improvement in wages, the members have secured relief from Sunday work.
- Patternmakers.**—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 1,079. Number of strikes and lockouts, 20; won, 8; compromised, 1; pending, 9; lost, 2. Number of persons involved, 623; benefited, 417; not benefited, 26. Cost of strikes, \$11,621. Death benefits, \$3,200; sick benefits, \$6,927.79; tool insurance, \$2,625.15.
- Pavers and Rammermen.**—The organization made satisfactory progress during the past year.
- Paving Cutters.**—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 5. Gain in membership, 400. Number of strikes, 4; won, 3; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 160; benefited, 100. Average gain in wages of 6 per cent per member per day. Cost of strikes, \$3,353. Gains in other respects: Union recognized in two localities. No reduction in wages in the past year. As a result of organization the 8-hour day has been established in over half of the trade and wages have been maintained through dull times. Death benefits, \$1,900. Donations to other unions, \$950.
- Photo-Engravers.**—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 353. Number of strikes, 4; won, 3; compromised, 1. Cost of strikes, \$3,268. In some instances better working conditions, with increased wages and signed agreements for union shop, were secured without strike. No reduction in wages in the past year. Death benefits, \$1,875; sick benefits, \$4,023.05.
- Piano and Organ Workers.**—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 4. Strikes won, 1. Number of persons involved, 96; benefited, 96. Average gain in wages of 10 per cent per member per day. Cost of strikes, \$21. Increase in wages were secured in some instances without strike. In no cases were wages reduced in the past year. Death benefits, \$2,000; death benefits, members' wives, \$1,060; sick benefits, \$3,938.52; unemployed benefits, \$900. Donations to other unions, \$350.
- Plate Printers.**—Lockout pending. Number of persons involved, 8. Cost of lockout, \$800. No reduction in wages in the past year.
- Plumbers.**—Charters issued, 60; surrendered, 45. Number of strikes, 65; won, 40; pending, 25. Number of persons involved, 1,500. Wages were increased \$1.48 per day and hours reduced 1 hour per day in some districts. Cost of strikes, \$29,707. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$10,000; unemployed benefits, \$400. As result of organization wages have been increased and 8-hour day practically universally established supplanting former 9 and 10 hour day.
- Post Office Clerks.**—Organization has made progress during the past year in increased membership and finances.
- Potters, Operative.**—Charters issued, 1; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 71. Number of strikes pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 24. Cost of strike, \$300. Death benefits, \$300. No reductions in wages in the past year. Donations to other unions, \$1,800.
- Powder and High Explosive Workers.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 25. 1 strike pending. Number persons involved, 25. The company with which the organization has contracts is installing machinery to lighten the work of the employes, as well as to make it less dangerous, and by so doing, they claim the right to reduce wages, to some extent. The organization feels that it has been fairly treated in this respect.—In some departments the work was reduced 50 per cent, whereas the wages were only reduced 10 per cent, or an alternative arrangement of increasing the output

10 per cent. The strike pending is as a result of the union recently organized in a non-union plant. Cost of strike, \$25. As a result of organization members have been able to protect their interests, particularly in the matter of wages, under the installing of machinery. Donations to other unions, \$29.

**Print Cutters.**—Average reduction in the hours of labor of one-half hour per day secured for 437 members, with better shop conditions in other respects. Death benefits, \$775.25. Donations to other unions, \$350.50.

**Printing Pressmen.**—Charters issued, 23; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 1,338. Number of strikes, 22; won, 10; pending, 12. Number of persons involved, 228; benefited, 1,200; not benefited, 228. Average gain in wages of 10 per cent per member per day. Gains in other respects: Recognition of the union for 1,600 members. Cost of strikes, \$90,000. No reduction in wages. Death benefits, \$17,100. Donations to other unions, \$466.55.

**Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers.**—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 9. Gain in membership, 1,800. Number of strikes, 2; won, 2. Number of persons involved, 6,000; benefited, 10,000. Average gain in wages of 15 cents per member per day. Gains in other respects: Recognition of union by various manufacturers. Cost of strikes, \$9,000. Gain in wages 5 per cent for 2,500, secured without strike. Unemployed benefits, \$3,000. Donations to other unions, \$1,000. As a result of organization the men now receive an average of about \$1.25 for 8 hours, as against \$1.50 for a 12-hour day formerly.

**Quarry Workers.**—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 300. Number of strikes won, 1. Number of persons involved, 65; benefited, 65. Average gain in wages, 8 cents per member per day. Cost of strike, \$883. No reduction in wages in the past year. As a result of organization wages range from 25 to 28 cents instead of 21 to 25 cents, former rate, with shorter hours. Death benefits, \$750.

**Railroad Telegraphers.**—Gains in wages for the members, secured without strike, aggregate \$1,500,000. Death benefits, \$35,800.

**Railway Carmen.**—Charters issued, 85; surrendered, 37. Gain in membership, 5,792. No reduction in wages in the past year. Increase in wages secured by members on several large systems without strike; also set of rules governing working conditions in car department. Death benefits, \$3,749.60. \$24,553.05 was paid off of the indebtedness to members for strike benefits incurred prior to September 1, 1909.

**Railway Employees.**—Charters issued, 23; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 3,000. Number of strikes, 12; won, 8; pending, 3; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 7,500; benefited, 7,200; not benefited, 300. An average gain in wages of 2 cents an hour per member. Cost of strikes, \$67,640.90. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$20,900; sick benefits, \$19,777.85. Donations to other unions, \$4,755.18. As a result of organization wages have been increased and hours of labor reduced on an average of 2 per day.

**Roofers, Composition.**—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 200. Number of strikes, 3; won, 2; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 85; benefited, 85. Average gain in wages of 35 cents per member per day. Cost of strikes, \$500. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted, and in two disputes over attempts at reductions the unions succeeded in getting more wages instead of a reduction. As a result of organization the trade works 8 hours for an average of 50 cents an hour, where formerly 10 and 11 hours constituted a day's work at 27½ cents an hour. Donations to other unions, \$650.

**Sawsmiths.**—Charters issued, 1. No reductions in wages in the past year. Sick benefits, \$500. Donations to other unions, \$100. As result of organization wages have been increased from 35 cents to 42½ cents per hour.

**Seamen.**—1 strike pending. Number of persons involved, 8,000.

**Shingle Weavers.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 3. Number of strikes, 8; won, 1; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 300. Cost of strikes, \$5,500. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted.

**Shipwrights.**—Charters surrendered, 4. Number of strikes, 2; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 300. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$1,900.

**Slate and Tile Roofers.**—Charters issued, 3. Gain in membership, 130. Number of strikes, 2; won, 2. Number of persons involved, 90; benefited, 90. Average gain of 50 cents per member per day. As a result of organization the hours have been reduced from a 10 to an 8 hour day, with 40 per cent increase in wages. Death benefits, \$300; traveling benefits \$300.

**Slate Workers.**—Charters surrendered, 2. Number of strikes, 2; won, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 300; benefited, 300. Cost of strikes, \$5,000. As a result of organization working hours have been reduced from 10 to 9 per day; semi-monthly pay-days established in some shops, and a noted increase in wages in several districts.

- Spinners.**—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 1. Number of strikes, 1, lost. Number of persons involved, 100. Cost of strike, \$1,000. Fifteen hundred members secured reduction of 2 hours per week in the working hours. Advantages gained in some districts through arbitration. No reduction of wages in the past year. As a result of organization hours have been reduced from 58 to 56 per week. Death benefits, \$1,500; sick benefits \$600; unemployed benefits, \$16,000. Donations to other unions, \$1,200.
- Stage Employees, Theatrical.**—Charters issued, 40. Gain in membership, 1,500. Number of strikes, 10; won, 5; compromised, 2; pending, 3. Persons involved, 600; benefited, 600. Forty-five locals received from 25 to 50 per cent increase in wages without strike. Attempts were made to reduce wages, but they were successfully resisted. As a result of organization the members have discontinued the practice of half salary for week before Christmas and Holy Week, as well as securing full salary for lost performances through all causes except fire or bankruptcy. Donations to other unions, \$1,000.
- Steel Plate Transferrers.**—Five per cent increase in wages, secured without strike.
- Stereotypers and Electrotypers.**—Charters issued, 7. Gain in membership, 248. Number of strikes, 1, won. Number of persons involved, 8. Cost of strikes, \$30. No reduction in wages in the past year. Death benefits, \$2,400.
- Stonecutters.**—Charters issued, 22; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 2,000. Number of strikes, 5; won, 4; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,000; benefited, 2,500. Gain in wages of from 50 cents to \$1 per member per day and the Saturday half-holiday. Cost of strikes, \$52,500. Advantages in 21 instances gained without strikes. Large increase in wages as a result of organization of the trade. Death benefits, \$1,800. Donations to other unions, \$1,000.
- Stove Mounters.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 5. Gain in membership, 104. Number of strikes, 7; won, 3; pending, 4. Number of persons involved, 110; benefited, 70. Won two shops to union ranks, one agreement carrying with it increase in wages. Cost of strikes \$729.85. No reductions in wages in the past year. Death benefits, \$1,700.
- Switchmen.**—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 17. Gain in membership, 471. Death benefits \$128,550.
- Tailors.**—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 23. Number of strikes, 20; won, 12; pending, 3; lost, 5. Persons involved, 706; benefited, 588; not benefited, 118. Cost of strikes, \$6,580. About 67 local unions, consisting of about 2,500 members, secured an average advance of 10 per cent in wages without strike. There were some attempts to reduce wages, which were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$10,412.50; sick benefits, \$1,820.55. Donations to other unions, \$361.65.
- Teamsters.**—Charters issued, 90; surrendered, 67. Gain in membership, 4,085. Number of strikes, 48; won, 44; pending, 3; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 2,150; benefited, 1,780; not benefited, 65. Cost of strikes, \$18,725. Increase in wages and shorter hours for 80 per cent of the membership were secured without strikes. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted.
- Textile Workers.**—Charters issued, 87; surrendered, 11. Number of strikes, 2; won, 1; lost, 1. Cost of strikes, \$5,000. Death benefits, \$70.
- Tile Layers and Helpers.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 200. Number of strikes, 5; won, 4; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 275; benefited, 275. An average gain in wages of 20 per cent per member per day. Gains in other respects: Union shop and an 8-hour day in several cities. Cost of strikes, \$1,000. No reduction in wages in the past year. Among the advantages that have accrued from organization, are a higher standard of workmanship, better wages, shorter hours and a fuller understanding on the part of the members as to their responsibilities as mechanics. Donations to other unions, \$500.
- Tin Plate Workers.**—Number of strikes, 1, lost. Persons involved, 2,000. Cost of strikes, \$40,000. As a result of organization wages have been increased from \$1.50 to \$3 per day and hours reduced from 12 for a seven-day week, to 8 for a five and one-half day week.
- Tip Printers.**—Gain in membership, 50. A reduction of one-half hour per day in the hours of labor were secured for 60 members without strike. No reductions in wages in the past year. As a result of organization the hours of labor have been reduced from 5½ to 48 hours per week.
- Tobacco Workers.**—Charters surrendered, 3. As a result of organization, through the influence of the label, members have secured better regulation of wages and improvements in working conditions. Death benefits, \$1,250; sick benefits, \$5,271. Donations to other unions, \$1,600.
- Travelers Goods and Leather Novelty Workers.**—Charters issued, 5. Gain in membership, 218. Number of strikes 1, won. Number of persons involved, 32; benefited, 32. An average gain in wages of 10 per cent per member per day, with one hour per day reduc-

tion in the hours of labor. Cost of strikes, \$170. Higher wages and shorter hours were secured in two cities without strike. No reduction in wages attempted in the past year. As a result of organization wages have been increased from 10 to 25 per cent and hours shortened from 10 to 9 and from 9½ to 9 hours per day. Death benefits, \$300; sick benefits, \$462. Donations to other unions, \$72.

**Tunnel and Subway Constructors.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 1,000. Average gain in wages of \$1 per member per day, and average reduction of two hours per day in the hours of labor. Number of persons benefited, 600. Gains in other respects, by-monthly pay-day. Gain in wages of from 70 to 75 cents per day, secured for a number of members without strike. No reductions in wages in any instance. Death benefits, \$1,200; sick benefits, \$600; traveling benefits, \$1,600; unemployed benefits, \$800. Donations to other unions, \$900.

**Typographical Union** (for year ending June 1, 1910).—Charters issued, 52; surrendered, 21. Gain in membership, 4,991. Number of strikes, 15; won, 6; pending, 7; lost, 2. Persons involved, 202; benefited, 122; not benefited, 19. 142 locals were successful in their negotiations for higher wage scale. Defense fund expenditures, \$78,046.21. Death benefits, \$3,045. Old-age pension, \$106,740. For support of Union Printers' Home, \$64,648.38; library annex, \$28,718.50.

**Weavers, Elastic Goring.**—Gain in membership, 1. Seventy-nine members secured an average reduction in the hours of labor of one hour per day. Where the trade is organized, hours of labor have been reduced from 55 to 50 per week. Death benefits, \$500; unemployed benefits, \$144. Donations to other unions, \$5.

**Weavers, Wire.**—No reductions in wages in the past year. Organization has been successful in maintaining good conditions. Death benefits, \$1,056.60; sick benefits, \$200. Donations to other unions, \$200.

### AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST.

Receipts of the *American Federationist* for the fiscal year, ending September 30, 1910, were \$21,326.50; expenses, \$20,621.19, leaving a balance to the credit of the *American Federationist*, for this year, of \$705.31, and during the past seven years a surplus of \$1,754.38.

The following is a statement of the receipts and expenses for the twelve months, ending September 30, 1910:

RECEIPTS.	
Receipts .....	\$21,326 50
EXPENSES.	
Attorney fees.....	\$23 90
Commissions on advertising contracts .....	9,697 80
Cuts .....	30 70
Hauling .....	41 05
Printing <i>American Federationist</i> .....	8,080 48
Printing Bulletins .....	48 00
Postage stamps .....	564 42
Salaries .....	1,671 05
Contributions .....	60 50
Printing and supplies .....	115 25
R. G. Dunn & Company .....	75 00
Postage, pound rate .....	300 54
Refunds .....	12 50
	<u>\$20,621 19</u>
RECAPITULATION.	
Receipts.....	\$21,326 50
Expenses .....	20,621 19
Surplus .....	<u>\$705 31</u>

The following are the receipts and expenses of the *American Federationist* since it was first issued:

YEAR.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Surplus.	Deficit.
1893-94.....	\$2,418 30	\$2,684 66		\$266 36
1894-95.....	3,184 21	2,675 98	\$508 23	
1895-96.....	1,917 61	2,100 08		182 47
1896-97.....	3,408 39	3,094 87	313 52	
1897-98.....	2,287 83	2,541 75		253 92
1898-99.....	3,171 00	4,033 19		862 19
1899-00.....	4,162 03	4,466 91		304 88
1900-01.....	10,498 22	10,900 54		402 32
1901-02.....	17,170 70	25,406 46		8,235 76
1902-03.....	27,718 43	42,883 68		15,165 25
1903-04.....	32,639 89	30,699 92	1,939 97	
1904-05.....	23,726 57	24,929 86	796 71	
1905-06.....	25,912 87	26,808 12		895 25
1906-07.....	25,310 56	23,560 70	1,749 86	
1907-08.....	20,722 41	20,649 84	72 57	
1908-09.....	20,148 73	22,703 57		2,554 84
1909-10.....	21,326 50	20,621 19	705 31	

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

## ORGANIZING EXPENSES.

NAME OF ORGANIZER.	STATE WHEREIN WORK WAS DONE.	Amount received.
1. Hugh Frayne.....	Pennsylvania, District of Columbia, Ontario, Can.; Rhode Island, Vermont, New York, Connecticut, New Jersey...	\$3,787 09
2. Jacob Tazelaar.....	New York, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts.....	3,143 20
3. Stuart Reid.....	District of Columbia, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, California, Oregon, Washington, Illinois.....	3,027 51
4. M. Grant Hamilton.	Ohio, New York, District of Columbia, Ontario, Can.; Colorado, Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, Iowa.....	2,978 15
5. A. A. Hay.....	California.....	2,961 06
6. J. D. Pierce.....	Pennsylvania, New Jersey.....	2,871 32
7. C. O. Young.....	Washington, Montana, Vancouver B. C.; Canada, Oregon.....	2,848 25
8. John A. Flett.....	Ontario, Quebec; Manitoba, B. C.; Saskatchewan, Can.; New York, Pennsylvania.....	2,689 93
9. H. L. Eichelberger.	Texas, Missouri, Oklahoma, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Maine, Delaware.....	2,669 36
10. Cal Wyatt.....	Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, Michigan, New Jersey.....	2,652 08
11. T. H. Flynn.....	Pennsylvania, Maine, Michigan, Illinois, New York.....	2,610 68
12. William E. Terry.....	Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, District of Columbia.....	2,589 60
13. E. T. Flood.....	Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania.....	2,388 85
14. Santiago Iglesias.....	Porto Rico, District of Columbia.....	1,579 00
15. F. H. McCarthy.....	Massachusetts.....	1,474 58
16. John Fitzpatrick.....	Illinois, Indiana.....	1,400 00
17. George B. Howley.....	Minnesota, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota.....	1,366 28
18. James E. Roach.....	Washington, New York, Ontario, Can.; Florida, Kentucky.....	1,200 04
19. Herman Robinson.....	New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Quebec, Can.....	861 95
20. Joseph Alney.....	Pennsylvania, West Virginia, New York, Washington, D. C.....	495 60
21. A. E. Holder.....	New York.....	441 92
22. Henry Streiffer.....	New York.....	420 00
23. Joseph Tytkoff.....	Ohio, Missouri.....	413 25
24. F. C. Roberts.....	Ohio, District of Columbia, Illinois, Iowa.....	385 80
*25. A. L. Urlick.....	New Jersey.....	325 78
26. Cornelius Ford.....	Colorado.....	285 05
27. John McLennan.....	Indiana.....	260 00
28. S. R. Stevens.....	Ohio, District of Columbia, Illinois.....	233 30
*29. John P. Frey.....	Texas.....	217 50
30. Henry M. Walker.....	Montana.....	172 00
31. M. M. Donoghue.....	Pennsylvania.....	150 00
32. E. E. Greenawalt.....	Ohio, District of Columbia, Indiana, Illinois.....	147 51
*33. Frank Duffy.....	West Virginia.....	139 15
34. Sam DeNedrey.....	Indiana.....	130 85
35. O. P. Smith.....	Ohio.....	120 35
36. Frank L. Rist.....	Illinois, Iowa.....	116 90
37. Agnes Nestor.....	New Brunswick, Saskatchewan, British Columbia, Can.....	100 00
38. James Somerville.....	Ohio.....	96 17
39. M. Goldsmith.....	Texas.....	90 45
40. C. W. Woodman.....	Indiana.....	81 65
41. E. A. Perkins.....	Colorado.....	70 00
42. W. T. Hickey.....	South Carolina.....	67 78
43. Wm. J. Smith.....	New York.....	67 13
44. P. J. O'Brien.....	Pennsylvania.....	64 25
45. J. E. Galligan.....	New York.....	60 00
46. J. W. Lutkauskas.....	Illinois.....	50 00
47. W. Lajer.....	Texas.....	50 00
48. R. F. Southall.....	Paid to District Organizers in amounts less than \$50.....	2,448 98
		\$52,250 80

\*Arbitrator, Electrical Workers' Controversy.

## VOTING STRENGTH OF FEDERATION, 1897 TO 1910.

Year.	No. votes.	Year.	No. votes.
1897.....	2,747	1904.....	17,363
1898.....	2,981	1905.....	16,384
1899.....	3,332	1906.....	15,621
1900.....	5,737	1907.....	16,425
1901.....	8,240	1908.....	16,862
1902.....	10,705	1909.....	15,991
1903.....	15,238	1910.....	16,737

## UNION LABELS.

There are now 61 labels and 10 cards issued by the following organizations, which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

## ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS.

American Federation of Labor.	Garment Workers, Ladies.	Photo-Engravers.
Bakers and Confectioners.	Glass Workers.	Plano and Organ Workers.
Bill Posters and Billers.	Glove Workers.	Plate Printers.
Boilermakers.	Grinders and Finishers, Pocket Knife Blade.	Powder Workers.
Blacksmiths.	Hatters.	Pressmen, Printing.
Bookbinders.	Horseshoers.	Print Cutters.
Boot and Shoe Makers.	Jewelry Workers.	Sawsmiths.
Brewery Workmen.	Lathers.	Shingle Weavers.
Brickmakers.	Laundry Workers.	Slate Workers.
Broommakers.	Leather Workers.	Stove Mounters.
Brushmakers.	Leather Workers on Horse Goods.	Tailors.
Carpenters and Joiners, Brotherhood.	Lithographers.	Textile Workers.
Carriage and Wagon Workers.	Machine Printers and Color Mixers.	Tip Printers.
Carvers, Wood.	Machinists.	Tobacco Workers.
Cigarmakers.	Marble Workers.	Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers.
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.	Metal Polishers.	Typographical.
Coopers.	Metal Workers, Sheet.	Upholsterers.
Engravers, Watch Case.	Moulders.	Weavers, Wire.
Flour and Cereal Mill Employees.	Painters.	Wood Workers.
Fur Workers.	Papermakers.	Woodsmen and Sawmill Workers.
Garment Workers, United.		

## ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS.

Actors.	Firemen, Stationary.	Musicians.
Barbers.	Hotel & Restaurant Employees.	Stage Employees, Theatrical.
Clerks.	Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.	Teamsters.
Engineers, Steam.		

The following crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor label: Badge and Lodge Paraphernalia Workers, Bottlers (Soda and Mineral Water), Canvas Gloves, Coffee, Spice and Powder Workers, Nail (Horseshoe) Workers, Neckwear Cutters and Makers, Paper Box Makers, Suspendermakers, Garter, Arm Band and Hose Supporter Makers.

## LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

## DEFENSE FUND.

The following is an itemized statement of amounts received from and paid to our Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, giving average membership, number of weeks' benefit, and the amount received by each organization during the fiscal year ending September 30, 1910:

## RECEIPTS.

Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for Defense Fund ..... \$12,570 45

## EXPENSES.

	Average membership.	Weeks.	Amount.
Federal Labor Union, No. 12362, Galetton, Penna.....	32+	41	\$5,296 00
Readers Pro. No. 12841, Tampa, Fla.....	40	3	480 00
Hair Spinners, No. 12363, Baltimore, Md.....	4+	10	164 00
Federal Labor, No. 9965, Ulrichsville, Ohio.....	18	2	144 00
Journeyman Sailmakers, No. 12751, Gloucester, Mass.....	32	1	128 00
Printer Roller Makers, No. 10638, San Francisco, Cal.....	7+	4	120 00
Bricklayers, No. 11669, Arcelbo, P. R.....	20	1	80 00
Button Workers, No. 7181, Erie Co., N. Y.....	6	3	72 00

Total..... \$6,484 00

## Returned and redeposited in Defense Fund:

Printers' Roller Makers, No. 10638.....	\$40 00
Hair Spinners, No. 12363.....	8 00

## RECAPITULATION

Balance on hand in Defense Fund, September 30, 1909.....	\$115,877 14
Received in Defense Fund.....	12,570 45
	<u>\$128,447 59</u>
Paid out of Defense Fund.....	6,484 00
Balance in Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, September 30, 1910.....	<u>\$121,963 59</u>



## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

It is gratifying to note the gradual increase in the defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions since its inauguration in 1902. In connection with this it should be borne in mind that the greatest increase occurred from 1902 to 1906, when it showed an increase of \$74,916.74, while during the past five years it has increased only \$27,047.19.

The average membership of the local trade and federal labor unions increased from 18,971 last year to 20,951 members this year, a gain of 1,980 members—which is satisfactory when we consider the fact that the membership of these unions is being continuously absorbed by the national and international organizations.

The laws governing the distribution of the defense fund are ample, and I strongly advise against amendments which would permit a union chartered less than one year to receive strike benefits. The requirement that members of local unions should have a continuous membership of one year to be entitled to strike benefits should not be interfered with. If either or both of the above requirements were amended it would endanger the stability of the defense fund and encourage newly-organized unions to enter into hasty and ill-advised strikes. The number of strikes and threatened strikes this year has been greater than heretofore. An unusual number of settlements were made through the agency of the organizers. The assistance of the organizers resulted in the adjustment of innumerable controversies which would otherwise have caused strikes and would have been a drain upon the defense fund.

While the foregoing statement shows that there was received \$12,575.45 into the defense fund, and there was paid out \$6,484, leaving a surplus of \$6,091.45, yet if the organizers of the Federation had not been successful in adjusting a number of strikes and preventing others that were threatened of unions with a large membership, the amount received would not have been nearly sufficient to meet the expenditures, and instead of reporting an increase this year, we would have been compelled to report a deficit. The fact that the Federation has a substantial defense fund to protect the members of the local trade and federal labor unions, in case of strike or lockout, enabled the organizers to work to better advantage in bringing about conferences and adjustments.

The following are the receipts and expenses and yearly balances from the time that the fund was inaugurated up to the end of this fiscal year:

	Receipts.	Expenses.	Balance on hand.
1902.....	\$20,423 00	.....	\$20,423 00
1903.....	49,668 40	\$6,690 00	63,896 40
1904.....	38,722 55	15,973 00	81,146 95
1905.....	16,966 63	8,197 18	94,916 40
1906.....	15,556 02	13,643 40	96,829 02
1907.....	17,143 65	10,898 78	108,078 89
1908.....	14,327 20	12,124 00	106,282 09
1909.....	11,388 05	798 00	115,877 14
1910.....	12,570 45	6,484 00	121,968 59
	<u>\$191,755 95</u>	<u>\$69,792 88</u>	

## RECAPITULATION.

Receipts.....	\$191,755 95
Expenses.....	69,792 88
Balance on hand September 30, 1910.....	<u>\$121,968 59</u>

## MEMBERSHIP.

A résumé of the progress made numerically and financially by the American Federation of Labor during the past fourteen years can not but encourage the trade unionists in their efforts to educate, organize, and federate the wage-workers. The growth of the American Federation of Labor was phenomenal from 1896 to 1904, when it increased from 272,315 to 1,676,200. It was to be expected in the order of normal growth that the membership would decrease somewhat from the highest point it reached during the time the intense organization wave held sway.

The average membership paid upon each year to the American Federation of Labor is not the total membership of the affiliated organizations. The Federation requires international organizations to pay one-half cent per month for every member for whom they receive per capita tax from their local unions. The local unions, in many instances, fail to pay their international organizations upon their full membership. A great number of the international unions, during the period of strikes or lockouts, do not receive per capita tax from their local unions for members who are on strike; hence, in turn, the Federation does not receive per capita tax on such members.

While the average paid-up membership for the twelve months is 1,562,112, the membership paid and reported upon for the month of September of this year is 1,644,444. Adding to this number 100,000 members, which is a low estimate of the membership of the various international organizations for whom per capita tax has not been paid to the American Federation of Labor for September, because of strikes, the organizations affiliated to the Federation have a grand total of over 1,744,444 members.

Judging from the reports received, I am safe in prophesying that the coming year will show a marked increase over the membership reported upon this year.

The following is the average paid-up membership for the past fourteen years:

Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.
1897.....	264,825	1904.....	1,676,200
1898.....	278,016	1905.....	1,494,200
1899.....	349,432	1906.....	1,464,200
1900.....	548,331	1907.....	1,638,970
1901.....	787,587	1908.....	1,686,886
1902.....	1,024,809	1909.....	1,482,872
1903.....	1,465,800	1910.....	1,562,112

#### AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HEADQUARTERS.

The following statement shows that during the twelve months ending September 30, 1910, there has been issued from headquarters an average of 1,253 letters, circular letters, and packages per day, as follows:

Packages of supplies forwarded by express and post.....	8,294
Packages of literature and miscellaneous supplies for organizers and others.....	146,000
Official and circular letters in two-cent envelopes.....	75,559
Circulars and circular letters in one-cent envelopes.....	158,798
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>379,251</b>

#### CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, I desire to express my appreciation of the splendid efforts put forth by the organizers, and the assistance and encouragement received from the officers of the international organizations, and from my colleagues of the Executive Council, during the period I have served as Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

Respectfully submitted.

**FRANK MORRISON,**

*Secretary, American Federation of Labor.*

## TREASURER'S REPORT.

BLOOMINGTON, ILL., November, 1910.

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:*

With renewed faith and confidence in the efficiency of the trade unions and in our Federation, I submit this, my twenty-first consecutive report as Treasurer. The year now closed has been full of both difficulties and victories, both of which have stirred our membership to a splendid activity in the work of our movement for human uplift—morally, socially, and industrially. And while the harvest has not been all we hoped for, yet the picket lines of the trade unions have not been forced to retreat, but today occupy a position in advance of that occupied one year ago. Much of our work is necessarily of an educational character, and this requires considerable time to develop and reach that point where it becomes effective in creating a public opinion that brings the reforms desired. Our agitation upon the abuse of the use of the writ of injunction in labor disputes shows considerable progress; some judges have seen rays of light, and even many of the politicians are conceding that our contentions are right. The cases that have arisen under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law have attracted wide attention, and substantial gains have been made in creating friends among our people generally favorable to our contention that this law should not apply to labor. Upon both of these vital matters we have made progress that gives promise of tangible results in the no distant future. I am constrained to believe from my observation, that a very important field of work for trade union

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

activity has been, and is now, almost entirely neglected, and that is among the children of the wage-workers. I find that entirely too many of our boys and girls develop the idea that labor with the hands is in some degree dishonorable, and in many cases the boys and girls look askance at the trade union movement and its objects and its methods. Our children must soon fill our places and it should not be necessary to convert them to the righteousness of our cause, but such unfortunately very often will be the case. The fathers and mothers of the present should become more active in their attention to education in the schools, and should endeavor to supplement the schools by taking time at home to explain to the children the struggles, the victories, the hopes and aspirations of labor. Is it not possible for us to give some special attention to the children, in order that they shall, en masse, become more efficient trade unionists than ourselves?

I herewith submit a statement of the financial transactions of my office for the past year and trust that my services may meet with your approval:

INCOME.		EXPENSES.	
Received of Secretary Morrison:		Paid Warrants:	
1909.		1909.	
October .....	\$12,794 12	October .....	\$18,178 79
November .....	7,758 57	November .....	18,499 24
December .....	16,218 02	December .....	19,234 43
1910.		1910.	
January .....	11,526 85	January .....	13,927 25
February .....	16,317 05	February .....	12,990 29
March .....	12,308 03	March .....	14,150 07
April .....	22,018 09	April .....	13,161 57
May .....	21,906 24	May .....	14,799 84
June .....	13,068 59	June .....	13,036 90
July .....	15,118 38	July .....	15,649 51
August .....	11,626 00	August .....	14,165 24
September .....	82,326 90	September .....	15,081 21
Balance October 1, 1909 .....	165,303 46		
Total funds .....	\$368,774 30	Total expenses .....	\$177,859 34
Total funds .....		Total funds .....	
Deduct expenses .....		Deduct expenses .....	
Leaves in hands of Treasurer, October 1 .....		Leaves in hands of Treasurer, October 1 .....	
Leaves in hands of Secretary, October 1 .....		Leaves in hands of Secretary, October 1 .....	
October 1, total funds .....		October 1, total funds .....	
The funds of the Federation in the hands of the Treasurer are deposited as follows in the		The funds of the Federation in the hands of the Treasurer are deposited as follows in the	
Bloomington, Illinois, banks:		Bloomington, Illinois, banks:	
Certificates, Peoples Bank .....		Certificates, Peoples Bank .....	
Certificates, German-American Bank .....		Certificates, German-American Bank .....	
Certificates, Third National Bank .....		Certificates, Third National Bank .....	
Certificates, McLean Co. Bank .....		Certificates, McLean Co. Bank .....	
Certificates, State National Bank .....		Certificates, State National Bank .....	
Certificates, State National Bank, subject to check .....		Certificates, State National Bank, subject to check .....	
Total .....		Total .....	
Interest at 3 per cent collected and paid to Secretary Morrison .....		Interest at 3 per cent collected and paid to Secretary Morrison .....	
Total amount handled in twenty-one years .....		Total amount handled in twenty-one years .....	

Fraternally submitted.

JOHN B. LENNON,  
Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

## Second Day's Proceedings—Tuesday, Nov. 15, 1910.

The meeting was called to order at 10 a. m., Tuesday, November 15, 1910, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Noschang, Dolan (C. T.), Gengenback, Licht, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Glass, Shamp, Morton, Rickert, Larger, Landers, Rosenberg, Dyche, Nestor, Maher, Marshall, McSorley, Dolan (T. J.), Keegan, Price, Daly, Perry, McCullough (E. S.), Winkler, McGivern, Donlin, Tracy (Wm. J.), Roth, Gavlak, Evans (Jo), Brals, Casey, Drake, Faulkner, Skaggs, DeNedrey, Leary, Lee (Chas. H.), Joyner, Cathon, Jennings, Courtenay, Flynn (John J.), Klefer, Andrick, Kleyhauer, Tate, Wilson (Geo. F.), Ford, Smith (J. U. P.), Silger, Koepf, Smith (O. P.), Howley (Geo. B.), Roach, Guye, Bell, Keough, Peters, Leonard, McDonald, Cotter, Rizzie, Stafford, Voll, Gaede, Swenson, Lippert, Harris, Brice, Nihil.

President Gompers announced the appointment of Mr. C. P. Connolly, a member of Typographical Union No. 8, of St. Louis, as Assistant Secretary. No objection being offered, the appointment of Mr. Connolly was confirmed.

Delegate Quick read the following report:

### Report of Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Greeting: We, your Committee on Rules and Order of Business, beg leave to submit the following report:

#### Rules.

We recommend the adoption of the following rules for the government of the convention:

Rule 1—The convention shall be called to order at 10 a. m. and remain in session until 4 p. m., except on Saturday, on which day the session of the convention shall be from 9 a. m. to 12 o'clock noon.

Rule 2—If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall, at the request of the Chair, take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 3—Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 4—No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks except it be to call him to a point of order.

Rule 5—A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak shall have had an opportunity to do so.

Rule 6—A delegate shall not speak more than twice on the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 7—Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by vote of the convention.

Rule 8—A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair.

Rule 9—At the request of five members, the mover of a motion shall be required to reduce it to writing.

Rule 10—When a question is pending before the convention, no motion shall be in order, except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall have precedence in the order named.

Rule 11—Motions to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Roberts' Rules of Order.

Rule 12—A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted in the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 13—That the reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 14—Any delegate failing to present his card within 30 minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence he may so report to the Secretary and be marked present.

Rule 15—It shall require at least 30 members to move the previous question.

Rule 16—All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents.

Rule 17—No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak, if he or she so desires.

Rule 18—No resolutions shall be received after Thursday's session, November 17, without unanimous consent of the convention.

Rule 19—When a roll-call vote has been taken, and all delegates or delegations present have had the opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 20—When a roll-call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 21—Roberts' Rules shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided.

Rule 22—The main body of the hall shall be reserved for delegates.

#### **Order of Business.**

1—Reading Minutes of previous session, which will be dispensed with unless called for.

2—Report of Committee on Credentials.

3—Report of Officers.

4—Report of Regular Committees.

5—Report of Special Committees.

6—Unfinished Business.

7—New Business.

8—Election of Officers.

9—Selection of Next Meeting Place.

10—Good of the Federation.

11—Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,

L. W. QUICK, Chairman,  
J. C. SHANESSY,  
M. M. DONOGHUE,  
JOHN SULLIVAN,  
FRANK BUTTERWORTH,  
HARRY CRIST,  
THOMAS RUMSEY,  
JEROME JONES,  
CHAS. HERTENSTEIN,  
ARCHIE GRANT.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted as a whole.

Delegate Furuseth: I move to amend by striking out "ten" and inserting "nine," and by striking out "four" and

inserting "three," to make the meeting begin at nine in the morning and close at three o'clock in the afternoon. (Seconded.)

Delegate Furuseth spoke in favor of the amendment. Delegate Proebstle and Delegate Quick opposed the amendment.

The motion to amend was lost. The motion to adopt the report of the committee as a whole was carried.

President Gompers: In making the committee appointments yesterday an error crept into the headings of the Committee on Organization and the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies. The headings should be transferred.

Vice-President Duncan, for the Executive Council, read the following report:

#### **Report of the Executive Council.**

St. Louis, Mo., November 15, 1910.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Greeting:

At each annual convention of our Federation, your Executive Council has duly presented to you a summary or resumé of the more important matters which have come before us during the year, together with such suggestions and recommendations as have appealed to our judgment as tending to best advance the cause of labor in general and the direct interests of those involved in the cases under consideration in particular. We, therefore, submit to you herewith our annual report for the fiscal year of 1910.

During the year the Executive Council has held five meetings, as follows:

At Toronto immediately after the adjournment of the Toronto Convention.

At headquarters in January.

At headquarters in March.

At headquarters and at Atlantic City in June.

At St. Louis since our arrival here Thursday evening.

It was our intention to hold a meeting of the Executive Council on the Pacific Coast, and to address meetings and confer with representatives of labor in various cities going and returning from the coast, the members of

the Executive Council to be divided up in groups for the accomplishment of the best results on the trip. By reason of the fact of the important engagements the members of the Executive Council had to meet, the project had to be abandoned. The instructions of the convention to President Gompers to accept the invitation to visit the Pacific Coast, he could not carry out for similar reasons.

At the earliest opportunity your President and Executive Council should undertake such a trip in the interests of our fellow workers in the Western and Pacific States.

During the year President Gompers has submitted to the Executive Council either by letter or telegram 128 subjects dealing with various matters, some of the most important of which we shall make part of this report.

For a number of years it has been customary for the Executive Council to hold meetings from time to time during the sessions of the conventions. It will no doubt be necessary for such meetings to be held during this convention. We earnestly request that in view of the engrossing and constantly increasing importance of the work of the convention, the necessity for attendance upon the meetings of the various committees, etc., that only the most pressingly important matters should be referred to the Executive Council during the sessions of the convention, but that all other matters should be taken up at the meeting which will be held after the adjournment.

#### Organization and Its Extension.

To the very fullest limit of the Federation's treasury we have endeavored to comply with the many requests made from time to time from every section of the country for the appointment of special organizers, and, where such appointments could not be made, as far as practicable and possible in rearranging itineraries for the special organizers of the A. F. of L. we endeavored to include the localities from which these requests were made. In some instances there seems to exist on the part of the officers and members of our affiliated organizations considerable misunderstanding as to the Federation

funds available for organizing work. It may not be amiss here to bring to your attention the fact that under the provision of the Constitution of the A. F. of L. the moneys which have been contributed by the directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions toward the Defense Fund can not be used for any purpose whatsoever except for the assistance of these local trade and federal labor unions when involved in trade disputes and controversies with the concerns and companies by which their members are employed.

Considerable success has been made in an effort for the organization of the workers in the Fore River Shipyard at Quincy, Mass. An organizer was assigned to that work, covering a considerable period of time, and had the beneficial advice and co-operation of Vice-President Duncan. A number of international unions assigned some of their best organizers to that mission. While considerable progress has been made, more remains to be done.

In connection with the subject of organizing work, we desire to impress strongly upon the delegates to this convention and the officers and members of affiliated unions the obvious fact that that assistance is best which is rendered unto one's self; in other words, that though the American Federation of Labor has done what it can and though it will work for the more thorough organization of our fellow workers, yet we are firmly convinced that each organization itself should be primarily engaged in unionizing the men who follow its craft and calling. After all, the work of the American Federation of Labor in connection with organization should be supplementary to the work of the international unions rather than tending to supplant their efforts.

The reports of our officers which have been submitted to this convention set forth the increase in the membership and in the number of locals of our affiliated bodies within the last year. An analysis of the reports demonstrates that the membership of organized labor is larger than at any previous time in the history of the American labor movement. The results achieved in organization and by organized effort both in

the industrial and the political field must be gratifying to all, yet it can not be regarded as at all satisfying. So long as there are any unorganized wage workers, it will be our duty to devote a large part of our energies to bring them within the beneficent fold and influences of our trade union movement; so long as there is a right denied or a wrong to be redressed, there is important work for the men of labor to do. To do it, how to do it, and the means with which to do it, are matters to which we must give our attention. Your executive officers have been very much hampered in our work by reason of the lack of finances with which to carry it on. While conventions of our Federation instruct and direct the doing of work and the carrying out of policies and campaigns, it frequently occurs that we are limited in what can be done by reason of the lack of the means wherewith to do it.

We recommend:

That the international unions and the local unions which have not yet done so establish high regular dues among the membership, the payment of benefits being commensurate with the dues, and create large funds properly safeguarded to stand the workers instead in time of industrial stress and storm, the accumulation of which will make unnecessary many of the industrial disputes which now occur, the rights and interests of the membership being thereby the better protected and advanced.

We feel confident that if this recommendation is carried out it will result in a vastly increased membership of all unions and in a larger number of unions, and that our entire labor movement will be given an impetus in growth, extension and influence for good of which we now can only have a faint conception. There is not a dollar which organized labor may expend in the extension of organization among our fellow workers but will bring back advantages a hundred-fold.

#### **Unions.**

The fiscal year just closed has witnessed the issuance of charters to two International Unions as follows:

Tunnel and Subway Constructors International Union.

Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America.

Charters have also been issued to one State Federation of Labor, 83 Central Labor Unions, 152 local trade unions, of which there are no national or international unions of the trade, 96 federal labor unions, making a total of 334 charters issued.

#### **Western Federation of Miners.**

On June 22, at our Executive Council meeting, formal application was made by the Western Federation of Miners for charter from the American Federation of Labor. The claim of jurisdiction set forth in the application was as follows:

"The character of work is such as is required in the metalliferous and mineral mining industries, excepting coal mining.

"The jurisdiction claimed by the Western Federation of Miners includes all underground and surface wage-workers in said industries, also all of those employed in mills, smelters, refineries and other reduction works which treat the products of said mines."

Objection was thereupon interposed by the International Association of Machinists and the International Union of Steam Engineers against the issuance of the charter to the Western Federation of Miners unless it recognizes the established jurisdiction over machinists and engineers.

We referred the matter to a conference of the representatives of the International Association of Machinists, President Valentine of the International Molders' Union, and the representatives of the Western Federation of Miners, and selected Vice-President Mitchell to represent the American Federation of Labor. Quite some time was given to the conference, but the report was made to us that no agreement or adjustment in the mooted question had been reached.

The matter was again before the Executive Council, the officers of the organizations each insisting upon their respective claims and protests. We thereupon directed President Gompers to enter into a further correspondence in regard to the application for charter and to communicate the results thereof

to us. There has been much correspondence upon this subject, but we finally, on the occasion of the special convention of the United Mine Workers of America, and inasmuch as President Gompers was aware that President Moyer of the Western Federation of Miners would be at Indianapolis in attendance at that convention, authorized him to invite the representatives of the International Association of Machinists, of the United Mine Workers of America, and the Western Federation of Miners to participate in a conference with several representatives of the Executive Council in Indianapolis on August 18, during the date of the special convention of the United Mine Workers of America to endeavor to come to an agreement so that a charter might be issued to the Western Federation of Miners. Two sessions were held and the following agreement reached:

"Indianapolis, Ind., August 18, 1910.

At a conference held in the city of Indianapolis, Ind., in which the following participated: James O'Connell, President, International Association of Machinists; Charles H. Moyer, President, Western Federation of Miners; T. L. Lewis, President, United Mine Workers of America; W. W. White, International Organizer, U. M. W. of A.; John Mitchell, Vice-President, American Federation of Labor; Wm. D. Huber, Vice-President, American Federation of Labor; Samuel Gompers, President, American Federation of Labor, for the purpose of agreeing upon terms of amity and co-operation and the best interest of the men in and around the mines, and the workers generally could best be conserved, the following was agreed between the International Association of Machinists and the Western Federation of Miners and approved by the participants in the conference, and that the same be submitted to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.:

1. That wherever locals of machinists under the International Association of Machinists now exist, their status shall not in any way be disturbed by claim to jurisdiction by the Western Federation of Miners.

2. That the officers of the organizations in this conference represented

agree to aid to the fullest in furthering the mutual interests of all workers in and around the mines.

James O'Connell,  
T. L. Lewis,  
John Mitchell,  
Charles H. Moyer,  
W. W. White,  
Wm. D. Huber,  
Samuel Gompers."

In view of the declaration of the Scranton Convention as corrected by the Minneapolis Convention upon the subject of trade autonomy and jurisdiction, we were persuaded that the claim of the Western Federation of Miners to jurisdiction over engineers in and around the mines was well founded, and when copies of this agreement were transmitted to us, we were fully convinced that the obstacles to the issuance of the charter had been removed.

President Moyer of the W. F. of M., however, wrote a letter to President O'Connell of the I. A. of M., asking the latter's interpretation of the first clause of the agreement. In order that the matter may be fully understood, the correspondence upon the subject between President Moyer, President O'Connell, and President Gompers is herewith given:

#### "WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS.

Denver, Colo., August 24, 1910.

Mr. Jas. O'Connell, President, I. A. of M., Washington, D. C.:

Dear Sir and Brother—I have just returned to our headquarters in Denver on this date, and in studying over the proposed agreement between the International Association of Machinists and the Western Federation of Miners, which was outlined in our conference of August 18, before submitting same to our Executive Board, I deem it wise to have a more definite understanding, especially as to Clause 1 in the proposed agreement. This clause reads: 'Wherever locals of machinists, under the International Association of Machinists, now exist, their status shall not in any way be disturbed by the claimed jurisdiction of the W. F. of M.'

While I am absolutely clear on this matter, and have every reason to believe



that the other members of the committee are also, and that we all had in mind the locals of machinists now existing in the mining camps in the jurisdiction claimed by the W. F. of M., of which I believe there are not to exceed three, the same being located in different camps in the State of Montana, yet I am familiar with the fact that certain locals of the I. A. of M. situated in large centers, such as Denver, Colo., and Salt Lake City, Utah, have members working in mining camps where there is no local of machinists, said camps being located a long distance from the above-named places, and I consider it wise, in fact, absolutely necessary that it be understood that Clause 1 shall not apply to local unions of the I. A. of M. other than those that are situated in the mining camps. In other words, if one local in a State, for instance such as Salt Lake City, should claim jurisdiction over the machinists in the different mining camps of that State, and it is intended that Clause 1 shall secure them in their claim to such jurisdiction, then the same could not be considered at all by the W. F. of M., as it would be practically conceding to the machinists jurisdiction over machinists in every State where metal or mineral mining is carried on and where a local of the International exists. In order that there may be no confusion in the future, I would like you to wire me immediately upon receipt of this letter as to whether I am correct in my interpretation of the proposed agreement in that it only applies to the local unions of machinists now existing in mining and smelting camps. My reason for requesting that you reply by wire is that I understand the A. F. of L. Council will convene on the 12th of September, and as I shall not submit this matter to our Executive Board until hearing from you, it is a question whether we would have sufficient time for the Board to pass on the question if compelled to await a communication.

Wishing you the fullest measure of success, I am,

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) Charles Moyer,

President Western Federation of Miners."

#### "INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS.

Washington, D. C., August 27, 1910.

Mr. C. H. Moyer, President W. F. of M.,  
Denver, Colorado:

Dear Sir and Brother—I have your esteemed favor of the 24th and wired you today as follows:

"Washington, D. C., August 27, 1910.

C. H. Moyer, Denver, Colorado:

Letter twenty-fourth received. Your interpretation of our proposed agreement not according to my understanding. We are to have same jurisdiction we now hold wherever our members are located throughout your jurisdiction. Just received word lodge at Salt Lake secured eight-hour day with 50 cent rate at one of the large smelters employing 20 machinists. Lodge at Milford has large number machinists working mines and smelters in that section. Letter following."

My understanding of the proposed arrangement at Indianapolis to be submitted to our general executive boards in the proposition which provides "wherever locals in the I. A. of M. now exist, their status shall in no way be disturbed by claim of jurisdiction of the W. F. of M." is that it does not confine us to a lodge located as you indicate in the mining camps, but means that where a lodge exists in the I. A. of M. and has members working in mines and smelters, their status shall not be disturbed. For instance, our lodge at Salt Lake has a large number of machinists employed in and about the smelters in that vicinity. Lodge No. 244, at Milford, Utah, has also a large number of members working in the mines and smelters in that vicinity. Lodge 568, Bingham Canyon, I believe also has a large number of members in the smelters and mines. I am not sure our lodge at Denver has many, if any, employed in the mines and smelters of Colorado.

Therefore, if we were to confine our jurisdiction exclusively to lodges in the mining camps, for instance, Butte and Anaconda, we would simply be giving up claim upon a large number of members holding membership in the lodges in that vicinity, which lodges may not

be located within some miles of the mining camp.

I believe, Brother Moyer, if the proposition is adopted and we agree to carry same out with a liberal spirit of co-operation with each other, with a view to advancing the interests of our respective organizations, the best interests of all parties concerned will be served, and beg to assure you that we will not hitch on any small technicalities to place your organization, officers or members in an embarrassing position, but stand ready to assist you in every way possible to advance the interests of the W. F. of M.

With the assurance of my best wishes, I am,

Yours fraternally,  
(Signed) Jas. O'Connell,  
International President.

"Washington, D. C., August 27, 1910.  
Mr. Charles H. Moyer, 605 Railroad Building, Denver, Colorado:

President O'Connell just showed me your letter. It seems to me the first paragraph of the agreement is quite clear and fully understood by participants in Indianapolis conference to mean that wherever machinists' locals now exist they shall not be interfered with. It is doubtful whether Executive Council meeting will be held for two months, but that fact is not likely to interfere with issuance of charter if agreement is reached. In the interest of miners, machinists and all labor I urge that every effort be made to bring about affiliation, unity and co-operation.

Samuel Gompers,  
President American Federation  
Labor."

"Denver, Colo., August 30, 1910.  
Sam. Gompers, 801 G st. N. W., Washington, D. C.:

O'Connell claims jurisdiction wherever his members are working throughout our jurisdiction. Your telegram refers not to members, but to locals now existing. Do you mean locals in our jurisdiction or in general?

Chas. S. Moyer,  
President, W. F. of M."

"Washington, D. C., September 1, 1910.  
Mr. Charles H. Moyer, 605 Railroad Building, Denver, Colorado:

Statement in my telegram August 27th in exact accord with first provision of Indianapolis agreement. Existing machinists' locals are not to be interfered with. The right of the locals to remain undisturbed carries with it the right of their members to work without claim to jurisdiction over them by another organization. This telegram has been read to Mr. O'Connell and he approves it. I again urge that after all the matter is not of great importance to your organization and should not stand in the way of its affiliation.

Samuel Gompers,  
President American Federation  
of Labor."

#### WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS.

Denver, Colo., September 2, 1910.  
Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.:

Dear Sir and Brother—Your telegrams of the 27th and 1st received, and while the former left me somewhat in doubt, the latter makes your position absolutely clear and as it permits of no other interpretation than that the International Association of Machinists shall have jurisdiction over machinists employed in the mining industry, regardless as to whether or not they have a local in the mining or smelting camp, I am compelled to say that the intent of the proposed agreement was not so understood by President Lewis of the United Mine Workers, and myself, and that I was much surprised that such a construction could be placed upon it by any member or members of the Indianapolis conference.

When filing our application for certificate of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, I believe that it was accompanied by a copy of the joint report which was adopted by the United Mine Workers and the Western Federation of Miners. I remember that your attention was called to Clause 4, which provided that application for affiliation was to be made on condition that the present jurisdiction of the Western

Federation of Miners and the United Mine Workers of America should be recognized by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. The present jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers referred to in this report included all workers in the coal mining industry. The jurisdiction of the Western Federation of Miners, as I explained to you in my letter, was that which is claimed in the constitution of the organization.

In filing our application we were guided by the instructions of the 22d convention, United Mine Workers of America, and the membership of the Western Federation of Miners, and in defining our jurisdiction in the application, the opinion as to both organizations as to what they believed was for their best interests was set forth in a way that could not be misunderstood. I mention this because of the fact that in your wire of the first you state that in your opinion the matter of jurisdiction between the International Association of Machinists and the miners' organizations is not of great importance. When the committees representing the miners' organizations, appeared before your Council in Washington we were informed that several protests had been filed against the issuing of a charter to the metalliferous miners because of the question of jurisdiction, and it developed later that the one entered by President O'Connell of the International Association of Machinists, was considered of the greater importance by the Council for the reason, as I understand, that in the jurisdiction of the Western Federation of Miners there had been for a great many years, local unions of machinists, and when on August 18th we met in conference in Indianapolis, it appeared to be well understood by all participants, in fact, it was so stated by yourself and other members representing the Council, and if I mistake not, President O'Connell included, that the only obstacle which stood in the way of issuing the charter was the local unions of machinists in Montana in the jurisdiction of the Western Federation of Miners. I believe that you remember that I asked President O'Connell as to the number of these locals and he

replied, "One in Butte, one in Anaconda, and possibly one in Great Falls." I then said that as I understood there were not to exceed three locals involved. He replied that was all he had any knowledge of. This is some evidence at least that the matter under discussion was not the general jurisdiction between the International Association of Machinists and the Western Federation of Miners, but certain locals existing in the jurisdiction of the latter organization.

Then, again, it is evident to me that in drafting the agreement you had in mind, first an agreement that would permit the locals under discussion to continue; second, the defining of the jurisdiction generally between the two organizations. My reason for these conclusions is that after reading to the conference your draft of an agreement, President O'Connell objected to your reference to the miners having jurisdiction over all machinists in mining camps where there were no locals of machinists. You will remember his reasons for so doing, which were that any such reference in the agreement would only have a tendency to arouse his membership, but that if there was no mention made of this and the charter issued on the application, the general jurisdiction would be covered, and by an understanding as to the locals existing in Montana, whereby they might continue undisturbed by claimed jurisdiction of the Western Federation of Miners, that the situation could be tided over, and because of the position assumed by Mr. O'Connell, that portion of your draft was stricken out. This, it occurs to me, is further evidence that the question involved and which we had under discussion, and which the proposed agreement was intended to cover, was the local unions of machinists now existing in the jurisdiction of the Western Federation of Miners. I am unable to understand how it could have been possible for any member of the conference to have inferred from the position which I took that I was willing to enter into an agreement which would concede general jurisdiction in the mining industry to machinists. In the first place, I had no authority from the Western Federa-

tion of Miners to do so, and would have broken faith with the United Mine Workers under the provisions of the joint committee's report. I submitted President O'Connell's letter and telegram, also my letter to Mr. O'Connell to President Lewis, of the United Mine Workers, and in a telegram to me dated the 29th, he informs me that his understanding of the proposed agreement was the same as mine.

I maintain that the construction which is placed on the first paragraph of the proposed agreement by Mr. O'Connell and yourself is a complete concession of jurisdiction to the International Association of Machinists over that craft in the mining industry, and if carried out as interpreted by him there would be a continuous conflict between the two organizations. I contend that under the terms of this proposed agreement as construed by Mr. O'Connell, that, in the State of Colorado, as an example, where the machinists have no locals in the mining industry, but where possibly some of their members have been, and are, at this time, being permitted to work by the Western Federation of Miners, regardless of whether there was even a local of Machinists in the state or territory. Carried to its conclusion, it would mean that the jurisdiction of a local union in the city of Chicago or New York would extend to British Columbia, simply because, as I have said, there might be one or more of their members in each of the mining or smelting camps in the province.

If the present status as to members working throughout our jurisdiction is proposed to be continued, then what rule would apply in case the force in a mine or smelter should be increased and other members of the machinists be placed in positions. Would they become members of the Western Federation of Miners or continue in the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists? Or in cases where the force may be made up partly of members of the international of machinists and non-union workers, according to Mr. O'Connell's interpretation of the proposed agreement the machinists would have jurisdiction over their members and the Western Federation

of Miners over those who had not as yet become members of any organization. This, in my humble opinion, would bring about a condition which could not be for the best interests of the two organizations, and one of many which it was our desire to avoid by a definite settlement of jurisdiction before becoming a part of the American Federation of Labor.

The possibilities of two organizations undertaking to divide the jurisdiction over workers of certain crafts in an industry such as is the mining, would not result, in my opinion, in bringing about that unity and co-operation desired, but on the other hand, would lay the grounds for a continuous friction. If it is the desire of Mr. O'Connell to avoid this, then it appears to me that the proper course to pursue is to have a distinct understanding that either one or the other organization shall have jurisdiction over the machinists in the coal and metalliferous mining industry, and after carefully studying the report of the Autonomy Committee of the Scranton convention, which received the endorsement of the delegates, I believe that I am justified in my contention that they should belong to the paramount organization, which in all instances where the workings are permanent, is composed of the miners.

In conclusion, and in order that my position may be fully understood, I desire to say that my understanding as to the intent of Clause 1 of the agreement, which reads as follows: "Wherever locals of machinists under the international of machinists exist, their status shall not in any way be disturbed by the claimed jurisdiction of the Western Federation of Miners," is that local unions of machinists in the jurisdiction of the Western Federation of Miners at the time our application for charter was made and which President O'Connell stated was not to exceed three, should not be disturbed in their present status, and that with this agreement between the International of Machinists and the Western Federation of Miners, the charter shall issue from the American Federation of Labor on the application. I would further call your attention to the fact that while

the proposed agreement provides that the same shall be submitted to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., yet, upon your suggestion, President O'Connell and myself met at the headquarters of the United Mine Workers on the following day—Mr. Mitchell, Mr. White and Mr. Lewis also being present—and it was agreed on, at the suggestion of Mr. O'Connell, that the matter should first be submitted to the Executive Boards of the two organizations. As it would now appear impossible for President O'Connell and myself to agree as to the intent of the proposed agreement, no good could result from submitting it to the executive boards, therefore the matter, as it seems to me, stands as it did before the Indianapolis conference, and the application of the Western Federation of Miners for charter is before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for their consideration.

I can assure you that I regret exceedingly that this matter could not have been amicably adjusted and our affiliation have taken place at an early date, and I still trust that the council will see its way clear to pass favorably on the application. I have worked diligently for more than one year to bring about a closer alliance between the American Federation of Labor and the miners' organization, and assure you that I ever stand ready to do that which reason points to me as being for the best interests of the working class.

Trusting to hear from you in regard to this important matter at your earliest convenience, I beg to remain,

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) Charles Moyer,

President Western Federation of Miners."

We have had the correspondence and the Indianapolis agreement transmitted to us for consideration, but have had no meeting for the discussion of the subject until our coming to this city. At this meeting we entered fully into the subject and our interpretation of the point in dispute is:

That the agreement reached at Indianapolis does not require any member of the International Association of Machinists working within the juris-

isdiction of a local thereof, to become a member of the Western Federation of Miners.

The Executive Council has authorized the issuance of the charter to the Western Federation of Miners upon the agreement reached at Indianapolis and this interpretation thereof.

#### **Brotherhood of Railway Carmen—International Association of Car Workers.**

Among the charters which we authorized and directed be issued was the one to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. For several years that organization made application for charter, and in each instance it was denied. At the Denver Convention the newly-formed Railway Employees' Department, through its president, Mr. Henry B. Perham, held conferences with the officers of the Brotherhood and the officers of the affiliated International Association of Car Workers. An agreement was reached by which there was to be submitted to a referendum vote of the membership of both organizations the subject of the selection of a committee with power and authority to consummate the amalgamation of both bodies. That agreement was ratified by our Denver Federation Convention. The membership of the Brotherhood ratified the agreement; that of the International rejected it. In our report to the Toronto Convention we called attention that we believed it our duty to put forth every effort possible to secure some mutually satisfactory agreement between the organizations and possible amalgamation. We, therefore, directed our president to continue the efforts and correspondence. It resulted in a meeting of the representatives of the two organizations, the meeting being held at the Victoria Hotel, New York City, concurrent with our Executive Council meeting, and we delegated Vice-President Perham to act in the name of the A. F. of L.

An agreement was reached that inasmuch as the Brotherhood had authorized and selected its committee, with power to amalgamate, and that the International had not, the representatives of the International should recommend to the Executive Board thereof

the submission of a proposition to authorize the appointment of the committee with power to act. The Executive Board of the International Union declined to submit the proposition to the membership. For a better understanding we quote from the official proceedings of our last convention, as follows:

"In view of the fact that the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America voted to affiliate with the A. F. of L. application for charter was made by its officers. We have had this application under consideration, but were in hopes that amalgamation of the organizations would be completed. We, therefore, held the matter in abeyance. We have not given up hope that amalgamation may be accomplished, even at this convention, but unless this convention or the Executive Council is advised on or before the close of this convention that amalgamation will be effected, we recommend that the Executive Council be authorized to charter and affiliate to the A. F. of L. an amalgamation of the men in this industry under one charter.

A motion was made, and seconded, that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Richardson: I have no objection to the report of the committee, except in so far as it authorizes the Executive Council to issue a charter to the amalgamated organizations. That would authorize the Executive Council in my opinion, to revoke the charter of the International Association of Car Workers, in violation of Section 12, Article IX, I feel the report of the committee is in violation of that section, and raise that point of order.

President Gompers: The chair decides the point of order is not well taken. At the meeting of the Executive Council when this subject was under consideration, the very course stated by Delegate Richardson was stated to be the course which must necessarily be pursued in this convention: that is, the attention of the convention will be called to all that is implied in the report, and that this proposition must be decided by roll call and require a two-thirds vote to adopt.

Delegate Mahon: I would like to have it made clear when this conference is to take place.

Delegate Lewis, secretary of the committee: The committee was unable to say when the conference would take place. It states that the conference will be held in the city of Washington, D. C., at the earliest possible date. There are two organizations involved in this controversy—the International Association of Car Workers and the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. An effort was made to get the organizations together and agree upon a basis of amalgamation. The representatives of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, its executive officers, are here with full power to amalgamate on any basis. They represent approximately 20,000 men. The International Association of Car Workers, the affiliated organization, is represented here with no power to agree upon the terms of amalgamation. Representatives of both organizations admitted in the committee that amalgamation would best serve the interests of the car workers of this country. When the question was put to the representatives of the affiliated unions, whether or not they would recommend to their constituents, who are affiliated with this body, any plan of amalgamation that might be agreed upon, they did not answer the question. Another question entered into the controversy. The non-affiliated organization has an indebtedness obligated by those 20,000 or more men in the way of strike benefits. Their representatives were asked if they expected the amalgamated organization to take care of that indebtedness, and they replied that they did not, that their membership would take care of it.

The question was discussed by Delegate Mahon at some length.

Delegate Braggins: I move that the report of the committee be amended to limit the time when this meeting shall occur to February 1. That will give more than sixty days.

After a short discussion, Delegate Braggins moved, as an amendment to the report of the committee, that the time in which the meeting shall be held be limited to four months. (Seconded.)

The question was further discussed by President Gompers, Vice-President O'Connell, Delegate Mahon, Delegate Richardson, and Delegate Braggins.

The amendment offered by Delegate Braggins was lost.

President Gompers: The chair desires to ask if a roll call is waived.

Delegate Richardson: I ask for a roll call under the law.

President Gompers: The secretary will call the roll.

Delegate Richardson: I am not asking it on the report of the committee, but on Section 12.

Roll call on report of Committee on Adjustment on the question of the International Association of Car Workers and the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen.

The report and the recommendation of both the Executive Council and the Committee on Adjustment were adopted by vote of 12,189 to 1,377.

We authorized the continuation of the efforts to bring about amalgamation, the officers of both organizations appearing before our Council meeting. In view of the opposition manifested by the officers of the International, the Brotherhood insisted that it had the right to expect the issuance of a charter to that body. It was, however, again left in abeyance, and President Gompers directed to invite the officers of both organizations to a conference for the purpose of effecting the desired result. That conference was later held, and he devoted two days and evenings thereto. It being necessary for him to leave headquarters to attend to important work in connection with our movement, he authorized, in our name, Secretary Morrison to continue the effort. Our secretary devoted two days of his time thereto, the officers of the organizations themselves holding several days' conference thereafter, but all to no avail. The officers of the International claimed that inasmuch as the Brotherhood had a debt, their members would be liable to bear the burden equally with those of the Brotherhood. They exhibited a legal opinion to that effect. This entire matter, together with the legal opinion, was submitted to Hon. J. H. Ralston, our Federation's attorney, for an opinion as to whether

provision could be made to guarantee the present members of the International Union from any such indebtedness. He not only gave an affirmative opinion, but drafted a provision by which this could be accomplished. Notwithstanding this, the officers of the International declined to consider any proposition looking toward an amalgamation. The officers of the International then submitted to their membership a proposition forbidding their officers or representatives from participating in any conference or negotiations looking toward amalgamation until the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen liquidated its entire indebtedness.

We regarded that course on the part of the officers of the International as a subterfuge; as a breach of faith and in contravention of the declaration of the Toronto Convention. Not only the proposition prohibiting conference for amalgamation as submitted, but the language employed in its submission so prejudiced the issue as to make it a foregone conclusion that the membership would vote as they did, prohibiting conference and amalgamation. We therefore believe we acted within the spirit and purpose of the unanimous instructions of the Toronto Convention when we ordered that in the event of the rejection by the membership of the International prohibiting the organization's participation in negotiations and conferences for amalgamation, that a charter should be issued to the Brotherhood, and that in that event the charter was authorized and directed to be issued. It was issued under date of August 9, 1910. A letter of transmittal of the charter was sent. The letter contains the conditions upon which the charter was issued. The letter is as follows:

August 9, 1910.

Mr. M. F. Ryan, President, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, 507 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo.:

Dear Sir and Brother—For sometime an application from your organization has been in this office for a charter to be issued by the American Federation of Labor to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America. By reason of the fact of the affiliation of the International Association of Car Workers, and its protest against the issuance of such

charter, the subject has been one of many and prolonged conferences, and it has received the attention of conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

It was the hope that the amalgamation of the two car workers' organizations would be effected. The matter was fully presented in the reports of the officers of the A. F. of L. to the Toronto Convention, November, 1909, and referred to the Committee on Adjustment which subsequently made comprehensive report, which in turn was adopted by the convention by a vote of 12,189 in the affirmative and 1,377 in the negative.

In conformity with the instructions of the convention, the Executive Council and other officers of the A. F. of L. made persistent effort to bring about amalgamation so that a charter might be issued to an international body of car workers, but without avail, insurmountable obstacles having been placed in the way to achievement within the limit of time contemplated by the instructions of the Toronto Convention. Recently the International Association of Car Workers, despite the overwhelming declaration of the Toronto Convention, decided to refuse to enter into any negotiations or conferences whatsoever for the purpose of bringing about amalgamation of that organization with the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, until the \$80,000 for which the latter organization is indebted to its members is fully paid, and this decision was reached notwithstanding the positive and absolute binding declaration that the B. of R. C. of A. will assume full responsibility for the liquidation of that debt, and that the members of the I. A. of C. W. will be safeguarded from any financial or other obligation in regard to this indebtedness.

Thus the Executive Council is confronted with a situation in which it must act in conformity with the spirit and purpose of the Toronto Convention's decision and instructions, and in furtherance of the best interests of the men employed as carmen and car workers, and in furtherance of the best interests of the labor movement of America.

Having all these matters in mind, the Executive Council decided as follows:

"In the effort to adjust the differences between the organizations of car workers and to amalgamate them as per the action of the Toronto Convention we found two obstacles, viz.: that the International Association of Car Workers objected to amalgamation until certain debt said to be due by the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of a number of its members had been paid; and that the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers objected to an amalgamated charter being issued until the painting now done by both the Car Workers' International Unions was transferred to the painters' jurisdiction.

"In order, however, to give official recognition to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, and to permit of both objections being cleared up to the mutual satisfaction of all interested parties, a charter to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen as per its application for affiliation be issued and that the efforts of the A. F. of L. for amalgamation of the car workers' unions be continued and at the earliest possible date consistent with the welfare of the workers in interest a charter be issued to the amalgamated union."

It is understood by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. that the decision and the conditions upon which the charter is issued to your organization, shall be fully and in good faith carried out, that is, that there shall be an effort made for harmonious agreement by your organization with the International Association of Car Workers; that your Brotherhood will continue, and if possible to make further efforts for the earliest possible liquidation of its indebtedness; that after the indebtedness has been paid that earnest effort at amalgamation will be made between the B. of R. C. and the I. A. of C. W.; and that whatever claim the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers may justly have shall be given full consideration, fair treatment and honest fulfillment.

It is clearly understood that in issuing this charter to your organization it shall in no way infringe upon the jurisdiction of any existing national or in-



ternational union, nor the work that may belong to either. It is the expectation that every effort be made by your organization to co-operate with the organized toilers of America to bring about greatest possible unity, harmony and success.

Permit me to extend to your International Union a hearty welcome into the family of our great trade unions under the banner of the American Federation of Labor. I sincerely hope that you will be entirely successful in your efforts to improve the condition of your fellow craftsmen and by your organized efforts contribute to the success of the labor movement in general.

The per capita tax which your organization is required to pay to the American Federation of Labor is one-half cent per member per month. The same should be paid regularly and thus avoid allowing indebtedness to accumulate, which then might become burdensome or difficult to pay.

You are respectfully requested to report to the American Federation of Labor at regular intervals provided by the Constitution of the A. F. of L., and at such other times as anything may come under your observation of interest to our movement.

You are kindly asked to notify this office upon receipt of your charter and give the name of your organization in all of your communications to this office.

The practice has become almost general among the affiliated organizations, to print on their letterheads and official documents, in addition to their own title, the following: "Affiliated to the American Federation of Labor." It is respectfully suggested that in future printing for the Brotherhood you will adopt the usual practice. Of course, you understand that it is in no way obligatory.

Enclosed please find receipt for \$5.00 which was forwarded for charter. Charter was mailed to you on the 9th instant.

With best wishes. I am,

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) Samuel Gompers,  
President American Federation  
of Labor."

The International holding its convention in Detroit last month, we authorized Secretary Morrison to appear before the officers and delegates with the endeavor to have that body submit to the membership a proposition authorizing and empowering its officers to continue their efforts for amalgamation of the two bodies, the carmen and car workers, into one comprehensive International Brotherhood of men employed in that trade. The effort was not successful. The entire subject matter is reported to you for such action as you may further direct.

#### Actors—White Rats of America.

Early in the year a complaint reached President Gompers of alleged misconduct on the part of our affiliated Actors' National Union upon a matter of legislation. The complaint was informal, and yet the statement was that the White Rats of America would affirm the complaint. For the purpose of giving our affiliated organization the opportunity of meeting its accusers, our president called a conference in New York inviting the representatives of both organizations to meet him. The conference was protracted, but an agreement was reached regarding the subject of legislation in which both organizations were interested. Later, however, a disagreement again arose between them.

On July 20, 1910, the White Rats of America made application for charter, and claimed absolute and sole jurisdiction in regard to all theatrical performers. The Actors' National Union being affiliated and claiming exclusive jurisdiction, a charter under these circumstances was impossible. President Gompers invited the representatives of the Actors' National Union, of the White Rats of America, of the Central Federated Union, and Organizer Frayne to meet him in conference for the purpose of endeavoring to bring about the amalgamation of the two organizations, or the arrangements of such conditions by which the charter could be issued to the White Rats. Vice-President Mitchell was invited and co-operated in this conference. The conference resulted in a declaration in favor of one organization of the theatrical performers of America, and also an agreement

to select three members each representing the two organizations primarily in interest, and an agreement by these six upon the seventh member, who was to act in an advisory capacity without vote.

Both organizations agreed upon President Gompers. He called the conference which was held on Monday, November 7, in New York City, when an agreement was entered into by which the two organizations became amalgamated into one, part of the name of both organizations being accepted under the following new title: The White Rats Actors' Union of America.

Other arrangements for the consolidation of both organizations were made and the application for charter of the consolidated organizations substituted for the one issued and the one for which application was made. We gladly approved the agreement and the issuance of the charter was authorized.

#### **Electrical Workers.**

We regret to report that the controversy between the affiliated and the unaffiliated International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers remains unadjusted. The Toronto Convention unanimously reaffirmed the agreement adopted by the Denver Convention, and by the same vote provided for means by which the amalgamation of both organizations shall be effected, and referred its consummation to a committee of three, composed of one representative selected by the affiliated brotherhood, one selected by the unaffiliated organization, and the other selected by our president. The following were the appointees made respectively: Frank Duffy, F. L. Urick, and John P. Frey. These appointees were confirmed by the convention.

The committee held several prolonged meetings at Springfield, Illinois, and Cleveland, Ohio, but were unable to accomplish the desired result. It is impossible in this report to comprehensively state the grounds for the cause of the committee's inability to amalgamate the two organizations. A summary can give no just conception of all the features involved. A presentation of all the documents is entirely out of the question. They consist of printed proceedings of our convention,

printed proceedings of conventions of the two organizations involved, official journals of both organizations, innumerable letters, court petitions, court orders, attorney's briefs and attorney's letters and opinions, as well as court opinions and decisions.

It is our opinion that if the entire matter is referred to the Executive Council for the exercise of their good offices, and without instructions binding them to any specific course by this convention, our Federation may, in the course of time, bring about amalgamation. Any Executive Council which this convention will elect will be in all honor and in duty bound to aim to accomplish the best results in the interests of the men employed in the Electrical Workers' trade, and to advance the cause we all have the honor to represent. Certainly, it is quite evident that the method provided by the Denver and Toronto Conventions to bring about that result has completely failed, notwithstanding the best efforts of the men engaged in that mission.

#### **Elevator Constructors—Machinists.**

Obedient to the action of the Toronto Convention on Resolution No. 54, our president immediately instructed an investigation in regard to the controversy of the elevator constructors and the machinists' locals of Chicago. Resolution No. 54 contains a number of preambles and a resolution. This was referred to the Adjustment Committee, which reported thereon. That report, as amended and adopted by the convention, reads as follows:

"That the president of the A. F. of L. be instructed to immediately institute an investigation in regard to the controversy of the elevator constructors of Chicago. If it is found that the claim of the Elevator Constructors' Union is correct with reference to the situation in Chicago, in our opinion, the men now on the jobs of the striking elevator constructors should be taken off and the controversy in Chicago should be adjusted by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, or some representative member of the Executive Council.

"That the machinists be requested to remove their men, pending the investigation, so that we will be on equal terms."

President Gompers immediately conveyed the request contained in the action of the convention to President O'Connell of the International Association of Machinists, to which he replied that if he was notified of the time the committee appointed to make the investigation would meet, and who the members of the committee would be, the date set when it would proceed with the investigation, he has every reason to believe that the request made by the A. F. of L. would be complied with.

Our president, in compliance with the instruction, appointed John R. Alpine president of the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada; J. W. Kline president of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, and George L. Berry president of the International Printing Pressmen's Union.

The officers of the elevator constructors and of the machinists were informed of the time and place when the investigation would be held, and were in attendance at Chicago. The following are the report, findings and recommendations of that committee:

"Chicago, Ill., December 16, 1909.

Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor:

We, the committee, appointed by President Gompers, in accordance with the decision of the Toronto Convention, to investigate the conditions relative to the machinists and elevator constructor's controversy, ask leave to report our findings as follows:

Two meetings between the contesting parties and the committee were held in the Briggs House, Chicago, December 7 and 8 respectively, and one meeting was held between the interested parties also at the Briggs House, December 8, at which meeting Bro. Berry was present.

These meetings were without results, so far as a settlement of the controversy was concerned, and the representatives of both organizations declared that they were satisfied they had pre-

sented their respective arguments completely.

The machinists manifested a desire to arbitrate, but the elevator constructors maintained that nothing would suffice save the removal of all machinists from the contested work. The machinists made the following proposition to the elevator constructors:

If the special committee were able to bring about an adjustment whereby all unemployed elevator constructors in Chicago were to be reinstated under the conditions and working rules and wage scale agreed to, would you be willing to have special committee recommend to the Executive Council that they shall proceed to send out amalgamation plan, the machinists to agree that they will support wage contentions to the extent of withdrawing their men from the Otis Elevator Company; all elevator constructors now out of work or who were in the employ of the Otis Elevator Company, May 1, 1909, to file application at office of elevator constructors within fifteen days after a truce is declared and agreed to by special committee and both parties to the controversy? This was rejected by the elevator constructors.

Since your committee felt that a full investigation would not be effected without receiving the version of the employers principally concerned, a visit was determined upon by the committee with the Otis Elevator Company, December 9, by Brothers Alpine and Kline, and the entire situation was reviewed from the employers' standpoint.

The representatives of the machinists and elevator constructors agreed to meet with Brothers Alpine and Kline at the offices of the Otis Elevator Company on December 11—with the hope that some mutual satisfactory arrangement would be effected which would relieve a situation rapidly growing more intense.

This conference, however, proved fruitless. The elevator constructors were immovable. The company manifested a desire, and were anxious to assist us in effecting a settlement. The machinists were also willing at this time to agree to a reasonable proposition that the elevator constructors may offer.

Nothing, however, would satisfy the latter but the immediate removal of all machinists from the disputed work.

The company at this time made the following proposition: We will employ one hundred elevator constructors, out of work, immediately, or an equivalent of one elevator constructor to one machinist, and helpers likewise. They also agreed to pay the five dollars and (\$5.20) twenty cents to all elevator constructors and machinists, pending action of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., or until the first of May. This, be it understood, is the wage rate for which the elevator constructors are on strike.

This proposition was agreed to by the machinists, but immediately rejected by the elevator constructors. In other words, any and all propositions and overtures were rejected by the elevator constructors, and your committee, realizing that further discussion was useless, the meeting adjourned.

In summing up our investigation, it shows that the controversy between the constructors and machinists has extended over a period of several years, and the feeling has become more intense from year to year. Conferences have been held between local and international officers of both organizations in an endeavor to settle the dispute, with no results. The proposition to amalgamate has been talked on for nearly a year, and hostilities had practically ceased, pending the consummation of the plan. It had been decided by both organizations to meet in Chicago, May 3, 1909, to consummate the plan of amalgamation.

The machinists, who had notified the Otis Company in March, 1909, of their intention to cover all of the installation of machinery in their agreement, under the advice of their general officers, allowed their members to remain at work after the first day of May, 1909, even though their agreement expired on that date, in order that no trouble might arise during the deliberations of the two organizations in their attempt to perfect amalgamation plans. It was understood by the machinists that the elevator constructors would do likewise; however, this they did not do, and removed their men the first day of May

before the Joint Executive Council had met. This in itself we consider showed bad faith on the part of the elevator constructors, and according to the evidence offered the New York meeting, showed that it was the desire of the meeting that hostilities should cease during the attempt to amalgamate.

The machinists made no attempt to force the acceptance of their agreement on the Otis Elevator Company until the elevator constructors had refused to send out the proposed plans of amalgamation agreed on by the joint meeting. As soon as they refused to do this, however, the machinists, in conjunction with other trades connected with the Associated Building Trades, notified the officials of the Otis Elevator Company of their desire and intention to formulate an agreement covering all of this work.

Such an agreement was drawn up on June 12, 1909, was signed by the various organizations and endorsed by the Associated Building Trades, and work commenced and is being performed at this present time.

The removal of the machinists would have, we think, at this time, a tendency to complicate the situation instead of helping it, as the trades working in conjunction with the machinists on this work would undoubtedly make trouble for the constructors in behalf of the machinists and themselves. In addition to this is the fact that the Metal Trades Department may become involved in the shops and embroil other crafts not directly interested in this difficulty. An additional reason why it would be inadvisable to order the machinists to desist work on the contested claims is the fact that the Associated Building Trades Council will undoubtedly consolidate with the Building Trades Department local section on or before January 1, 1910. This action is the order of the Building Trades Department and all signs indicate that the consolidation will ensue.

We feel, therefore, were we to take radical action, such action would have a tendency not alone to create additional strife between the machinists and elevator constructors, but would also have a tendency to impede the progress made by the Building Trades

Department—and which progress seems in a fair way to result satisfactorily.

All things considered, we, your committee, would recommend that all elevator constructors who went out on strike May 1, 1909, should return to work at the rate of five dollars and twenty cents (\$5.20) per day, which represents the wage demanded, and they shall work in peace and harmony with the machinists until such time as the Executive Council shall perfect the amalgamation plan adopted by the Toronto Convention, and in which we heartily concur.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) John R. Alpine,  
J. W. Kilne,  
Geo. L. Berry."

At our meeting January 10-15, 1910, we considered the report of the committee, together with the instructions given us by the Toronto Convention, that "the controversy in Chicago should be adjusted by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L." The following is taken from the minutes of our Executive Council meeting containing the decision and recommendations which we made thereon:

"The Executive Council having under consideration the controversy between the locals of the Elevator Constructors' Union and the locals of the International Association of Machinists, in Chicago, concerning the jurisdiction of their respective organizations, together with the report of the special committee appointed by authority of the Toronto Convention, submits to all parties at interest the following recommendations:

We are convinced that the best interests of the members of the Elevator Constructors' Union would be promoted and protected by pursuing the following course:

1. That all members of the Elevator Constructors' Union in Chicago who are now unemployed or who left the employment of the Otis Elevator Company about May 1, 1909, be given the opportunity of resuming work for that company at \$5.20 per day, the wages demanded by them.

2. If the Otis Elevator Company has not a sufficient number of places open

to give employment to all the members of the Elevator Constructors' Union, as provided above, that a sufficient number of members of the Machinists' Union be withdrawn from the places now filled by them, to make places for the members of the Elevator Constructors' Union.

3. That pending the further consideration of the question of amalgamation, members of the Elevator Constructors' Union and members of the International Association of Machinists should work in harmony and co-operation.

4. That if during this period the Otis Elevator Company should find it necessary to decrease its force in Chicago, the men to be first laid off should not be the members of the Elevator Constructors' Union.

5. We recommend and urge that the plan of amalgamation endorsed by the Toronto Convention should be submitted for ratification to the local unions of the Elevator Constructors' Union at the earliest practicable date, and in any event prior to April 1, 1910."

Copy of the report, findings and recommendations of the committee, together with the recommendations of the Executive Council, were transmitted to President O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists, and to Secretary William Young, of the International Union of Elevator Constructors. The former, for the machinists, approved the same; the latter, for the elevator constructors, rejected them. We can make no further report upon this subject, as we have no further official information in regard thereto.

In connection with this entire subject, however, attention is called to the important features contained in the supplementary report the Executive Council had the honor to submit to the Toronto Convention upon the relations of the machinists and elevator constructors, and the plan for their amalgamation; also to the report of the committee having the subject in charge and the discussion by the convention thereon. The matter is published on pages 83, 119, 238, 241, 295, 297 of the proceedings of the Toronto Convention.

However, we understand that the situation in regard to the entire matter in

dispute between the organizations involved has become more acute, and as the representatives of both organizations are now in this city, we intend to continue our efforts for an adjustment of the dispute between the two organizations.

**Amalgamated Carpenters—U. B. of Carpenters.**

The officers of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, through Resolution No. 31, appealed to the Toronto Convention against the action of the convention of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L., held at Tampa, Florida, in October, 1909. The Toronto Convention referred the appeal to the Executive Council. We have given the matter much thought, discussion and consideration. President Gompers has had considerable correspondence with all parties involved. Acting upon our authority, he endeavored to arrange a conference between the representatives of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and the Amalgamated Society, in the early part of the year. After much correspondence the Amalgamated Society requested that the proposed conference should be deferred until some time in October, as that would give sufficient time for the American representatives of their General Council to return, as their constitution provides for their attendance at such conferences in England. This suggestion was also made by reason of the fact that at the meeting of the General Council of the Amalgamated Society in June, the question of the revision of their constitution would be dealt with and it was anticipated many changes would be made.

In the meantime the convention of the Brotherhood was held at Des Moines, Iowa, September 16-30. After the adjournment of that convention, Secretary Duffy submitted a letter to President Gompers. A copy of Secretary Duffy's letter, together with the exhibits to which reference is made therein, was submitted to the officers of the Amalgamated Society and to which they made answer.

This subject came before your Executive Council at our meeting since our coming to this city, and we in turn

desire to submit the entire subject to this convention. All the exhibits and correspondence in connection with the case will be at the disposal of the committee to which the matter may be referred.

Resolution No. 31, of the Toronto Convention, together with all the matters pertaining to the subject, are to be found on pages 140, 141, 309, and 310, of the Toronto printed proceedings.

**United Brotherhood of Carpenters—Amalgamated Wood Workers.**

The Toronto Convention endorsed an agreement for the amalgamation of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union into one organization and instructed your Executive Council to carry into effect the details of the proposed agreement. At our meeting last March we directed our president that if either organization failed to ratify the agreement, he should call a conference of the executive officers of both organizations in conjunction with one member of the Executive Council, for the purpose of carrying out the instructions of the Toronto Convention.

President Gompers immediately entered into correspondence with the executive officers of both organizations with that purpose in view. The Executive Board of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters gave the opinion that as the plan of consolidation as authorized by the Toronto Convention is practically the same as previously adopted by the Minneapolis Convention and approved by a referendum vote of the entire membership of the United Brotherhood, under date of May 13, 1907, that that vote still stands, and that a matter once disposed of by referendum vote of the entire membership becomes the action of the entire organization unless ordered by the next general convention to be re-submitted for a vote. Later, after the national convention of the United Brotherhood, we were advised that the convention accepted the plan of consolidation with the Amalgamated Wood Workers as proposed by our last annual convention, the consolidation to take effect November 1, 1910.

The delegates from the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union, as shown by the official proceedings of the Toronto Convention, opposed the passage of the report of the Committee on Adjustment on this subject. The General Executive Council of the Amalgamated Wood Workers and the membership at large approved this action. The officers of the Amalgamated Wood Workers therefore expressed themselves as willing and ready to confer with the representatives of any body of organized workers with a view to the settlement of controversies, but they declined to enter into any conference with the U. B. of Carpenters with the object of effecting an amalgamation of the two organizations.

We were reluctant to exercise the implied power contained in the action of the Toronto Convention, in so far as concerned the revocation of the charter of the Amalgamated Workers, inasmuch as the United Brotherhood of Carpenters has accepted the Toronto agreement of amalgamation and the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union has rejected it, we recommend that unless the latter organization complies with the decision of the Toronto Convention of the American Federation of Labor and becomes amalgamated with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters on or before April 1, 1911, the action and decision of the Toronto Convention shall become effective on that date.

#### **Brewery Workers, Firemen, Teamsters, and Engineers' Trouble.**

In the report to the Toronto Convention we stated that comparative peace had prevailed between the above named organizations during the year we had passed and that there was only one controversy existing—that in New Orleans, La. At the March meeting of the Executive Council representatives of the United Brewery Workmen requested that a member of the Executive Council be delegated to proceed to New Orleans and, in conjunction with the representative of the Brewery Workers, endeavor to thoroughly organize the brewery workers of that city, it being understood that the brewery workmen would recognize the contract that the employing brewers had with

the Teamsters' Union, and that any contracts entered into should terminate November 5, 1910, which is the date the teamsters' contract expired. At that time and at no time since has it been possible for any member of the Executive Council to go to New Orleans to take up this matter. The Executive Council voted that they will render every assistance in their power to bring about the organization of the brewers and bottlers of New Orleans.

In conformity with the agreement entered into between the Brewery Workers and the Steam Engineers' International Unions at Denver, 1908, and approved by the American Federation of Labor Convention in that city, a referendum vote was taken on Saturday, October 29, 1910, upon the question whether the engineers who are members of the Brewery Workers' International Union shall withdraw therefrom and become members of the International Union of Steam Engineers.

• The agreement provided that two representatives of the Brewery Workers and two selected by the Engineers' International Unions shall be appointed in each city or town in which brewery-engineers, members of the brewery workers, are employed. It further provided that the president of our Federation appoint one member for each city or town to act as inspector of the voting. The respective appointments have been made, the votes have been cast and transmitted to the brewery workers' headquarters at Cincinnati.

The balloting resulted as follows:

In favor of withdrawing from the Brewery Workers and joining the Engineers.....	62
Against withdrawing from the Brewery Workers and joining the Engineers.....	1,092
Blanks .....	5

#### **Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers—Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.**

The appeal to the Toronto Convention by the representatives of the Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers, Resolution No. 72, against the decision of the Tampa Convention of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. in the jurisdictional dispute between that organization and the Bridge and Structural

Iron Workers, was referred to your Executive Council. This subject was taken up by the Executive Council in its regular order of business, and we decided that:

The action of the Tampa Convention of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. was an interpretation of the decision of the Denver Convention of the Building Trades Department;

That, therefore, it was not in violation of the constitution of the Building Trades Department, and for that reason:

The appeal of the International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers against the Building Trades Department is denied.

Whereupon the executive officers of that international union served notice that an appeal would be taken to this convention. The entire subject should be given your thorough consideration and a decision rendered.

#### **Sheet Metal Workers—Stove Mounters.**

We desire to report to you that at our meeting in Toronto, after the adjournment of the Toronto Convention, the following agreement was entered into between the president of the Sheet Metal Workers International Alliance and the president of the Stove Mounters' International Union:

"Memorandum of understanding reached between Mr. M. O'Sullivan, president Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, and Mr. D. W. Ottinger, president Stove Mounters' International Union:

"That the stove mounters will waive all claim to the name 'Steel Range' in their title, and that the stove mounters should proceed with the organization work as they had done heretofore prior to the jurisdiction controversy."

Since that time the officers of the Stove Mounters' International Union have made application for change in title so as to read "Stove Mounters and Range Workers' International Union." We recommend favorable consideration of this application for change in title.

#### **Jewelry Workers' Jurisdiction.**

The Toronto Convention directed the president of the A. F. of L. to have a thorough investigation made of the merits of the claims of jurisdiction

made by the Jewelry Workers' International Union, through Resolution No. 20. The matter involved a great deal of correspondence with the various organizations whose interests were involved in the claims of the jewelry workers as set forth in this resolution. Finally, on June 23, a conference was arranged at the New York office of the A. F. of L. at which were the representatives of the Jewelry Workers' International Union, the International Brotherhood of Tip Printers, the International Typographical Union, the United Textile Workers of America, Badge Makers' Local No. 12,249, New York City; Badge Makers' Local No. 11,555, Jersey City, N. J., and Organizer Frayne of the A. F. of L. The Amalgamated Association of Sheet Metal Workers was invited to be represented at the conference, but failed to do so. As the result of the conference, the following understanding and agreement was reached:

"The work in the manufacturing of ribbon badges and ribbon fobs of all descriptions shall come under the jurisdiction of the badge makers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

"All badges coming under the jurisdiction of the badge makers' unions and bearing the label of the A. F. of L. must contain the name of the manufacturer printed on a tag attached to the back, said printed tag to bear the label of the Allied Printing Trades.

"All ribbon used in the manufacture of badges, fobs and other decorations, to be recognized as a union product bearing the label of the respective organizations on the metal parts and the label of the American Federation of Labor when used by the badge makers. So far as possible, preference to be given to ribbon made in organized mills whether using the label or not of the United Textile Workers of America.

"The stamped parts of badges, fobs, medallions, cross-bars, frames and buttons stamped from sheet metal such as tin, zinc, copper, brass, galvanized or black iron up to No. 10 gauge, belong to the jurisdiction of the sheet metal workers and must bear the label of that organization.

"Any badge or fob containing a metal button, bar or medallion must bear the label of the organization under whose jurisdiction they belong.



"All gold, silver or metal printing on any part of badges comes under the jurisdiction and belongs to the International Brotherhood of Tip Printers.

"The setting of all type for cold or hot printing of all description was conceded to the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union.

"All badges, medals and medallions that are stamped from gold, silver, bronze, brass, aluminum or other metals not in conflict with sheet metal workers' jurisdiction, and where the parts are assembled together by chains, loops or any other metal fastening, this work belongs to the jewelry workers and shall bear the label of that organization.

"The making of buttons of all descriptions, with metal backs or frames and celluloid fronts, shall come under the head of novelties and bear the label of the A. F. of L., besides the different parts coming under the jurisdiction of other unions must bear the label of these organizations before it can be recognized as a strictly union-made product. All descriptive printing and designs on buttons with celluloid fronts, mirrors, measuring tapes and other novelties composed of metal and celluloid, shall come under the jurisdiction of the Badge Makers' Union and bear the label of the A. F. of L., together with the organizations who make any part of the novelty before being assembled.

"All women and girls now members of the International Jewelry Workers' Union who work on ribbon badges or ribbon fobs, to be turned over to the Badge Makers' Unions in the jurisdiction in which they are located. The transfer shall be made without any additional initiation fee other than a transfer card. They shall be accepted on the presentation of said transfer card to the Badge Makers' Union in the jurisdiction in which they belong. This privilege of transfer to hold good for a period of sixty (60) days from date."

This agreement was approved by your Executive Council. We trust that this convention will endorse our action in this matter.

#### **Pavers and Rammermen—Bluestone Cutters—Granite Cutters.**

The International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag-Layers, Bridge and

Stone Curb Setters made application at the Toronto Convention for the right to accept and organize the bluestone cutters within their ranks. The entire subject matter contained in Resolution No. 58, together with the application, was referred by the Toronto Convention to a conference consisting of the representatives of the stone-cutting trades. In conformity with that direction, the representatives of the stone-cutting trades were invited to hold a meeting in New York City. The matter was fully gone over at the conference, and the following conclusion reached:

"1. That the propositions submitted by the bluestone cutters' delegates were contradictory in nature, infeasible and impracticable, and consequently did not meet our approval.

"2. That the request contained in Resolution No. 58, of the Toronto A. F. of L. Convention, to 'give the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag-Layers, Bridge and Curb-Stone Setters the right to accept and organize bluestone cutters, be refused; and, as the stone cutting in question and the tools used in doing it are identical with the tools and cutting of granite that the bluestone cutters make application to and become affiliated with the Granite Cutters' International Association, under its general constitution, and in accordance with its laws governing bluestone cutting.

"3. That this conference recommends to President Gompers that he immediately direct the pavers, rammermen, etc., to disassociate all bluestone cutters and bluestone cutting from their membership and jurisdiction, and that the Central Federated Union of New York be notified through President Gompers of the action of this conference and of his official notification to the pavers, rammermen, etc., that such action was necessary in accordance with the laws and forms of procedure in the American Federation of Labor.

"4. That in compliance with the above action, we recommend that the bluestone cutters be also given jurisdiction over bluestone flag-laying."

The Executive Council received and approved the finding and decision of the conference of the stone-cutting trades.

The International Union of Pavers and Rammermen was duly advised of

this action, as was also the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. We further notified the New York Central Federated Union that it should refuse to recognize the delegates from the Bluestone Cutters' Union until such time as it should affiliate with the Granite Cutters' International Union.

Up to the time of the preparation of this report, the New York C. F. U. had not acted in conformity with the decision of your Executive Council, and neither has the Pavers and Rammermen's International Union. The latter organization gave notice of appeal to this convention, but we have held that inasmuch as the Toronto Convention referred this matter to the representatives of the stone-cutting trades, the action of the representatives of these organizations was binding upon all parties concerned.

The International Pavers and Rammerman's Union having refused to comply with the decision of the stone-cutting trades conference, we recommend that unless the Pavers and Rammermen's International Union complies with the decision on or before April 1, 1911, the charter held by that organization be revoked on that date. Also, that the New York C. F. U. be again informed to promptly comply with the laws and decisions of the American Federation of Labor and thereby prevent the penalty being imposed.

#### **Hod Carriers and Building Laborers.**

The Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor decided that a special convention should be held at which the representatives of the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers' International Union and the representatives of isolated local unions of building laborers and hod carriers should be represented; the latter locals to contribute their share in advance to bear their part of the expenses of such special convention. An insufficient number of these local unions contributed to insure anything like a successful convention, and the officers of the department, in conference with us, decided that they would not be justified in calling a special convention. However, it was agreed that a conference should be held at which the president of the department and the president of the American Federation of Labor should be in

attendance. The conference was held, the representatives of the international and of a few locals being in attendance. Our president was otherwise engaged on other important matters, and directed Secretary Morrison to act in his stead. In some respects the conference was satisfactory, particularly in insuring the international of its entity and the support of the department, as well as the A. F. of L. itself.

We recommend that every possible effort be made to the end that all hod carriers and building laborers be brought under the jurisdiction of the international union.

#### **Brass Molders.**

The question of jurisdiction over brass molders as considered by the Toronto Convention under the provisions of Resolution No. 15 is as yet unadjusted. A conference was held between the representatives of the International Molders' Union and the representative of the metal polishers. The representative of the metal polishers stated that his international union would carry out the provisions of Resolution No. 15 on the following conditions:

"1. That brass molders and core-makers will be turned over to the Molders' International Union, if the Molders' International Union will accept all without any discrimination.

"2. That no initiation fee or any penalty of any character be required of brass molders transferred by the polishers to the Molders' International Union.

"3. That the same amount of funeral benefits to which these members are now entitled in the polishers' organization be granted to such transferred members by the iron molders immediately upon their transfer.

"4. That the brass molders shall have the right to regulate their own affairs in their own locals.

"5. That if the brass molders now in the polishers' organization refuse to transfer to the molders on above conditions, that in such case they will be put out of the polishers' organization."

The representatives of the International Iron Molders stated that they would permit the brass molders to have their own locals, regulate their own

affairs, subject only to the limitations of the constitution of the International Molders' Union.

Considerable friction exists between these two organizations upon the questions at issue. We are confident that there is no obstacle to an adjustment of this dispute which can not be overcome if the matter is approached in a spirit of mutual good will.

#### **Paper Hangers—Painters.**

The Toronto Convention directed President Gompers to attend the convention of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers, which was held in Cincinnati the week beginning December 6, 1909, for the purpose of presenting to the convention the claims of the paper hangers, and that the terms of the agreement entered into between the paper hangers and painters for the amalgamation of the latter with the former be restored, and to which all should strictly adhere.

President Gompers attended the convention and addressed the delegates upon the subject. The convention referred the subject matter to a committee. It is gratifying to report that the committee's report was unanimously adopted. The delegates from the paper hangers' locals were entirely satisfied with the result.

#### **International Ladies' Garment Workers' Strike.**

On June 16, Secretary Dyche, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, appealed to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for moral support and assistance in an anticipated strike against employers in New York City. Treasurer John B. Lennon was assigned to assist the union, and at a later period Organizer M. Grant Hamilton was also assigned for the same purpose. About July 1, the strike was declared and finally involved 85,000 men and women engaged in the ladies' cloak and suit-making industry. It lasted a long period, during which the president and secretary of the American Federation of Labor paid several visits to New York in connection therewith. A conference was held on August 2, at which were present the representatives of the American Federation of Labor—Messrs. Louis Brandeis, attorney; A. Lincoln Filene and

Myer London, counsel for the organization. Negotiations were entered into in the direction of bringing about a settlement of the difficulty. In the meantime, 800 of the small employers had made a settlement with the organization and about 30,000 had resumed work. On September 2, however, a complete settlement was made by the representatives of the Employers' Association, agreeing to the terms set forth in the president's report to this convention.

This settlement was not made, however, until after an injunction had been granted the manufacturers by Justice Goff, of the supreme court of New York, in which he ruled that any strike called to demand the "closed shop" was illegal and in restraint of trade. This injunction was so unfair, unjust and ridiculous that even if the strike had not been ended to the satisfaction of the employees it would have necessarily fallen of its own weight. The conditions granted by the manufacturers to their employees are given in the president's report.

Unquestionably this was one of the greatest struggles in the history of the clothing trade, and much suffering was endured by those who were engaged in this difficulty. Even on the eve of the settlement eviction papers were on the point of being issued that would have thrown at least ten thousand men and their families out of their homes and onto the street.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has won a splendid victory, and has recruited thousands of members and will gain others. This organization has made great progress and by wise direction is destined to become one of the strongest in the family of trade unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

#### **Paper Makers—International Paper Company.**

The delegates from the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers at the Toronto Convention requested the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in its industrial controversy with the International Paper Company. This was the subject of much correspondence and discussion during the year on the part of the Executive Council and the officers at headquarters. We are exceedingly gratified to be able to report

a satisfactory adjustment of the questions at issue between the company and the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers; the International Association of Machinists, the International Association of Steam Fitters and Helpers, the International Union of Steam Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. The agreement was also signed by an official representative of our Federation, who had been delegated to assist the several organizations in the trouble with the International Paper Company. The agreement was witnessed by a representative of the Board of Mediation and Arbitration of the State of New York.

The injunction secured by the company against the organizations was withdrawn, as was also the contemplated suit in the sum of \$100,000 against the general officers of the paper makers.

#### **Status of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Struggle With the United States Steel Corporation.**

The complete history of the struggle with the United States Steel Corporation would fill volumes. It is not within the province of the Executive Council to go into exhaustive detail; neither its time nor the time of this convention can be so occupied, but the economic importance of the campaign that has been waged against this giant corporation is such that a condensed and concise chronological presentation of the efforts made must at least be given. The historical value of the following compilation of endeavors will be at once apparent:

1. The Toronto Convention adjourned November 20, 1909, and on November 27 President Gompers issued a circular letter to the officials of affiliated national and international unions, calling a meeting in Pittsburg, December 13, 1909, for the purpose of outlining the best course to pursue.

The conference prepared and issued two circulars to all affiliated unions on January 1, 1910, calling for financial assistance.

The conference recommended to all national and international unions that

they assign at least one organizer to assist the Iron, Steel and Tin Workers and that the A. F. of L. place as many of its organizers as possible in the field for the same purpose. All such organizers to be directed to work under the assignments given by President McArdle, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

Other recommendations by the conference were that the Executive Council should prepare and issue at stated periods additional circular letters appealing for aid and financial contributions. It was also recommended that the Amalgamated Iron, Steel and Tin Workers should amalgamate with the Tin Plate Workers' Association, to be known as the Amalgamated Iron, Steel and Tin Plate Workers' Association, and it was decided that the financial contributions on behalf of the workers of both organizations and all involved in the contest should be received by one officer. To this the representatives of both organizations agreed. Secretary-Treasurer Williams, of the amalgamated Association, was selected to receive such contributions. A special committee was appointed to wait upon the president of the United States, the president of the United States Senate and the speaker of the House of Representatives for the purpose of laying before them the grievances from which labor suffers at the hands of this corporation. The special committee was also instructed to demand a thorough investigation as to the legality of the actions and the existence under the law of the United States Steel Corporation.

The conference appointed special committees to wait upon the governors of States and other official representatives of counties and municipalities as are in control where the United States Steel Corporation has plants located, for the purpose of presenting to these officials the great wrongs inflicted upon the people of such communities and demanding that such wrongs be immediately righted.

A full report of this conference is contained in The American Federationist for January, 1910, entitled "Labor and the Steel Trust."

2. On January 6, 1910, the special committee appointed at the conference

waited upon President Taft and submitted to him a written document containing formal and specific charges against the United States Steel Corporation. The president referred the same to Attorney-General Wickersham, who acknowledged receipt and asked for evidence. This document was printed in *The American Federationist* for February, 1910.

On February 18, and February 25, 1910, conferences were held with the attorney-general.

On February 17, 18, 19, Hon. Frank S. Monnett, former attorney-general of Ohio, and the Hon. A. G. Ballard, of Gary, Ind., visited headquarters and prepared the legal evidence in the case, which, together with the "Economic and Sociological Phases" prepared at headquarters, constituted the "Statement and Evidence in Support of the Petition and Charges Presented to the President of the United States Against the United States Steel Corporation by the A. F. of L." This document was printed in pamphlet form and submitted to the attorney-general of the United States, March 22, 1910. On March 28, 1910, he replied as follows:

"Washington, D. C., March 22, 1910.

"Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, 801 G St., N. W., Washington, D. C.:

"Sir: I have carefully examined the petition and charges presented by you to the president of the United States, against the United States Steel Corporation, and the statement and evidence referred to me under date of March 22, 1910. This statement involves consideration of two separate questions:

"1. Facts going to show that the United States Steel Corporation and its subsidiary companies, and their officers and directors, are engaged in a combination to restrain interstate and foreign trade and commerce in steel and iron and their products, and in endeavoring to monopolize the same.

"2. That a number of assaults and batteries, and acts of oppression, have been committed by officials of the steel corporation and its various subsidiary companies in different parts of the country. The evidence as to this latter class of offenses is also adverted to as

illustrative of the monopolistic character of the combination maintained by the steel corporation and its subsidiary companies.

"Except as evidence of the last mentioned character, none of these acts would seem to be within the jurisdiction of the federal courts, but all of them, if the facts be as stated, would constitute offenses against the laws of the respective States where the particular transactions took place. As to the first and broader question, and, indeed, that which comprehends the entire matter presented, this department does not deem it expedient to take any action until the Supreme Court of the United States shall have decided the appeals now under consideration by it from the judgments of the circuit courts in the proceedings against the American Tobacco Company and the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, respectively. Both of those cases call for such a comprehensive construction and application by the court of the provisions of the Sherman Act, that it appears to me to be essential to await their decision before entering upon the consideration of the question whether or not the United States Steel Corporation and its subsidiary companies constitute a combination in restraint of trade, or an attempt to monopolize the interstate and foreign trade and commerce of the United States in products of iron and steel, within the meaning of the Anti-Trust Act of 1890.

"Respectfully,

(Signed) "Geo. W. Wickersham,  
"Attorney-General."

3. In the meantime all the organizers that could be assigned by the international organizations to aid the iron, steel and tin workers were pressing their work forward to the best possible advantage. On March 1 and March 18, 1910, additional circulars were sent to the affiliated unions soliciting financial aid for the men on strike. While the struggle was being waged in the centers where the United States Steel Corporation had plants, a sudden revolt occurred among the unorganized workmen of the Bethlehem Steel Company, at Bethlehem, Pa., and several thousand workers came out on strike February 4.

1910. This upheaval aroused so much commotion that the United States Senate allowed a resolution to pass which had been introduced at the instance of the American Federation of Labor, authorizing the United States Bureau of Labor to make an investigation of the industrial troubles at Bethlehem. That investigation began on March 17, 1910, and on March 21, 1910, Judge Gary ordered the officials of all the subsidiary companies of the steel trust limiting Sunday, or seven-day, labor to a minimum.

The agitation by the men of labor and the revolt at Bethlehem compelled the autocratic United States Steel Corporation to give some recognition to the workers, so it peremptorily stopped unnecessary Sunday work on March 21, 1910. Next it announced, on April 15, 1910, an increase of 6 per cent in wages to most of the employees, and on April 16, 1910, the steel corporation announced that it would furnish compensation to its workers incapacitated by accident. None of these betterments is entirely satisfactory. Still they have come to thousands of the unorganized wholly and solely because of the militant campaign conducted by the organized workers.

4. On March 30, 1910, a delegation waited upon Governor Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana, and presented a bill of grievances with evidence against the United States Steel Corporation operating in Gary, Ellwood, etc., in Indiana, petitioning him to institute an investigation and proceedings against the corporation and its constituent companies, in so far as they operate illegally and improperly in the State of Indiana under the laws of the State, and to grant such other relief to labor as the laws will permit. Governor Marshall evinced great interest in the matter and promised to take it up with the legal department of the State. He requested to be furnished with a brief on the matter.

5. On June 18, 1910, under the provisions of House Resolution No. 732, passed by the House of Representatives, Attorney-General Wickersham was directed to investigate the United States Steel Corporation. This resolution was introduced in the House upon the request of the A. F. of L. It will afford

the attorney-general every opportunity to disclose the inner workings of this corporation to congress. A more sweeping inquiry was asked for in House Resolution No. 813, but the speaker referred it to the Committee on Rules, where it lies buried.

On June 23, the United States Senate passed Senate Resolution No. 237, in which the United States Bureau of Labor is directed to investigate and report to the senate the industrial conditions prevailing in the iron and steel industry of the United States. This resolution was also introduced at the instance of the American Federation of Labor.

6. On or about September 1 the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers declared the strike off, but the International Tin Plate Workers' Protective Association decided to continue the struggle in the tin houses of the corporation.

Secretary-Treasurer Williams, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, reported that a total of \$39,649.41 was received by him on the A. F. of L. appeals for aid from affiliated unions.

It is recommended that during the approaching sessions of the legislatures in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Alabama, and elsewhere, the State authorities be urged to institute thorough investigations and proceedings against the corporation in so far as they are operating illegally and improperly within the respective States. And that further sociological investigations be made and necessary improved conditions be demanded.

#### Ohio Federation of Labor.

In Ohio there existed two State federations, one affiliated, the other without charter. Rivalry and antagonism existed. At our June meeting, Mr. Val Kanouse, a member of the International Association of Machinists, appeared and inquired whether any efforts which he might make toward the amalgamation of the two bodies would be agreeable to us. We assured him that this would not only be satisfactory, but that we were anxious for its completion.

Through his efforts and correspondence with President Gompers a conference was held by the representatives of both State bodies, but without successful results. Then, in accordance with our authority, he directed the representatives of the two bodies to again meet, and Secretary Morrison was delegated to attend the conference. After an entire day and late into the night conference, he succeeded in bringing about an amalgamation. The circular call for the convention of the unaffiliated body was withdrawn, and in compliance with the agreement President Gompers issued a circular to all local unions and central bodies of Ohio to meet in the convention of the affiliated State Federation of Labor of Ohio. The convention has been held and a united, solid phalanx presented of the organized workers of the State, to protect and promote the rights and interests of the workers within its borders.

#### **Syracuse Situation.**

As per your instructions at our last annual convention, in connection with the situation in Syracuse, N. Y., as set forth in Resolution No. 106, the matter received a great deal of our time and consideration during the year, as well as much correspondence from A. F. of L. headquarters. Vice-President Alpine was directed to proceed to Syracuse and act as the representative of the A. F. of L. We are glad to be able to report that the Trades and Labor Assembly of Syracuse has complied with the decision of the American Federation of Labor and that the officers of the plumbers have notified their local in Syracuse that it shall take immediate steps to become affiliated with the central body and with the local building trades section. Since then the International Association of Steam Fitters has protested against the action taken as regards local No. 104 of that city.

#### **Buffalo Central Body.**

By Resolution No. 92 of our last convention, charges were made against the United Trades and Labor Council of Buffalo to the effect that it had not been conducted in conformity with the laws of the A. F. of L. Upon investigation, the charges as set forth in Resolution No. 92 were denied in every part

by the United Trades and Labor Council. Representatives of the A. F. of L. and representatives of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. have devoted considerable time to the situation in Buffalo, in the hope of re-establishing unity and harmony in the movement there. The report of the representative of the A. F. of L. sustains the statement made by the United Trades and Labor Council that the Millwrights' Local Union, to which reference is made in Resolution No. 92, has not been represented in the central body since August, 1909.

#### **Walters' Unions of San Francisco.**

At the last convention a discussion arose as to the action of the San Francisco Labor Council, with which body a sum of money was deposited by a number of waiters' local unions of that city and of Oakland, Cal. The money entrusted to the central body was that which these locals withheld from payment to the Hotel and Restaurant Employes' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America, the international having suspended these locals for non-payment of per capita tax, the locals being willing to pay but contending that their rights were disregarded.

Through the instrumentality of Secretary Gallagher, of the San Francisco Labor Council, and a representative of the international union an agreement was reached that the question in dispute should be referred to President Gompers for decision, each party agreeing in advance to abide by that decision.

In the meantime the money held by the central body was transmitted to the headquarters of the international, and the unions placed in good standing. All parties in interest having agreed to the proposition, the entire subject was submitted to our president in briefs. They contained comprehensive and voluminous arguments and a great quantity of printed matter. President Gompers rendered his decision and the matter is now removed from the field of controversy.

#### **Moving Picture Machine Operators.**

As directed by the Toronto Convention, President Gompers continued his efforts during the year to secure an

agreement between the representatives of the Theatrical Stage Employees and the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in the matter of the disputed question of jurisdiction over moving picture machine operators. He met in conference with the representatives of both organizations on February 21. After a general discussion by representatives on both sides, it was mutually agreed that the entire matter should be referred to the Executive Council, whose decision would be final and binding upon both parties; and that the representatives of both organizations should file a brief of their respective cases within thirty days from the date of the conference. The brief of the Theatrical Stage Employees was duly filed. The Electrical Workers failed to file their brief and the matter still remains unsettled.

#### **Upholsterers—Siegel-Cooper Company.**

The last convention referred to us the proposition to bring about a better understanding between the Upholsterers' Union and the Siegel-Cooper Company, of New York. We entrusted President Gompers with the mission. He invited the co-operation of Vice-President Mitchell. They had a protracted and cordial interview with the representatives of the company which was followed by an interview of the representatives of the Upholsterers' Union with the company, at which a mutually satisfactory agreement was reached.

#### **Chicago Building Trades Situation.**

An exceedingly difficult situation presented itself in the division of the building trades unions of Chicago, one set of unions being represented in the Building Trades Council affiliated to the American Federation of Labor Building Trades Department, another set of unions being represented in what was called the Associated Building Trades Unions. Unions contended with unions for their field of activity and in one trade (painters) fought against other unions of the trade. A severe contest was waged, to the detriment of all.

At our request, President Gompers went to Chicago, and associated with him was Vice-President Alpine. The

executive officers of several building trades unions were invited to come to Chicago. Conferences were held with them and with the representatives of both building trades bodies and the foundation laid for the final dissolution of the Associated Building Trades, whereupon the unions formerly therein represented attached themselves to the Building Trades Council. The unions of the trades which had fought each other were consolidated. An increase of wages followed and it is gratifying to report that there is greater unity, better feeling, and more fraternity in the Building Trades of Chicago than have existed there for a considerable period of time. In the accomplishment of this work the officers of the Chicago Federation of Labor rendered invaluable service.

#### **Labor and Baseball.**

The dispute between the Building Trades Council of Cleveland, Ohio, and the baseball club of that city was a subject of discussion at our last convention, and was referred to the Executive Council.

By reason of the friendly relations existing between Vice-President Mitchell and President Johnson of the American Baseball League, we authorized Brother Mitchell to endeavor to bring about an adjustment. His first efforts were unavailing, but finally, at a conference at which were present the representatives of the Building Trades Department and Central Body, Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Johnson, an agreement was reached by which every question in dispute was adjusted satisfactorily to all parties concerned. The agreement, which provides for union conditions, applies to all the parks of the American League.

#### **Newspaper Solicitors' Union—San Francisco Call.**

This matter has been before the Executive Council during the entire year. The controversy was brought about by the Newspaper Solicitors' Union demanding of the management of the San Francisco Call the recognition of that organization. This demand having been denied by the management of the Call, the Newspaper Solicitors' Association of San Francisco placed a



boycott upon the Call, against which a protest was entered by the officers of the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen's Union, and the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union. An application for endorsement of the boycott was made to us. We obtained all the evidence available from all parties, with the result that the following decision was rendered and transmitted to the secretary of the Newspaper Solicitors' Union and other parties in interest at San Francisco:

"Upon the complaint of the officers of the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen's Union and the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, against the action of the Newspaper Solicitors' Union No. 12,766, of San Francisco, Cal., for levying and prosecuting a boycott upon the San Francisco Call, it was moved and adopted that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed as follows:

"1. To notify the Newspaper Solicitors' Union No. 12,766, of San Francisco, Cal., that it is a violation of the law and decisions of the American Federation of Labor for a local trade or federal labor union to levy or prosecute a boycott without the approval of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

"2. That Newspaper Solicitors' Union No. 12,766, having levied or prosecuted a boycott in San Francisco, they be informed that having done so without the authority of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, they are hereby directed to withdraw the action complained of upon the San Francisco Call immediately, and if after complying with this order the union still claims to have a grievance against that newspaper and presents same to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, it will be investigated and action taken thereon."

Notwithstanding the decision of the Executive Council, it is contended by the management of the San Francisco Call that the Newspaper Solicitors' Union and others, in violation of the decision rendered, continued to boycott that paper.

Communication was entered into between the management of the San Francisco Call and the officers of the union, urging them to meet in conference and adjust the differences which existed between the two parties in interest. The officers of the Newspaper Publishers' Association of San Francisco, of which the San Francisco Call is a member, have on several occasions insisted that the Newspaper Solicitors' Union is composed of men whose relations to the newspapers are of such a character that they ought not to be chartered by the American Federation of Labor as a union; that the charter issued to the union should be withdrawn; that the newspaper proprietors could not negotiate with the newspaper solicitors as a union; and the management of the San Francisco Call has declared it can not act as an individual institution against the declared attitude of the San Francisco Publishers' Association. Whatever protest may be made against the issuance to or the holding of a charter by the newspaper solicitors, we have held that a protest on the part of employers is not the one upon which we, on behalf of the American Federation of Labor, could base any action.

The justification of an action of any directly affiliated local union may properly come before the Executive Council for consideration and action, and as we have just stated, we have considered and acted upon the complaint made as to the actions of the union in question, but we can not pass upon the validity of an organization or its bona-fide character simply upon complaint of employers.

On the part of the union a complaint is made that the San Francisco Call has discriminated and is discriminating against members of the organization. The San Francisco Call management emphatically denies this.

The officers of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, in a communication under date of September 16, state that they have been informed that another effort is being made to induce the San Francisco Labor Council to boycott the Call. They entered protest against the same, and submitted copy of the resolution adopted by the convention of the stereotypers

and electrotypers. All the mechanical departments of the Call are organized and working under agreements with the various international unions in interest.

Every effort has been and is being made in the direction of bringing about a settlement of this controversy, to have it adjusted amicably and to the best interests of all concerned.

#### Hatters' Case.

On February 3, 1908, the Supreme Court of the United States rendered a decision declaring that under the terms of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, Loewe & Co., hat manufacturers, of Connecticut, could maintain an action against the members of the United Hatters of North America, because in their effort to obtain union conditions in the factory of that company the hatters sought to divert trade from Loewe & Co. to other hat manufacturers. Thereupon the suit brought by Loewe & Co., for the recovery of the three-fold damages they alleged they suffered, was remanded by the Supreme Court for trial. For months the attorney for the company traversed the continent in the taking of depositions. The counsel for the hatters necessarily were required to be present. On Monday, October 4, 1909, the trial began. It ended February 4, 1910. The judge instructed the jury to find for Loewe & Co., and they awarded damages in the sum of \$74,000, which, being tripled, amounted to \$222,000. They also awarded costs of the trial and the counsel fee for Loewe & Co. Counsel who conducted the case for the hatters, and counsel consulted since, claim that the rulings of the presiding judge were so at variance with legal procedure, that he showed such bias in his conduct of the case, that there can be no question but that the higher courts will reverse the findings and the award.

The question directly concerning us is the fact that the United Hatters of North America had been engaged in a great lockout running many months, involving the expenditure of enormous sums of money, but in which contest they were successful; that in the trial they had expended more than \$100,000. Thus in their extremity they appealed to the Executive Council for such aid

as our Federation could afford. Our Denver Convention adopted a series of preambles and resolutions in connection with the legal contest in which the hatters are engaged, as follows:

"Whereas, For the past five years the United Hatters of North America have been and are now contending with the non-union hat firm of D. E. Loewe & Co., of Danbury, Conn., to have established in said firm's factory humane conditions, to-wit: a fair earning power and reasonable working hours; and

"Whereas, The said firm of D. E. Loewe & Co., having instituted suit against the United Hatters of North America, under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, for two hundred and forty thousand dollars (\$240,000.00); and

"Whereas, The said firm of D. E. Loewe & Co. has caused to be attached the homes and personal savings of two hundred and fifty (250) members of the United Hatters of North America; and

"Whereas, The Supreme Court of the United States has decided that the firm of D. E. Loewe & Co. would be entitled to damages if the court finds that the company has suffered loss by reason of the withdrawal of the patronage of organized labor and its friends; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor in Twenty-eighth Annual Convention assembled, do hereby pledge to the United Hatters of North America, and especially to the two hundred and fifty (250) members of that organization whose homes and bank accounts are attached, moral and such financial support as may be necessary in the pending contention; and, be it further

"Resolved, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby authorized and instructed to take such action as will at the proper time carry these resolutions into effect."

It may not be amiss to call attention to the fact that during the trial the counsel for Loewe & Co. undertook to impress upon the jury and court that the men who were sued would not have to bear the brunt of the damages which might be awarded, but that the damages would be borne by the members of the organizations affiliated to the federation. This contention was not

denied or controverted by counsel for the hatters.

The officers of the Hatters' Union, with their counsel, appeared before us at our meeting in the early part of the year for the presentation of this matter to our consideration, and to attain the financial assistance wherewith the opportunity could be presented for making the appeal. We took the ground that the Denver convention, in adopting the resolution it did upon the subject, did not contemplate or even have in mental reservation the possibility of meeting and paying the damages or contributing toward any damages which a jury might award. Our federation is not a financial institution and could not, under any circumstances, assess the members of our affiliated organizations or obtain voluntary contributions sufficient to meet such a demand. Our position on this question was cordially accepted. We were convinced, however, that the Denver Convention instructed the Executive Council to render not only moral but such financial support as might be necessary in the pending cases. In compliance therewith, on April 10, we levied an assessment upon each affiliated organization to the extent of 2 cents per member thereof, this to be exclusively used in counsel fees, printing, etc., involved in such appeals as may be necessary to be made. The assessment was levied and the amounts received therefrom are accounted for in the secretary's report. One of the conditions upon which all parties agreed was that the Executive Council, with the officers of the United Hatters of North America, both in the selection of counsel and the manner and matter of the appeals, should have the authority to have the cases conducted.

We authorized the retention of the chief counsel in the original case, Hon. John K. Beach, and then retained Hon. Frank L. Mulholland, of Ohio, and who later had the consulting advice of Hon. Alton B. Parker, of New York. The records were necessary to be printed, and they consist of five volumes, amounting to 2,770 pages in all. The cost of printing these records thus far has been \$3,000. We are hopeful, and counsel advise us that the higher

courts will beyond a doubt reverse the decision and award of the lower court.

#### **Assessments Levied—Appeals Endorsed.**

We have received a number of applications requesting that assessments be levied upon the affiliated organization. We realize the situation in which many of our international unions are placed and also the fact that they themselves have been engaged in trade disputes which have taxed their ability to meet their obligations and their duty to their fellow craftsmen. We, therefore, did not feel warranted in levying such assessments despite our earnest desire to be helpful in this as well as in every other way to our struggling fellow workers. The only assessment which we levied during the year was one of an essential character, and as we have already reported was for the prosecution of the appeals in the hatters' case—the case by which the members of the United Hatters were mulcted in the sum of \$222,000.00.

We endorsed the appeals for financial aid for the following named organizations:

Appeal for Swedish Workers.

Iron and Steel Workers.

South Bethlehem, Pa., Iron and Steel Workers.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

United Mine Workers of America.

#### **At Peace With the Buck's Stove and Range Company.**

At our June meeting, Vice-President Valentine called attention to the fact that by reason of the demise of Mr. J. W. Van Cleave, the Buck's Stove and Range Company went into the hands of a new management and that an opportunity was afforded to successfully renew the efforts at the adjustment of the dispute with the company where it had failed some years before under the old management. We authorized him to make such effort as he could; that we were desirous, as we always have been, of coming to an honorable adjustment of any difficulty which we might have with employers. Through his efforts a conference was held at Cincinnati, July 19, 1910, at which officers of the Stove Founders' National Defense Association, representing the

Buck's Stove and Range Company, conferred with the following representatives of labor: Joseph F. Valentine and John P. Frey, representing the International Moulders' Union of North America; T. M. Daly and Charles R. Atherton, representing the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers' International Union of North America; Frank Grimshaw and J. H. Kaefel, representing the Stove Mounters' International Union; George Bechtold, representing the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees, and Samuel Gompers, representing the American Federation of Labor. The conference lasted all day and until late in the night, and an agreement reached. The agreement was published in the September issue of the American Federationist. This agreement was carried out by two subsequent agreements, one in the matter of the labor conditions which were to prevail in the company's plant, and in the other changing the original agreement by which the attorneys of the company should be withdrawn from the case pending before the United States Supreme Court. The new management of the company has declared that it has always been its policy to live in terms of good will and friendly relations with organized labor and that it proposes to continue to conduct its business affairs on these lines in the future. We deemed it our duty to state to organized labor, its friends and sympathizers, that the industrial struggle between labor and that company has come to an end by mutual honorable adjustment, and that the company, like all other employers fairly disposed toward organized labor, is entitled to the courtesy, consideration and patronage of all.

#### **Injunction and Contempt Cases.**

The appeals to the United States Supreme Court in the injunction growing out of the former dispute with the Buck's Stove and Range Company, and the contempt cases by which President Gompers, Vice-President Mitchell and Secretary Morrison were sentenced to twelve, six and nine months' imprisonment, respectively, are fully covered in the reports which our president and secretary have submitted, and hence need no further presentation on our

part in this report. The Executive Council requests this convention shall approve every effort put forth to test before the courts the rights to which labor is justly entitled. Our counsel have expressed their full confidence that the United States Supreme Court will take a broad, enlightened view of the inherent and constitutional principles involved in these appeals.

#### **Injunction and Boycott Pamphlet.**

As per instructions of the last convention, we caused to be printed and published a pamphlet containing Vice-President Mitchell's address. In addition thereto it was deemed advisable to publish in the same pamphlet a compilation of the reports of the Executive Council and President Gompers to the Toronto Convention, together with the report of the Committee on President's Report, and the report of the Committee on Boycotts. The pamphlet contains an editorial from The American Federationist, "Labor's Contention on Injunctions;" part of the report made to the Norfolk Convention on "Man's Ownership of Himself;" "Some Expert Opinions on Injunctions;" and extracts from an address by Hon. S. S. Gregory, former president of the American Bar Association, to the 1909 graduating class of John Marshall Law School, of Chicago; 1908 decision of the Montana Supreme Court; an epic on injunctions, "Why Injunctions Should Not Apply," by Hon. Edward J. Livernash; and extracts from "Labor's Protest to Congress," presented March 19, 1908. The pamphlet is a most interesting one. Supplementary to the issuance of that pamphlet we issued another containing the dissenting opinion of Mr. Chief Justice Shepard of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia in the contempt case of "Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison," as well as a comprehensive article by former Judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit, Hon. Henry Clay Caldwell, entitled "Trial by Judge and Jury." Large numbers of these pamphlets have been forwarded to labor men and to students, without cost. A small price has been placed upon them for sale, just sufficient to cover the cost of printing and forwarding.

### Legislation.

Both in our meetings and through correspondence the Executive Council has discussed the subjects of legislation and the means whereby we could carry out the directions of the American Federation of Labor, and in some instances we have initiated it. Particularly is this true in regard to the Wilson Bill, H. R. 25,188. This bill, which is pending before the House, is the result of full discussion and consideration and is what is regarded as an improvement in every respect on former bills. Its purpose is to remedy the abuse of the writ of injunction in labor disputes and to restore to the organized effort of the workers the rights of which they were deprived by the interpretation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law.

Attention should be called to the fact that the Labor Representation Committee, consisting of President Gompers, Vice-President O'Connell and Secretary Morrison held frequent conferences. In addition a number of conferences were held by them with ten of the members of the House of Representatives who are members in good standing in their respective unions. The subjects of legislation in the interest of the workers were thoroughly discussed at these conferences and plans formulated for their enactment into law. It was at one of these conferences that the suggestion was made for the change in the Wilson Bill and approved by us, and later introduced in the House.

The Labor Representation Committee invited a number of members of the House of Representatives to attend a conference for the purpose of having presented to them legislation affecting the rights and interests of the workers. Forty-seven members of the House of Representatives attended. A number of others were unable to attend by reason of absence from Washington. The following also participated in the conference: Andrew Furuseth, of the Seamen's Union; Thomas Tracy, secretary of the Union Label Trades Department; Wm. J. Spencer, secretary of the Building Trades Department; A. E. Holder, A. F. of L. legislative committeeman; John Colpoys, president Washington Central Labor Union; D. F. Manning, of

the Retail Clerks' Union; Luke Ludlow, of the Washington Central Labor Union.

President Gompers was called upon to lay labor's case before the conferees, which was subsequently discussed. A number of representatives in Congress participated in the discussion and declared their purpose to do all within their power to be helpful. While no action was taken binding upon the participants in the conference, the general consensus of opinion was that advantage should be taken of every parliamentary opportunity presented, or such opportunity should be created, whereby the Wilson Bill could be brought before the house for discussion and passage.

Just before the close of Congress, and during the time of our Executive Council meeting in June, we invited a number of representatives in Congress who were the most ardent advocates of our cause to meet with us, when there was an interchange of views upon the situation and a campaign for the future outlined. The members of our Executive Council, particularly those at headquarters, with the Legislative Committee, have been active in the work of furthering the interests of our fellow-workers through legislation. We directed that Brothers Gompers, O'Connell and Morrison be constituted the A. F. of L. Labor Representation Committee, and we submit their report herewith. We present that committee's report as made to us and submit it to the consideration of this convention and to our fellow-workers and friends generally. In view of the fact that President Gompers has in his report submitted in detail the various matters of legislation in which we are particularly interested, it is not necessary that we should discuss the subject further in this report.

We should add that we deemed it inadvisable to make a general appeal for funds in order that the Labor Representation Committee could conduct the campaign outlined by our federation to defeat hostile members of Congress and State Legislatures and to elect labor men or those committed to our cause.

We, however, authorized and directed Secretary Morrison, in the name of the Executive Council, to request a number of international unions to contribute a

specific small amount, in order that some funds might be at the disposal of the Labor Representation Committee for printing, postage and the sending of a number of men to important points. The total amount voluntarily contributed by the internationals was \$2,-829.49.

We now submit:

**Labor Representation Committee's Report.**

St. Louis, Mo., November 14, 1910.

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

Colleagues—We herewith submit to you, and through you to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, a report of our stewardship of the matters confided by the American Federation of Labor to you and by you to the undersigned.

Two years ago, acting upon the authority and by the directions of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, you selected the members of the Executive Council located at Washington as the Labor Representation Committee, and authorized and directed this committee to carry on labor's political campaign in the furtherance of the purposes, principles and rights upon which the American Federation of Labor had made declaration. We were at all times to act in consonance with these declared policies and subject to your further direction and approval. From time to time we have made report to you, the substance of which was conveyed to the conventions.

During the meetings of the Executive Council in the early part of the year you instructed us to inaugurate and conduct an active campaign to the full limit of our opportunities. We have had many meetings, the details of which were conveyed to you both by correspondence as well as at our meetings. It is impossible here to recount all in detail. Suffice it to say that we have endeavored to carry out all the instructions of the American Federation of Labor, as well as yours; that is, to

endeavor to elect labor men, or men friendly disposed toward and pledged to the organized labor movement in the demand for the justice and equality before the law to which labor is entitled, but which it has been denied; to defeat labor's opponents, particularly those who have proven themselves hostile to the cause of labor and justice.

Our Federation directed that special effort should be made in regard to candidates for Congress and State legislatures. This we have done to the fullest limit of our opportunities, first in the primary nominations and second in the recent campaign and elections.

Realizing the necessity of some funds with which to carry on this work, the various means by which such funds could be obtained within the legitimate domain of our movement, the Executive Council, in consequence of several industrial disputes, deemed it inadvisable to appeal to local unions or the members of organized labor as individuals to make financial contributions to such a fund. You authorized us to make a request upon the officers of affiliated International Unions for some specific small contribution from each. This request was made by Secretary Morrison in your name.

We have received from the International Unions and a few small contributions, the following amount:

Total receipts.....	\$3,488.48
Expenditures .....	3,148.73

Balance on hand, Nov. 9, 1910...\$ 339.75

The expenditures were partially for organizers in conducting the campaign, but largely for printing literature and postage.

We sent out a number of circulars at stated periods, calling the attention of our fellow-workers to the great importance of the pending nominations and elections for members of Congress and State legislatures. This was continued until a few days before the recent elections. Perhaps one of the most effective documents which we printed was the one giving the record votes

of congressmen upon the now well-known Hughes Amendment to the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill, more than a quarter of a million of which were circulated throughout the country.

We are not yet in a position to give the definite results of our efforts. Realizing that the press was not likely to publish the specific information in regard to the election of labor men, or men pledged to the support of labor in its demands for legislation, we authorized Chairman Gompers to issue a letter to the officers and organizers of the labor movement of the country, requesting them to fill in blanks which were furnished, giving the names of Congressmen and members of the State legislatures who were elected and who were nominated or endorsed by labor, or those who were known to be favorable to labor's demands.

Two hundred and seventy-five replies have been received since our arrival in St. Louis. They are now being tabulated and we hope to be in a position to make a report to you before the close of the St. Louis A. F. of L. Convention.

We have said that we have no definite information, and yet from the knowledge which has come to us we are now in a position to say that considerable success has attended labor's effort in the national and state legislative field.

Though our activities were devoted to congressional and state legislative candidates, yet incidental to the activities of the workers, many labor men have been elected to offices of importance in State and municipal governments.

Summing up, we may say that labor has cause for gratification at the results achieved; and we take this opportunity of expressing our appreciation of our fellow workers and friends for the active co-operation and earnest work in the political field in the cause of economic and industrial rights and human liberty.

Fraternally yours,

Samuel Gompers, Chairman,  
James O'Connell, Vice-Chairman,  
Frank Morrison, Secretary.

Labor Representation Committee,  
A. F. of L.

We present this report of the Labor Representation Committee with our full approval and expression of appreciation of the efforts which they put forth in the interests of our cause.

#### **Uniform Laws to Protect Human Life.**

At the conference held in the city of Washington, January 17-19, 1910, to consider "Uniform State Legislation," representatives of the Executive Council were in attendance. President Gompers and Vice-President Mitchell addressed the conference and other representatives of labor joined in the discussions. The Toronto Convention directed the Council "to devise ways and means to establish uniform laws to protect human life in the various States," and to this end the following resolutions were introduced by the representatives of labor and were adopted by the conference:

"Resolved, That this conference recommend to the governors, the adoption of uniform laws for the protection of children employed in industries.

"Whereas, The present remedies for compensation for industrial accidents throughout the various States are slow, uncertain, and wasteful; and

"Whereas, There is not, and can not be, any equitable solution thereof, based only on fault of the employer; and

"Whereas, Twenty-three of the more progressive commercial nations abroad have bettered, and in some instances solved, the problem on the basis of Workmen's Compensation Acts; and

"Whereas, We believe that such acts can be adequately substituted for our present laws and applied to our institutions with equal satisfaction and profit; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That this conference recommend to the governors of the several States now assembled in this city, and to the States, that Workmen's Compensation Acts, fair to the employer and employe and just to the State, be uniformly substituted for the present system of Employers' Liability for injuries received in and arising out of the course of employment."

"Whereas, The increasing loss of life in American mining operations and the enormous waste of resources essential to both the present and future welfare of the nation, plainly indicate the need of more uniform, rational, and enforceable mining laws and regulations in each of the several mining States; and

"Whereas, There is now pending before the Congress of the United States a bill to establish a Bureau of Mines in the Department of the Interior, for inquiry and investigation, to aid in the accomplishment of these purposes; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, By the National Conference on Uniform Legislation that we earnestly urge upon the governors of the several States the importance of co-operating with the federal government to procure uniformity upon which intelligent State legislation may be based."

It behooves all interested in the cause of the protection of human life and in the interests of the people generally and the workers particularly to see to it that the largest measure of legislation, uniform in character, shall be enacted by the several States of our country.

#### **Organized Farmers.**

Our last annual convention directed that efforts be continued to promote amicable relations between farmers' unions and organized labor. With that object in view, President Gompers, as the representative of the A. F. of L., attended a convention of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, held at St. Louis, May 2-6. As a matter of future record for the proceedings of this convention, as well as of interest, we incorporate herein the report of the committee appointed by that convention to consider the subject of establishing relations between organized farmers and organized industrial workers. This report was adopted by the convention. It is as follows:

"First. In so far as the Farmers' Union and its constitution permits, we, for our organization and the great rank

and file which we have the honor to represent, pledge to our fellow workers in industrial pursuits the best efforts we can exert, to the end that their rights and liberties in common with our own shall be secured and maintained against any and all attempted encroachments.

"Second. That the officers of the Farmers' Union be and they are authorized and directed to confer with the officers of the bona-fide organized labor movement of America, with the purpose of carrying into effect the objects of our respective organizations, the protection and uplift of America's workers engaged in all fields of productive activity.

"Third. That we will give our preference to the product of the industrial workers who manifest their intelligence to protect themselves by organization and urge the reciprocal purchase of farm products, the labor of union farmers.

"Fourth. That our officers and legislative committee co-operate with similar officers and committees of organized labor to secure such relief and reformatory legislation as may be necessary to the rights, protection and freedom to which the workers as men and as citizens are, under our constitution, entitled.

"Fifth. That without regard to political partisanship we join in the effort to secure larger representation in our national, State and local law-making bodies, men who are engaged in the creative industries.

"Sixth. That our efforts in the directions herein stated and indicated shall apply to the country, the States and to the municipalities, and that we co-operate with organized labor in every field of activity which may be fruitful of beneficent results to the American wealth producers, the manhood, womanhood and childhood of our country."

We recommend the continuation of efforts to more firmly establish co-operative relations between organized farmers and organized labor.



### **Industrial Education.**

The special committee, created by authority of the Denver convention to study and report upon the subject of industrial education, made its report to the Toronto Convention. That report was referred to a special committee which, in turn, made report. In compliance with instructions, we caused to have these reports printed in pamphlet form. They have been widely circulated and have been regarded by the best educators and thinkers upon the subject as the best expressed word upon industrial education.

Upon Labor's request, the Federal Bureau of Labor has undertaken a comprehensive investigation of the subject, and Senator Dolliver, of Iowa, who recently died, introduced a bill at our instance to promote industrial education. We have met with the special committee and discussed the ways and means to further the cause embraced under this heading.

We recommend that the special committee created by authority of the Denver Convention be continued, and that they be urged and authorized to prosecute their investigation and to lend every assistance to the accomplishment of the extension and completion of comprehensive industrial education in every field of activity. We suggest that this report, together with the report of the president on the subject, as well as the Dolliver Bill, and the pamphlet to which which we refer, be submitted to a special committee for consideration and report to this convention.

### **Investigation of Women and Child Labor.**

The Toronto Convention adopted a resolution petitioning the Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor to establish in the Bureau of Labor a specific department for the investigation of the conditions of women and child labor in the industries of our country. President Gompers corresponded upon this subject with the Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor and with the Commissioner of Labor. Later, he, together with Vice-Presidents Mitchell, O'Connell and Secretary Morrison, had an interview with the Secretary and Commissioner and they were

assured that the matter of the establishment of a permanent bureau would be fully considered and more than likely favorably determined.

As to the appointment of a woman as the head of the bureau, as further petitioned in the resolution of the Toronto Convention, they expressed the opinion that the only question they had to determine would be that of competency, rather than sex.

We recommend that authority should be given to continue the effort to secure the establishment of this bureau.

### **Conservation of Natural Resources.**

The Toronto Convention authorized the continuation of the A. F. of L. Committee on the Conservation of Natural Resources. Correspondence with the National Conservation Association has been continued. The Second Annual Conservation Congress was held in St. Paul, Minnesota, September 6-9, at which splendid work was outlined.

We have during the year kept in touch with the work being done by the Conservation Committee, and in correspondence with the officers. We recommend the continuation of the Federation Conservation Committee during the coming year.

### **Civil Service Employees Bridled.**

In response to the instructions contained in Resolution No. 96 and at the request of the American Federation of Labor, bills specifically guaranteeing to employees of the United States Government all of their civil rights, were introduced in Congress by Senator Jones and Representative Poindexter, both of Washington. The bills were referred to the appropriate committees on civil service reform. Many efforts were made to secure consideration of these bills by the committees. The chairman of the Senate Committee, although engrossed with other measures, made several endeavors to secure a meeting of the committee to consider the bill introduced by Senator Jones, but without avail.

The House Committee failed to give the Poindexter Bill, H. R. 19,546, any consideration, partly because it seemed anxious to secure retirement legislation for which it was claimed civil service employees made an insistent demand,

and partly because it was claimed no particular interest was manifested by civil service employes in the Poindexter bill.

The federal executive orders issued are being rigidly enforced in the Post Office Department more pronouncedly than in any other of the federal departments. Post office employes are prohibited from exercising their most valued personal rights; they dare not post bulletins, circulate information, make complaints to or petition Congress for relief from injustice or to secure improved conditions; they are not permitted to actively identify themselves with city central bodies, or in any normal way express disapproval of onerous conditions under which they are employed, without running the risk of being discharged. Silence is the order imposed upon the post office employes, and implicit obedience is rigidly enforced.

It now remains for the American Federation of Labor to champion the interests of these faithful public servants more vigorously than ever, and during the next session of Congress urge representatives and senators to so revise the federal statutes that government employes may be guaranteed the right of exercising all of their inherent citizenship rights without interference or fear of being discharged—notwithstanding adverse executive orders or departmental rulings.

#### **Union Label Law Digest.**

We had hoped to be able to report to you the completion of the compilation and its publication of the Union Label Law Digest, but for unavoidable reasons the matter is not yet in print, although much of the manuscript copy has been completed. It is hoped that in the near future the book will have been printed and ready for distribution.

#### **Affiliation with International Secretariat.**

As directed by the Toronto Convention, the American Federation of Labor has now become affiliated with the International Secretariat, which is constituted by the trade union movement of the following countries: Great Britain, France, Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Norway,

Finland, Austria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Hungary, Croatia-Slavonia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Switzerland, Italy, Spain and the United States.

Considerable correspondence has passed and much information mutually imparted which has been helpful for the cultivation of the best possible fraternal relations between the workers of the civilized world.

Last year a communication was received at Paris by the International Secretary, Mr. Legien, but it was received too late by him for submission to the Congress, as he declared he had not the sufficient time to have it translated into the different languages. It was therefore decided that he should in due time send copies to the different countries translated into their respective languages. The nature of the document was entirely unknown to anyone at the Paris Congress. When copy of the letter was received at Washington, it was found that it emanated from the so-called Industrial Workers of the World and contained most unwarrantable and maliciously false accusations against the American Federation of Labor, its affiliated organizations, and their best known representatives. Realizing the fact that a charge made and repeated sufficiently often which is undenied or unexplained will find some believers, President Gompers replied by defending the A. F. of L., its affiliated organizations and representative men, but declined to say anything in his own defense against the aspersions cast upon him. Later, this so-called Industrial Workers' organizations, the only important part of which is its presumptuous title, entered protest against the A. F. of L. being accorded affiliation with the International Secretariat, and demanded for itself that affiliation for the United States. The International Secretariat furnished us with a copy upon which this protest and application are predicated.

Before our affiliation to the International Secretariat scandalous accusations without having any basis in fact or truth and malicious misrepresentations were sent broadcast throughout the world to the trade unionists and other organized workers of these countries—sent by the enemies of the

American trade union movement—the enemies to the progress and success for the protection and promotion of the interests of the toilers of our continent. Since our affiliation to the International Secretariat we are kept advised of such calumnies and misrepresentations which at least we will receive in an official capacity. The International Secretariat has notified the American Federation of Labor, and at the same time officers of other international trade union centers, that the subject will receive the consideration of the Congress of the International Secretariat, which is to be held in Budapest in August, 1911. In view of all circumstances we realize the advantage, as well as the necessity, of America's organized workers to be in full affiliation with the International labor movement of the world under the auspices of the International Secretariat.

We recommend that a delegate be selected by this convention to attend the Congress at Budapest in 1911.

We also recommend that the following, which we authorized President Gompers to submit to the Paris Congress in 1909 and which the Congress referred to the forthcoming Congress and which was approved by the Toronto Convention, be an instruction to the delegate from the American Federation of Labor to the Congress of the International Secretariat at Budapest, 1911:

Resolved, That the International Trade Union Congress recommends to the trade union centers (General Federation of Congresses) of all countries the discussion of the proposition of establishing an international federation of labor, the autonomy of the trade union movement of each country being ordained and guaranteed, the purpose of the federation being for the protection and the advancement of the rights, interests and justice of the wage-workers of all countries and the establishment of international fraternity and solidarity.

Resolved, That it shall be the purpose of the labor movement of all countries to endeavor to the fullest extent to prevent the workers from one country being induced to emigrate to other

countries during periods of industrial depression or when trade disputes exist or are in contemplation; that it shall be the duty of the recognized representatives of the labor movement of the country affected to notify the international secretary, who in turn shall at once communicate the situation to the representatives of the trade union movement of each country.

We also recommend that such delegate be instructed to secure action from the Congress that shall put an estoppel to the promulgation, at least through an official source, to the scandalous misrepresentation of the labor movement from one country into another.

The affiliation of the American Federation of Labor to the I. S. was effected by the unanimous vote of the Toronto Convention, per capita tax having been paid for the years 1909-10, 2,382 marks, or \$567.21. The official printed proceedings of the Paris Congress of the International Secretariat held in 1909 at Paris, have been sent to the executive officers of affiliated national and international unions. Additional copies can be secured from the International Secretariat through the A. F. of L. upon the payment of twenty-five cents, which includes postage. The report for the year, which our President had the honor to submit on behalf of the A. F. of L., is also incorporated in the proceedings of that Congress.

#### **American Federation of Labor Office Building.**

The conventions have several times specifically authorized the Executive Council to erect an office building for the American Federation of Labor, and provided a part of the means for the construction of such a building. We have given the subject much thought and investigation, and we have heretofore reported to you upon it. We have paid \$4,107.00 rental for the A. F. of L. offices for the last fiscal year. That would be slightly over four per cent on \$100,000. We receive three per cent on that amount now from the banks.

There are obstacles to overcome, but we feel that the amount heretofore authorized to be devoted from the funds for such a structure is insufficient to the erection of an office building which will not only afford ample convenient office room, but will permit of the renting of some offices in such a building which will contribute toward the payment or the minimizing of the A. F. of L. office expenses.

The Executive Council has endeavored to obtain expert opinion as to plan, space and expense of such a structure and should continue these efforts and report to the next convention the progress made.

#### **Wages and Production Ratio.**

In accordance with Resolution No. 36, we authorized the communication with the Census Bureau to affirm, correct, or explain the purport of the resolution relating to the average wages and the average value of production. The director of the Census Bureau made answer which was incorporated in an editorial in the June issue of *The American Federationist*, under the caption, "Statistics Which Lead to Varying Conclusions."

#### **Convention Date.**

As we already reported, we have been more active in recent years in the political field than heretofore. Considerable success has attended our efforts, but our endeavors have been materially handicapped by the fact that our Federation conventions are held exactly six days after the general elections throughout the country. Because of the necessary time required of our officers in preparatory work for our conventions, they can scarcely give any attention to the political work outlined and demanded by direct instructions of our Federations conventions. In other words, at the time when Labor's efforts are needed on the political field in carrying out the campaign, our officials must of necessity either abandon or at best give cursory attention to these important considerations and actions at the time when their services would be of greatest importance.

The first two Federation conventions were held in November. In 1883 and 1884 conventions were held. This date was changed in 1884 to December, and in 1901 again changed to the present time, the second Monday in November. The reason given for the last change was that our conventions sometimes interfered with the delegates' preparations for the Christmas holidays. The fact now is that our present date of holding conventions interferes not only with the preparation and celebration of Thanksgiving Day, which is quite manifest now, but it materially interferes with the most effective work during the most important time in connection with the political activity of the workers in furtherance of the cause of labor.

Having all these facts in mind, we recommend that the date for holding the annual conventions of the A. F. of L. be set for the third Monday of November in each year.

#### **Convention City.**

Your attention is called to the fact that we are at times confronted with many vexatious questions in making preparations for conventions in the cities in which it is designated the conventions shall be held. Time and again representations are made to conventions for the selection of a city in which the next convention should be held, and though often they are founded upon fact, sincerity and good faith, it not infrequently happens that the entire situation is changed before the time has arrived for the making of arrangements for the then forthcoming convention. The fact has impressed itself upon our minds, particularly in recent years, that the labor movement of any city which through its delegates presents a city for the holding of conventions, should be required to guarantee on behalf of the local labor movement of their cities that the promise for necessary and adequate accommodations for the holding of the convention shall be fulfilled.

#### **Conclusion.**

As you realize, it is not possible in the confines of a report such as this to go as fully into the year's work as is

desirable; it has been our endeavor to pass in review before you those subjects and matters which have appealed to us as being of the most vital interest and greatest moment to our movement. We earnestly hope that they will be given the thoughtful and careful consideration of this convention. To place the trade unions of the American Federation of Labor upon a still more exalted plane; to be of yet further and greater advantage to our fellows; to aid to the fullest in securing material, economic, social, and moral conditions for the toiling masses and for all our people, is the mission of our great movement. To the attainment of these high aims and purposes, we, the members of your Executive Council, have devoted the best efforts of which we are capable.

Fraternally submitted,

Samuel Gompers, President,  
James Duncan, First Vice-President,  
John Mitchell, Second Vice-President,  
James O'Connell, Third Vice-President,  
D. A. Hayes, Fourth Vice-President,  
Wm. D. Huber, Fifth Vice-President,  
Jos. F. Valentine, Sixth Vice-President,  
John R. Alpine, Seventh Vice-President,  
H. B. Perham, Eighth Vice-President,  
John B. Lennon, Treasurer,  
Frank Morrison, Secretary.  
Executive Council American Federation  
of Labor.

During the reading of the report of the Executive Council, Governor Hadley, of Missouri, entered the hall. The reading of the report was suspended to hear an address of welcome from Governor Hadley.

President Gompers: The convention is honored this morning by the presence of the chief executive of the state of Missouri. Yesterday we had present the Mayor of St. Louis and the representatives of organized labor of the state and city. We were hearing the report of the Executive Council when the Governor of Missouri entered the hall, and we gladly halted that important work in order that we might hear from him. The fact that you received him as you did, with manifestations of approval and appreciation, attests to the fact that

he is not a stranger to you, notwithstanding that you are not all Missourians. I shall confine myself to this brief introduction, and now take pleasure in presenting to you Honorable Herbert S. Hadley, Governor of Missouri.

Governor Hadley: Mr. President and members of the American Federation of labor: I am glad, indeed, to come here this morning as the chief executive of this state, to extend to you a cordial welcome and to express the wish that your meeting here may be a pleasant one, and that your deliberations may result in good to organized labor and to the entire country. I am very glad of the opportunity to be here for this purpose. I regret that my welcome is about twenty-four hours late, but I assure you it loses nothing in its sincerity by reason of the fact that it is delayed. I am glad of the opportunity to renew the pleasant associations and acquaintanceship I have formed with some of the representatives of this Federation in public meetings in the past.

I do not know but that I ought to take advantage of this opportunity to tell of an experience I had with the President of the American Federation of Labor, and of a very valuable service he rendered to me on the occasion of our first meeting. It was at a meeting of the Civic Federation in Washington something over a year ago at a dinner given the members of that body. In company with a number of other corn-fed governors, who were seated together, I was fortunate enough to be located near the President of the American Federation of Labor. One of the dishes given to us at that dinner perplexed us, because we didn't know whether to eat it with sugar or salt, or with a knife, a fork or a spoon. I consulted with my brother executives, and they were as much non-plussed as I was. Finally in desperation we appealed to the President of the American Federation of Labor to advise us what those delicate viands were and how we should eat them. He told us we had presented to us a dish of terrapin.

I told him when he was instructing the governors of the state how to eat terrapin he was no representative of labor, but a plutocrat in disguise, and I would take the first opportunity to expose him to the country. In defense he informed me when he was a cigar maker in Baltimore and was working at his trade he carried his noonday lunch in a tin bucket, and instead of the pork or beef we would carry in this western country he carried terrapin, because it was cheaper than the other. I hope I may have an opportunity on the occasion of this visit to initiate him into the mysteries of consuming some of our favorite products, perhaps how he should eat the things we produce, and if he wishes any further instructions in eating and drinking I shall be glad to reciprocate for the service he rendered me a year ago in the city of Washington.

I am glad on this occasion to be able to welcome the representatives of organized labor to a state that enjoys the desirable experience of being so evenly balanced between the two great political parties of the country that neither of them can afford to be unfair to or discriminate against any class of our citizenship. I regret that I am not able to welcome you to a state in which labor and capital are in entire accord, but I am glad to be able to say that the fact that there now exists differences is not because the chief executive of the state has not endeavored in every way to bring about a fair and amicable adjustment.

I am glad also to be able to welcome you to the state that has already given evidence by concrete legislation of a desire to do what can be done in a practical way to protect the interests and advance the welfare of those who live by toil. We have here a factory inspection law and a child labor law, not ideal, it is true, but still they are steps in the right direction and better, perhaps, than exist in most of the states in the Union. And I am glad to be able to tell this convention that the man who is placed in charge of that department who has imposed upon him the duty of enforcing these laws is a representative of organized labor himself.

We have a Mine Inspection Law and a Mine Inspection Department. We have a law in this state limiting the hours of labor in underground mines, a law which it was my pleasure and privilege as Attorney General of this state to sustain the constitutionality of in the Supreme Court of the United States; and I have appointed as the five men charged with the enforcement of those laws members of organized labor, men who have known of the dangers and the trials which confront the man who works in underground mines by actual experience in such employment. And through the efficient manner in which they have performed their duties in the last twenty-one months we have reduced the number of deaths and accidents in underground mines thirty-three and one-third per cent as compared with the last preceding period. I hardly think it would be necessary to say to an audience such as this, that such a correction in the conduct of public affairs may mean to some women and some families the averting of the greatest tragedy human life can impose.

We have also sought to enforce in this state a principle which I undertake to say will receive the approval of this audience, as I believe it receives the approval of all audiences in the state of Missouri, and that is the principle that in this state no combination of money or power can place itself above the law and none can violate the law with impunity. We have an anti-trust statute in this state, that does not apply to organizations of laboring men as it does to the monopolies which are formed for the purpose of increasing the cost of living to those who have to live by honest toil.

I do not wish to convey to you the impression that there exists here ideal conditions, or that we have by any means arrived at utopian conditions of life in the relations between the employer and the employee. We have still room for advancement, and I trust the deliberations of this convention will open up many lines of improvement. There are many lines of thought that appeal to such an organization as yours. There is the question of whether it shall

undertake a general propaganda looking to the advocacy of some new theory of society or industry, the propaganda for changed conditions in which different rules shall apply for the distribution of that wealth that is so largely the result of labor. There is the other proposition that comes before any organization such as this, the proposition as to whether they shall undertake the accomplishment of progressive results through the advocacy of certain concrete measures that in themselves will work a certain and a definite improvement in the conditions of those whom they represent and for whose welfare they are principally concerned.

I have had occasion as a practicing lawyer, as the chief law officer of this state and as the chief executive officer of the state, to have my attention directed to and to become interested in a proposition I consider as second to none in importance to the laboring men in this country. I refer to the inadequacy of our present system for compensating those who are injured in the conduct of modern industrialism. Perhaps, to state it more clearly, the reduction of the dangers and the injuries incident to the modern system of industrialism; because, to my mind, what the laboring men of this country primarily are interested in is not so much the question of recovering compensation for the injuries they may suffer, or providing a system by which those dependent for support upon the labor of others can secure compensation for their deaths; but by providing such a just, such a prompt and such a certain system of compensation that it will bring about a reduction of the dangers and the risk incident to modern industrialism itself. In other words, what the laboring man is interested in is not in recovering damages, but in securing safety; and what the wives and children of those who toll are concerned in is not in a certain right of action for the loss of their protector, but in having the protector come back to his home and family at the end of each day of labor safe and sound as when he went away in the morning.

It is a reflection upon the capacity of the American people for self-govern-

ment that here in this great, free country of ours we are clinging to archaic and almost barbaric system of compensating those who are injured in the modern system of industry, after almost every civilized country on the face of the earth has abandoned it. Notwithstanding all these laws for the inspection of factories, for the prevention of child labor, for the improvement of safety of mines and other dangerous occupations, the toll that modern industrialism still exacts from those who conduct it presents a tragedy unequalled in the history of civilization.

It is unnecessary, I take it, to tell you that the deaths incident to modern industrialism are greater than the deaths from a war in which two great armies were constantly engaged. From statistics obtained from newspapers recently I learn that the deaths on railroads during the year ending June 3, 1910, amounted to almost 4,000, an increase of 1,000 over the last preceding year, and practically what it had been for a number of years prior to that time. And the people injured on the railways of the country numbered nearly 80,000. It has been estimated that if the present rate continues, in the next fifteen years 2,000,000 railroad employees will be either killed or injured in the conduct of the railroads of this country. Statistics show that something like 10,000 miners lose their lives each year in this country. This is unnecessary, and to a certain extent is due to our present inadequate system of compensating those injured in the conduct of modern industry. This is shown by the fact that scarcely one-fourth as many are injured or killed in certain foreign countries as are injured and killed in this country in the operation of underground mines.

While the two occupations I have named are among the most dangerous, yet there was exhibited recently in the city of Boston a miniature guillotine which arose and fell ten times every minute, indicating the number of lives sacrificed in this country in the conduct of modern industry, and a light flickered and went out twice each minute to indicate the deaths due to tuberculosis, a disease that often results

from unhealthy employment and insanitary conditions in those employments. This is the toll modern industry has exacted from the laboring men of this country. The economic loss of these human lives present a figure that almost staggers comprehension, and that makes other economic questions seem insignificant in comparison. And yet, notwithstanding this great loss, we still adhere to the old system of saying to a man who is hurt in the conduct of modern industry, "You can only recover damages if you can prove it was due to the negligence of your employer, that it was not contributed to by your own negligence or the negligence of a fellow servant." The only compensation for yourself in case of injury, or for your family in case of your death, must rest upon a preponderance of testimony before a jury that the injury or death was due to the negligence of the employer, and was not to a risk incident to the employment or contributed to by your own negligence or the negligence of an employee.

Statistics from our courts show that of those injured by modern industrialism not over fifteen per cent have a cause of action under our present system for the injuries they have received, because not over fifteen per cent of those injured, according to the decisions of the courts, are through the negligence of the employers. About fifteen per cent are due to the negligence of fellow servants, and the balance fall in the class of risks incident to the trade or contributory negligence. Consequently, under our present system of legal procedure, with all of its inadequacies, with all of its delays and all its rules which seem apparently to prevent recovery, there exists no hope for compensation in eighty-five per cent of the cases.

At least eighty per cent of the employers of this country are protected by what are known as accident liability policies, and during the course of the last five years they have paid to the liability insurance companies \$95,000,000, and during that time the insurance companies only paid to those who were injured \$40,000,000. The result was a pure loss to this country

of \$55,000,000, which went to the insurance companies to pay the expenses of administration, or as attorneys' fees in resisting the claims of those who brought suits against employers. Five million dollars more was received and kept by the insurance companies than was paid to those who were actually hurt. I know it will be unnecessary to say to this audience that of the \$40,000,000 that actually went, or was supposed to go to the man who suffered the injury, not over fifty per cent actually reached him, because the expenses of litigation and the attorneys' fees consumed fifty per cent. In fact this feature of the case is best presented by the story of the Irishman who was hit on the head by a brick. He finally succeeded in recovering damages, but only got a small per cent. In a spirit of indignation he asked the lawyer, "Say, was it you or myself that got hit by that brick?" I think all who are familiar with the result of such cases will admit it was the Irishman who was hit by the brick.

Another phase of this proposition is that the expense in the court costs that the people themselves pay for the support of that portion of our judges who are engaged in the trial of this class of cases, is greater than the amount recovered by the injured persons. And consequently it would be cheaper from a public standpoint for the people to do away with one-third of their judges and pay to those injured in modern industrialism the money they now receive than to retain our present, system of litigation. If we could adopt some different rule for giving compensation to those who are injured in modern industrialism we could do away with at least one-third of our judges and perhaps one-half of our lawyers, and that, according to the minds of many people, is a consummation devoutly to be wished.

Efforts to bring about a correction of these conditions in the past have principally found expression in the passage of child labor laws, factory inspection laws and laws intended to secure greater safety in the operation of dangerous industries. It is significant to know that all of these laws have been tested as to their constitutionality



in the courts. The employing classes have apparently never recognized the ultimate benefit that would be derived by society from the greater protection to those who conduct our modern system of industrialism. It has been usually the experience that when factory or mine inspection laws, or laws limiting the hours of labor in dangerous and injurious occupations are taken into the courts, the first experience has been that the courts have declared them unconstitutional. One of our unfortunate experiences in government has been that many of our judges have apparently seemed much more solicitous about protecting the rights of property than in protecting the rights of the people.

As you all know, in the state of New York, the bakeshop law when first passed was declared unconstitutional, and because one of the great leaders of national thought and action in this country—and I might say in the civilized world—Theodore Roosevelt, undertook to publicly criticise the reasons upon which that decision was based he was bitterly assailed, because it was said he was assaulting the very citadels of our liberty when he criticised the courts. I have never recognized that any department of our government is immune from criticism. I know the executive department has never been immune from criticism, and I know of no more reason why a man who is elected to a judicial office should enjoy any immunity from having the correctness or the wrongfulness of his acts or of his reasoning subject to public criticism than should an executive or a member of the legislative department. In fact, it seems to me as though the protection of the just judge is to establish the rule that criticism should be directed against the unjust judge who renders decisions not based upon good reasons or upon public morals. Otherwise there is no incentive to the proper performance of those duties.

I feel that in this country that perhaps we have been a little bit too tender and solicitous and fearful about criticising judges who render wrong decisions. If we had been a little bit more assertive in this respect perhaps

we would not have had so much bad judge-made law. The line of distinction, of course, it is necessary should be clearly drawn. While a case is under advisement it is manifestly improper that that case should be the subject of criticism, to the extent that the man who is rendering the decision should be criticised in advance for a decision he may or may not render; but when the final decision is rendered and it then becomes the law and all people will have to obey it until it is changed by a subsequent decision or an act of the legislature it becomes the right, and not only the right, but the duty of American citizens to criticise that decision if they think it is wrong. Otherwise progress would never be secured. And so we find today that public thought has advanced to such an extent that the judges express the judgment of the people upon a great public question; because, after all, legislature-made law or court-made law is only the expression of the moral judgment of the people and the period to which it applies.

When I began litigation against the Standard Oil Trust in this state, something like four years ago, it was at peace with the entire world, protected by a rule of law that had been laid down by the Supreme Court of Missouri and the Supreme Court of the United States to the effect that a corporation, through its officials, could not be required to produce books or papers or make statements that might subject it to a penalty or a forfeiture. When I summoned those officers in, the state of Missouri they refused to answer my questions because it would subject the corporation they represented to a penalty or to a forfeiture. I said a corporation was a creature of law, that it came into existence under a contract with the state, that it should obey the laws of the state, and the state had a right to call it to account and require it to show whether it had obeyed its contract or not. That was answered by the statement that it enjoyed the same immunity that did an individual. Temporarily defeated here I went to New York and summoned the chief officers of that company, and the claim again was asserted that a corporation was

above the law that brought it into existence, because it could not be compelled to incriminate itself.

That question was fought through the Supreme Court of New York, the Supreme Court of Missouri and the Supreme Court of the United States, and all three of those courts within a period of a few weeks rendered decisions overruling their previous decisions, and holding that a corporation was a creature of law and could not set itself above the sovereignty that created it. That was an example of the advancement in public thought. And the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, of the Supreme Court of New York and the Supreme Court of Missouri registered in the year of grace 1906, the moral judgment of the people and the period to which it applied, while their previous decisions rendered some ten years before registered the judgment of the people of that period. The way to secure progress in just law, whether through legislation or judicial decisions is by a free and frank discussion of the soundness of the reasons upon which laws are based.

This great economic waste incident to our modern system of industrialism demands a correction, and the question is how it is going to be secured. The progress made in foreign countries is familiar in a general way to most of you. They have either adopted a changed rule of employers' liability or adopted laws requiring compulsory insurance of employees, or workmen's compensation laws which give to them automatic compensation for injuries received in industry. In this country we are standing but at the threshold of an investigation into this question, and we are just beginning to realize the importance of applying a new principle in the conduct of industrial affairs in this country. No one is surprised or shocked if you say that when a man engages in the manufacturing business he should distribute as a part of the cost of conducting the business the wear and tear upon a machine that he places in his factory. That is an expected part of the cost of production. But we must recognize the necessity of impressing upon the public

mind the correctness of the principle that it is just as right that when he puts in his factory a human machine there must be distributed upon the public the cost incident to the wear and tear of that human machine. The public will not object when a fair and a just system can be devised in the payment of this charge. Because it is wrong in principle, it has been demonstrated that it is pernicious and ineffective in actual practice to let the loss incident to modern industry fall upon those least able to bear it.

Under the limitations of our constitutions, state and national, I question how far it will be possible for us to go along the lines of compulsory insurance of workmen's compensation laws. I am certain, however, as a lawyer, that we can do this: We can do away with some of those old fictions of the law that now always work for delay and usually work for injustice. We can do away with the defense of contributory negligence, with the doctrine of assumption of risk, we can do away with the defense of the negligence of the fellow servant, because all three of these rules were devised in a simple system of industry that has no application at all to the condition existing in modern industry. They were devised at a time when industry was limited largely to the employer, the employee and the apprentice, and yet we have continued those old, archaic rules, and have hung onto them long after the reason for the theory had ceased to exist.

In Germany, under compulsory insurance laws, instead of less than 40 per cent of that paid in by the employer going to the injured persons, 80 per cent of that paid for the purpose of insurance goes to the injured person, and only a very small portion goes to the expense of administration, and a very smaller proportion, to the expense of litigation. New York, Wisconsin, and I believe Oregon also, have adopted laws on this subject. Minnesota and Illinois have commissions investigating the subject, and we are at last beginning to realize the importance of legislation on this question; we are beginning to recognize the importance of doing away

with the system that has neither resulted in just compensation nor in the protection of those who live by labor.

In this state I announced some time ago that I intended to appoint a commission to investigate this subject. The State Federation of Labor has recommended members of that commission. Both the leading political parties have endorsed it in their platforms, and I hope to see the next legislature in this state adopt some measure to correct our present system and provide, as far as existing constitutional limitations will permit us to provide, for the protection of those who labor. This suggests therefore one of those concrete problems which confronts the associations of laboring men in this country how best to secure something immediate and something practicable. A just modification of the rule of employers' liability and optional workmen's compensation law, or an optional insurance law, will not bring about the millennium, it will not reorganize society, it will not reorganize industry; it will not correct all the defects of modern civilization, but it will be something concrete, it will be something practical, and the securing of results of that kind, to my mind, justifies not only the existence of such organizations, but makes them a positive benefit, not only to the laboring men, but also to society itself.

And if the American Federation of Labor can help to bring about results such as this it will justify the labor and the time that has been given to it by all these great leaders in the cause of labor in this country during the thirty years of its existence. And the fact that we are making progress, not only in the states, but also in the national government, judging from the statements by our national leaders as well as by laws that have been enacted, is a matter of congratulation. Discussing this in a message to Congress our former president, Theodore Roosevelt, said:

"It is neither just, expedient, nor humane; it is revolting to judgment and sentiment alike, that the financial burden of the accidents occurring because of the necessary exigencies of their daily occupation should be thrust upon

those sufferers who are least able to bear it, and that such remedy as is theirs should only be obtained by litigation which now burdens our courts."

In a communication to the public issued by President Taft during the course of the last few months he called attention to the fact that at the last session of Congress the employers' liability law which had previously been enacted was amended to correct certain defects therein that had been discovered by the technical scrutiny of some of our Federal courts; that it had been perfected so as to enable injured employees to recover damages; that a bureau of mines had been created, with power to establish rules and regulations which would lessen the danger of injury in connection with mining; that the Interstate Commerce Commission had been given ampler powers to define the needed safety appliances for the prevention of accidents to employees and passengers on railroads. And, in addition to these laws that Congress had also created a commission to report a practical bill for the fixing of workmen's compensation for injuries received in the course of their employment on interstate railways, as risks in the business to be fixed and allowed by arbitrators, graduated according to the extent of the injury and the earning capacity of the injured person. Mr. Taft said in reference to this law:

"This is important not only as affecting interstate commerce railways, but, if adopted, as furnishing a model to the country for a beneficial change in the legal relation between employer and employe. This reform would put an end to the vexatious and costly litigation through which an injured employe must go in order to recover damages—litigation which, on account of the poverty of the employe, frequently serves to defeat the ends of justice, and in other instances leads to exorbitant and unjust verdicts."

Consequently I can congratulate today the representatives of organized labor upon the progress you have secured in a most important matter affecting the interests of those who live by honest toil. It is needless, I think, for any one to say there would not exist today this attitude on the part

of the leaders of national and state thought and action had it not been that the pathway along which we must travel in the correction of these inadequacies and inefficiencies of our present system had been blazed by such labor leaders as John Mitchell, Samuel Gompers and Frank Morrison, who have pointed out the defects of our present system and have pointed out the evils which demand a correction.

I congratulate you, therefore, upon the favorable prospects for effective legislation along these lines. I trust there are other things I can congratulate you upon. I congratulate you that your conditions are better than have existed before. I can congratulate you that while we do not enjoy an equal distribution of the products of labor and capital, yet there exists an effective organization among those who do more than any others to produce wealth which has as its object the securing of the proper and just distribution of that wealth of which labor is the principal source.

I thank you for your attention.

President Gompers: Governor Hadley, when I had the pleasure of presenting you to the convention I said that this convention was honored by having you with us today. I think the delegates will bear me out when I say that I have not used that expression in the case of any other public man who has appeared upon the platform of the American Federation of Labor, and I did not make that remark to cause an invidious distinction, for at no time has that thought occurred to me. But, knowing you as I do, knowing your record as I do, knowing your strong characteristics as I do, knowing that for which you stand as I do, I use the term advisedly when I say that the convention of the American Federation of Labor is honored by your presence and by your magnificent address.

There are all too few men in positions of responsibility and authority who have the brain and the grit to declare the truth to the men of labor. Personally, I want to express my great appreciation of your splendid address. There was not an utterance to which one sincere trades unionist represented on the floor of this convention could take exception. And when I say trades union-

ist I mean the term in its best sense: I mean the men and women who are applying themselves in our present struggle to the great problems with which we are confronted and which we are trying to solve as best we can. We are trying to build up, to construct, not to destroy.

There are some few men who, having the time to understand this great labor movement, have not the ability, or who, having the ability have not the time, and then there are still fewer who, having the time have the inclination to learn; and then there are a still lesser number who, having all these, have the courage to declare that which they have learned. And when we find a man here such as you, Governor Hadley, occupying the honorable position of governor of one of the greatest of the sovereign states of this Union, who has not only given his mind to the study of these great problems, but whose heart beats in unison with them, who has the courage and the manhood to declare them, we must express our appreciation for what he has done. And there is a desire to misinterpret and misrepresent just such utterances of strong men. Men may suffer in their times for convictions publicly proclaimed, and as one of them, expressing yourself as strongly as you have to us and as I know you have on other occasions, with whatever may be implied, with whatever may be the consequences of possible misrepresentation, misrepresentation such as has been suffered by former President Roosevelt on that subject, but inasmuch as you enjoy your own self-respect and your own good will in your determination to utter that which is truthful and to stand for that which is good, to proclaim the righteousness and the justice of a cause—well, Governor, you stand in a class almost by yourself.

Vice-President Duncan: Before resuming, I desire to offer the following motion: That the secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by this convention to print the address we have heard this morning, including the story about the brick, in the proceedings of this convention. (Seconded, and carried by unanimous vote.)

Delegate O'Flaherty: While I appreciate the story about the brick, I do not see any color that represents the Irishman. I wish to present to the convention this little flag to help decorate the hall.

Delegate O'Flaherty presented to President Gompers a small Irish flag, which President Gompers draped on his desk.

President Gompers announced reference to the following portions of the report of the Executive Council to the various committees:

"Organization and Its Extension," to the Committee on Organization. "Union," to the Committee on Organization. "Electrical Workers," to Committee on Adjustment. "Elevator Constructors—Machinists," to the Committee on Adjustment. "United Brotherhood of Carpenters—Amalgamated Woodworkers," to Committee on Adjustment. "Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers—Bridge and Structural Iron Workers," to the Committee on Adjustment. "Brotherhood of Railway Carmen—International Association of Car Workers," to Committee on Organization. "Pavers and Rammermen—Blue Stone Cutters, Granite Cutters," to Committee on Adjustment. "Brass Molders," to Committee on Adjustment. "Hod Carriers and Building Laborers," to Building Trades Committee. "Actors—White Rats of America," to Committee on Organization. "Walters' Union of San Francisco," to Committee on President's Report. "Moving Picture Machine Operators," to Committee on Adjustment. "Newspaper Solicitors' Union—San Francisco Call," to Committee on Adjustment. "Chicago Building Trades Situation," to Building Trades Committee. "Assessments Levied—Appeals Endorsed," to Committee on Resolutions. "Status of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers," to Committee on Organization. "Hatters' Case," to Committee on President's Report. "At Peace with Bucks' Stove and Range Company," to Committee on Education. "Injunction and Contempt Cases," to Committee on President's Report. "Legislation," to Committee on President's Report. "Labor Representation Committee's Report," to Committee on President's Report. "Uniform Laws to Protect Human Life," to Committee on Education. "In-

vestigation of Women and Child Labor," to Committee on Education. "Civil Service Employees Bridled," to Committee on Resolutions. "Conservation of Natural Resources," to Committee on Education. "Organized Farmers," to Committee on Organization. "Union Label Law Digest," to Committee on Union Labels. "Affiliation with International Secretariat," to Committee on President's Report. "Injunction and Boycott Pamphlet," to Committee on President's Report. "Wages and Production Ratio," to Committee on Resolutions. "Convention Date," to Committee on Law. "Convention City," to Committee on Resolutions. "Sheet Metal Workers—Stove Mounters," to Committee on Adjustment. "Jewelry Workers' Jurisdiction," to Committee on Adjustment. "Paper Hangers—Painters," to Building Trades Committee. "International Ladies' Garment Workers," to Committee on Organization. "Ohio State Federation of Labor," to Committee on Organization.

President Gompers stated that the portion of the report under the caption "Western Federation of Miners," would not be assigned to a committee until a later date, as a conference between the interested parties might render such reference unnecessary.

President Gompers: In the matter of "Industrial Education," the chair suggests that it be referred to a special committee for the consideration of that subject, and asks authorization of the appointment of such a committee.

Vice-President Duncan: I move that the president be instructed to name such a committee on that subject. (Seconded, and carried.)

President Gompers: These are the assignments thus far. The chair will make assignment of his own report later on those things which may require the attention of committees.

#### Report of Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Kelly (W. J.), secretary of the committee, read the following report:

November 15, 1910.

Your Committee on Credentials beg to report that the following organizations have liquidated their indebtedness

and we recommend that their delegates be seated:

International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees—Chas. Bechtold, 7 votes.

Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers' International Union—T. M. Daly, Thomas Rumsey, 100 votes.

International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths—J. W. Kline, C. N. Glover, W. J. Dougherty, 100 votes.

United Neckwear Cutters' Union 11,016—Abraham Miller, 1 vote.

United Neckwear Cutters' Union 6939—Michael Greenbaum, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union 11,591—Mrs. Mary Burke East, 1 vote.

Oklmulgee, Okla., Central Labor Council—G. L. Hunter, 1 vote.

We have received the following communication:

"November 15, 1910.

"Inasmuch as any neglect on the part of the Carriage and Wagon Workers in paying of assessments is due wholly to a misunderstanding on the part of its officers, and that the funds are deposited locally, draft only being made between the 1st and 15th of each month, it will be impossible to pay such arrearage before the 15th of December, 1910. In lieu thereof I hereby agree to guarantee the payment of such assessments now due on or before December 20, 1910.

"(Signed) Louis F. Mairé,  
"President Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union."

In view of the status of the funds of the Carriage and Wagon Workers, we recommend that extension of time be granted to the date stated for payment and that Louis F. Mairé be seated as delegate from the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union, with 11 votes.

We have examined credentials from the following organizations and recommend that their delegates be seated:

Brotherhood of Railway Clerks—John J. Carrigan, James F. Riley, 50 votes  
International Protective Association of Lithographic Press Feeders—William A. Coakley, 9 votes.

South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—A. C. Anderson, 1 vote.

United Laborers' Union 12,992—O. A. Tveitmoie, 1 vote.

Wage Earners' Suffrage League, California—Miss Maud Younger, to be seated as fraternal delegate, without vote.

We further report that we have received the credential of P. D. Drain as alternate delegate from the Evansville, Ind., Central Labor Union, to serve instead of Shelby Southard, who could not attend, and we recommend that Mr. Drain be seated, with 1 vote.

We also have the credentials for C. W. Fear as alternate delegate from Joplin, Mo., Trades Assembly, instead of Charles A. Patterson, and recommend that he be seated, with 1 vote.

The following protests have been decided by the committee:

Protest of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen against the San Francisco Labor Council: Satisfactory arrangements have been made and the protest withdrawn, and we recommend that Andrew J. Gallagher be seated, with 1 vote.

Protest of F. J. Hayes, delegate of the United Mine Workers and E. J. Brals of the Journeymen Tailors against the seating of delegates of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers: Committee recommends that Delegates Frank J. McNulty, Peter W. Collins, Stephen J. Fay, F. A. Monaghan, be seated, with 160 votes.

MICHAEL J. HALLINAN, Chairman,  
A. J. KUGLER,  
WM. J. KELLY, Secretary.

Secretary Kelly: The committee has not acted on the protest of the Granite Cutters' Union. The parties have requested us to hold this in abeyance for a day, and they may reach a settlement.

In regard to the protest of Frank J. Hayes and E. J. Brals against the seating of electrical workers, I understand they wish to withdraw the protest.

President Gompers: What is the wish of the delegates who made the protest?

Delegate Hayes (F. J.): I desire to withdraw the protest.

Delegate Brals: I desire to repeat the statement of Delegate Hayes.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Report of Auditing Committee.**

St. Louis, Mo., November 14, 1910.

To the Officers and Delegates to the Thirtieth Annual Convention Assembled:

Dear Sirs and Brothers: We, your Auditing Committee appointed in accordance with the law, to audit the books of the American Federation of Labor, after carefully comparing all books, stubs and vouchers submitted to us, respectfully report the following in reference to the financial standing of the Federation as appears on the books:

Balance on hand Oct. 1, 1909, as per the auditor's report to the Toronto convention and which appears on the books .....	\$167,303.46
Total income from all sources from Oct. 1, 1909, to Oct. 1, 1910 .....	193,470.84
Total expenses for all sources from Oct. 1, 1909, to Oct. 1, 1910 .....	177,859.34
Receipts over balances, ex- penses .....	\$ 15,611.50

The following is an itemized report of the receipts and expenses by months:

Balance on hand, Oct. 1, 1909.	\$167,303.46
Receipts, month October, 1909 .....	12,794.12
Total .....	\$180,097.58
Expenses, month October, 1909 .....	13,173.79
Balance on hand, Nov. 1, 1909.	\$166,923.79
Receipts, month November, 1909 .....	7,758.57
Total .....	\$174,682.36
Expenses, November, 1909...	18,499.24
Balance on hand, Dec. 1, 1909.	\$156,183.12
Receipts, month December, 1909 .....	16,218.02
Total .....	\$172,401.14
Expenses, December, 1909...	19,234.43
Balance on hand, Jan. 1, 1910.	\$153,166.71
Receipts, month January, 1910 .....	11,526.85
Total .....	\$164,693.56

Expenses, January, 1910.....	13,927.25
Balance on hand, Feb. 1, 1910.	\$150,766.31

Receipts, month February, 1910 .....	16,817.05
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Total .....	\$167,583.36
Expenses, February, 1910....	12,980.29

Balance on hand, March 1, 1910 .....	\$154,603.07
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Receipts, month March, 1910.	12,308.03
Total .....	\$166,911.10

Expenses, March, 1910.....	14,150.07
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Balance on hand, April 1, 1910 .....	\$152,761.03
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Receipts, month April, 1910..	22,013.09
Total .....	\$174,774.12

Expenses, April, 1910.....	13,161.57
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Balance on hand, May 1, 1910.	\$161,622.55
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Receipts, month May, 1910..	21,905.24
Total .....	\$183,517.79

Expenses, May, 1910.....	14,799.84
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Balance on hand, June 1, 1910.	\$168,717.95
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Receipts, month June, 1910..	13,053.59
Total .....	\$181,776.54

Expenses, June, 1910.....	13,036.90
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Balance on hand, July 1, 1910.	\$168,739.64
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Receipts, month July, 1910...	15,118.38
Total .....	\$183,858.02

Expenses, July, 1910.....	15,649.51
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Balance on hand, Aug. 1, 1910.	\$168,208.51
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Receipts, month August, 1910	11,626.00
Total .....	\$179,834.51

Expenses, August, 1910.....	14,165.24
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Balance on hand, Sept. 1, 1910 .....	\$165,669.27
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Receipts, month September, 1910 .....	32,326.90
Total .....	\$197,996.17

Expenses, September, 1910...	15,081.21
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Balance on hand, Sept. 30, 1910 .....	\$182,914.96
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The receipts were divided as follows:

Amounts received for per capita tax.....	\$108,928.05
Amounts received for supplies .....	10,259.00
Amounts received from American Federationist.....	21,326.50
Amounts received for local Trade and Federal Labor Unions' Defense Fund....	12,570.45
Appeal made for Legal Defense Fund .....	55.80
Amount received for premiums on bonds for officers of local unions.....	2,874.75
Assessment, United Hatters (3c) .....	1,152.11
Assessment, United Hatters (2c) .....	27,792.63
Assessment for Los Angeles and other cities.....	55.10
Assessment for the Legal Defense Fund.....	3,934.35
Interest on money deposited in banks .....	4,522.10
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$193,470.84</b>

The expenses were divided as follows:

General expenses.....	\$140,677.37
American Federationist.....	20,621.19
Premiums on bonds for officers of local unions....	2,392.75
Defense Fund of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions	6,484.00
Assessment, United Hatters (3c) .....	1,088.20
Assessment, United Hatters (2c) .....	6,595.83
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$177,859.34</b>

#### Recapitulation.

Total income from all sources .....	\$193,470.84
Total expenses for 12 months	177,859.34
Receipts in excess of expenses .....	15,611.50
Balance on hand, Nov. 1, 1909	167,303.46
<b>Total amount on hand, Oct. 1, 1910 .....</b>	<b>\$182,914.96</b>

#### Banks Where Money Is Deposited.

According to the certificates of deposit shown us by President Samuel Gompers, we find the sum of one hundred and eighty thousand nine hundred

and fourteen dollars and ninety-six cents (\$180,914.96) in the hands of Treasurer John B. Lennon. This money is deposited in the following banks:

The People's Bank of Bloomington, Ill., 4 certificates...	\$ 30,737.24
German-American Bank of Bloomington, Ill., 3 certificates .....	25,000.00
Third National Bank of Bloomington, Ill., 4 certificates .....	35,000.00
McLean County Bank of Bloomington, Ill., 6 certificates .....	30,000.00
The State National Bank of Bloomington, Ill., 6 certificates .....	60,177.72
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$180,914.96</b>

We also examined Secretary Frank Morrison's bank book, to account for the amount of \$2,000 left in his hands, and find on deposit in the Riggs National Bank of Washington, D. C., at the close of business, September 30, 1910, \$3,064.54. The following checks were still outstanding on that date, which amounts total \$1,064.54, leaving an actual balance in Secretary Morrison's hands of \$2,000, the amount needed to balance account.

#### Outstanding Checks, September 30, 1910.

Name.	Date.	Check No.	Amount
L. Lillean .....	1849	\$ 1.50	
P. W. Hamilton.....	2031	5.00	
M. R. Edmunds.....	2436	11.28	
J. F. Grimes.....	485	.30	
T. J. Crawley.....	2947	5.00	
T. J. Flynn.....	5-7-1910	13581	.20
S. Reid .....	6-20-1910	14052	35.75
W. J. Coates.....	7-21-1910	14366	10.00
S. Reid.....	9-8-1910	14844	38.95
S. Iglesias.....	9-9-1910	14896	24.00
S. Iglesias.....	9-14-1910	14916	39.00
H. Schnettek.....	9-16-1910	14964	.80
C. Wyatt.....	9-19-1910	14987	64.55
J. Tazelaar.....	9-19-1910	14988	64.86
S. Iglesias.....	9-20-1910	15002	23.00
Lib. Bureau.....	9-23-1910	15051	.45
W. Rouleau.....	9-23-1910	15052	4.50
V. E. Macy.....	9-23-1910	15054	1.00
F. J. Weber.....	9-23-1910	15061	20.00
A. D. Frazer, (Natl. Surety Co.) .....	9-23-1910	15062	11.50
W. A. Tourtavel, (Natl. Surety Co.) .....	9-23-1910	15063	22.50



Name.	Date.	Check No.	Amount
G. T. Lawrence (Natl. Surety Co.)	9-23-1910	15064	39.00
S. H. Griffin. (Natl. Surety Co.)	9-23-1910	15065	5.00
J. D. Pierce.	9-28-1910	15067	58.50
J. D. Pierce.	9-28-1910	15068	57.80
J. Tazelaar.	9-28-1910	15069	61.09
W. E. Terry.	9-28-1910	15070	47.50
H. Frayne.	9-28-1910	15071	75.27
J. Tylkoff.	9-28-1910	15072	20.00
C. Wyatt.	9-28-1910	15073	57.40
E. T. Flood.	9-28-1910	15074	32.50
T. H. Flynn.	9-28-1910	15075	41.20
J. E. Gray.	9-28-1910	15076	26.50
D. J. Hemmy.	9-28-1910	15080	20.00
N. A. Merritt.	9-29-1910	15083	27.14
Smith Premier Type-writer Co.	9-29-1910	15086	2.50
W. Rouleau.	9-29-1910	15087	1.85
G.W. Flather	9-29-1910	15088	3.00
T. B. Carroll	9-29-1910	15089	4.00
S. Iglesias.	9-29-1910	15090	30.00
H. L. Eichelberger.	9-29-1910	15091	52.15
F. Morrison (P. O. Department for stamps)	9-29-1910	15092	18.00
Total			\$1,064.54

In conclusion we desire to say that the books of the general officers are kept in first-class shape, and all books and papers and receipted bills, etc., were furnished the committee and were examined as carefully as possible by the committee in the short time we had to do the work. Secretary Morrison and his staff of employees deserve all credit for the careful manner in which the books are kept.

Respectfully and fraternally submitted,

MICHAEL J. HALLINAN, Chairman,

A. J. KUGLER,

WM. J. KELLY, Secretary.

Auditing Committee.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be received and adopted. (Carried.)

President Gompers: Delegate Lowe informs me that it will be necessary for him to leave the convention and that therefore he will be unable to act on the Committee on Resolutions. The Chair will appoint T. S. Farrell to fill the vacancy.

### Report of Fraternal Delegates to British Trades Union Congress.

Delegate T. V. O'Connor read the following report:

To the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Greeting: As your delegates to British Trades Union Congress we were greatly impressed with the similarity of the problems confronting the British workmen to that of our own. Their methods of dealing with the different subjects brought before the congress are different from ours but the ultimate object is the same. Resolutions are first submitted to the Parliamentary Committee by the different affiliated bodies. These resolutions are then submitted to the various unions for consideration and amendment. The resolutions and amendments are compiled and printed as agenda before the congress meets. This method has some advantages and, according to our observation, some disadvantages. It prepares the membership at large for the subjects which are to be considered by the congress and enables them to express their wishes for the guidance of their delegates, thereby expressing the will of the rank and file. It prevents, however, the offering of amendments from the floor which, in our judgment, is a serious defect. It often occurs that the discussion of a question throws new light upon the matter under consideration which would make it not only acceptable but desirable if amended, even though it may be objectionable in its existing form. The right to amend a proposition on the floor of the convention does not exist under their system. Neither do they consider the different resolutions in committee to the same extent or in the same manner as we do, and on these points we consider our method to be superior to theirs.

The most important question considered by the congress at Sheffield was the Osborne decision. Mr. Osborne was the secretary of one of the local unions of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. By instruction from his local union, he sued out a writ of injunction restraining the National Organization from levying assessments or

paying out any of the funds of the organization for parliamentary purposes. The case was carried to the highest court, the House of Lords, where a decision was rendered sustaining the injunction on the ground that trades unions had no statutory right to require its members to pay dues for parliamentary purposes. The decision is a greater blow to the British Trades Union movement than the Taff-Vale decision as it affects the entire legislative program of the Trades Union movement of Great Britain. The decision is very surprising in view of the statutory enactment authorizing trades unions to organize for the purpose of "regulating the relations between employer and employed." Under the highly organized state of modern industry the relations between employer and employed must be to a greater or less degree regulated by law. That fact is made apparent by the laws regulating the sanitation and inspection of factories, shops and mines; employers liability and compensation acts; restriction of the hours of labor and a host of other regulations that can only be secured by legislative enactment. The right to organize for the purpose of "regulating relations between employer and employed" is not susceptible of being construed to mean only a portion of the relations between employer and employed. It must be taken to mean all the relations that exist or may exist between them. Parliament having the power to regulate the relations between employer and employed in certain ways, it seems clear to us that the trades unions have a perfect legal right to assess their members for parliamentary purposes. The highest court of Great Britain has held otherwise and the British Trades Unionists are thoroughly aroused to the danger that threatens them. Members of the House of Commons receive no salary from the Government. When workmen are elected to Parliament, the Trades Unions must find a way of supporting them. They have been doing this since 1874 when Alexander MacDonald and Thomas Burt were elected to the House of Commons. They have not only assessed their members to maintain representatives in Parliament but they

have also paid the election expenses of candidates and have conducted a vigorous parliamentary propaganda. They have exercised this right, without question, for thirty-six years and now the courts seek to destroy it. They are stirred up as is evidenced by the following resolution adopted by the Sheffield Congress.

"This Congress desires to register its emphatic protest against the judgment given in the Osborne case, involving, as it does, the prevention of effective Parliamentary representation by organized labor; makes it impossible for trade union branches to join in the work of local trades councils; strikes at freedom of discussion and resolution which has always been enjoyed by the Trades Union Congress in so far as congress has taken action of a political character in the interest of the wage-earner.

This decision denies the right of trade unions to carry out their nominal statutory purpose of 'regulating the relations between employers and employed,' in so far as modern conditions of industry and the highly organized state of capital render Parliamentary action necessary for this purpose.

It deprives trade unions of a freedom which they have enjoyed for nearly fifty years, and which they have exercised only with the approval of their members and to the advantage of the community.

This congress claims: That these rights be restored at once so that trade unionism may be put in a position to fulfill its statutory functions in such a manner as the members of the respective unions according to their rules shall decide.

Therefore, having regard to the injustice of the decision, and of the urgency of the matter, congress calls upon all affiliated organizations, in view of the misrepresentations of the position, which have appeared recently in the press, to bring all possible pressure to bear on the government to provide, at once, facilities for the passing into law of the bill, as presented by the labor party, to reverse the judgment, and

determine to make it a test question at all Parliamentary elections."

Proposer: C. Gordon,

Seconder: A. Wilkie,

Supporters: W. Brace and J. R. Clynes.

#### **House of Lords.**

The abolition of the House of Lords is a question of vital importance to the labor movement of Great Britain. It is looked upon as an irresponsible, obstructive body that stands in the way of progressive legislation. The position of the congress on that subject is clearly stated by President Haslem in his address. He says:

"During the year that has passed a general election has taken place. Labor on the whole has maintained its position. A few of our colleagues in the last Parliament failed to obtain a renewal of confidence from the electors, and our numbers were slightly reduced. The present Parliamentary Session, which has now been adjourned, has been one of the most difficult character. The House of Lords question and the death of his late Majesty have made it well-nigh impossible to proceed with ordinary legislation. The conference between representatives of the government and the official opposition has not yet finished its deliberations. As a labor party and as a trades union movement we are not in their confidences, but we say quite emphatically—and we feel we are expressing the views of this congress—that no settlement of the difficulty between the two houses of Parliament can be satisfactory which does not for all time place the representatives of the people of this country in the position of being able to carry out the will and the wishes of the people."

#### **Labor Exchanges.**

At the instance of the Trades Union Congress, the government has placed in operation a National System of Labor Exchanges. Its operations are being watched with considerable interest. Already it has met with considerable criticism on the ground that it is being used as a recruiting establishment for strike breakers. A number of resolu-

tions were introduced demanding that this defect in the regulations be remedied.

#### **Mine Regulations.**

The Royal Commission on Accidents in Mines have about completed their labors and will soon make a report to the government of their findings and recommendations. A number of resolutions were introduced and passed by the Congress instructing the Parliamentary Committee to give their attention to the forthcoming Mines Regulation Act for the purpose of regulating the employment of unskilled and foreign workmen in the mines and the securing of an eight-hour work day for colliery enginemens, boilermen and stokers at the mines, the object being to secure greater safety for those engaged in the mining industry.

#### **Workmen's Compensation.**

The enactment and operation of the Workmen's Compensation Act has been a great benefit to the workmen of Great Britain. The workman no longer bears alone the accident cost of production. That is now shared by the community, though not to as great a degree as the trades unions believe ought to be the case. While the act itself is giving very general satisfaction, there are some details that require amendment and some conditions arising from it that the workers are seeking to change. With the coming of the Workmen's Compensation Act, the employers have turned to the insurance companies to insure their workmen against accidents. The insurance companies, taking over the risk of the employer, are placing every obstruction that they can conceive of in the way of the operation of the law. In consequence the congress has demanded the establishment of a system of state insurance to be paid for by the employers in the same manner as they are now paying the private insurance companies.

#### **Unemployment.**

The great question of how to provide for the unemployed received considerable attention. It does not appear that any definite solution of the problem was arrived at. The two principal

ideas put forth in the resolutions and discussions were, first, legislation for the establishment of a scheme of compulsory insurance against unemployment, and second, that the government shall commence work of public utility sufficient to take up the surplus labor.

Over one hundred resolutions and amendments in all were considered by the congress. We have dealt only with those which we considered of most general interest to the delegates here assembled.

We can not refrain from referring to the most dramatic incident of the entire congress. There are a large number of women chain makers in the neighborhood of Birmingham. They make chains by hand on hearths and anvils set up in their own kitchens. They are paid a penny a yard for making chains with inch and a half links made out of three-quarter inch iron. They were on strike for a minimum rate of two pence per hour. They came before the congress to plead for aid. There was a committee of three of them; a little gray-haired motherly woman of about sixty years of age, a middle aged woman and a girl not yet out of her teens. As they stood there on the platform, each with a yard of chain in her hands which she had a penny for making, the tragedy of those overworked lives struck home to every person present and the delegates responded liberally to help them in their struggle.

In conclusion, we desire to express our appreciation of the kindly and hospitable manner in which we were received and cared for during our stay in Sheffield.

Respectfully, submitted,

W. B. WILSON,

T. V. O'CONNOR,

Fraternal Delegates.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be received and made part of the proceedings of the convention. (Carried.)

President Gompers announced that the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress, Messrs. W. Brace and Ben. Turner and the fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades Labor Congress, Mr. R. P. Pettipiece,

would address the convention Thursday morning. President Gompers introduced the gentlemen in turn to the convention.

President Gompers appointed as a Special Committee on Industrial Education:

Delegates John Mitchell, W. D. Mahon, H. A. Vurpia, William J. Kelly, John McNamara, Robert Hesketh, W. V. Price, T. J. Butler, William Schwab, John Sheret, E. L. Smyth, R. H. McDevitt, F. J. Roth, E. R. Murphy, M. Mitchell.

Miss Maud Younger made a brief address to the convention.

Delegate Owen Miller, for the Local Committee on Arrangements, announced that special cars would be provided, and would be at the hall at 1:30 p. m., Wednesday, to convey the delegates on a trip through the city and on a visit to the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Company's plant.

During the session the following resolutions were presented and referred to the various committees:

Resolution No. 1—By Hair Spinners' Union No. 12353:

Whereas, We consider the strike benefits paid by the American Federation of Labor too small compared with the high cost of living, and we believe we can get better results in case of trouble by keeping the members together, because we find when the money runs low they become dilatory and indifferent to their obligation and duty; therefore, be it

Resolved, That Section 5 of Article XIII of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by striking out "\$4 per week for each member" and inserting "\$6 per week for each member.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 2—By the International Jewelry Workers' Union of America:

Whereas, The stock label of the American Federation of Labor denotes a strictly union made article when appearing on same; and

Whereas, Badgemakers throughout the United States are using the A. F. of

L. stock label on badges that bear non-union made metal parts, thereby deceiving the purchasers of strictly union made products; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at St. Louis, Mo., November, 1910, do hereby order badgemakers using A. F. of L. stock label to purchase union-made steel parts bearing the union label and all parts coming under the jurisdiction of the International Jewelry Workers' Union of America; and be it further

Resolved, That the A. F. of L. stock label be withdrawn from badgemakers not complying with this law.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate James Buckley of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

Whereas, The state of Wyoming has several fair-sized towns in which there are no labor organizations, and several in which we believe various locals could be organized, and in the past the state has received practically no assistance in organizing from any source; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor consider the question of sending an organizer for a specified time to work in this field.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 4—By Delegates Brals, Lindala and Lennon of Journeymen Tailors' Union:

Whereas, The General Executive Board of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America have been impressed by recent events in the world of industry with the very great importance to all wage-workers of making a special and persistent effort to organize into the trade union movement women engaged in industrial life; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we respectfully urge upon the American Federation of Labor both the necessity and importance of placing some women organizers in the field; and be it further

Resolved, That the delegates of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America

be and are hereby directed to submit these resolutions for action by the St. Louis Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate Steve McDonald of the Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union:

Whereas, Some of the employes of the railroads in this country have petitioned the Interstate Commerce Commission to permit those who control the means of transportation to boost the present freight rates; and

Whereas, The earnings of the railway corporations are enormous, even upon a capitalization that drips with water, after paying for improvements and equipments out of the earnings, thus proving without doubt that there is no necessity for an increase in the freight rates; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the delegates here assembled, in the interests of the tolling masses, the business men and public in general, that we protest against the contemplated move by those who are working for the selfish interests of the railroads, and also protest against the Interstate Commerce Commission acquiescing in the request of the railroad employes, if such a course is contemplated by the said body, because it would only inflict greater hardships upon the tolling masses, the business men, and the independent operators who have been "shanghaied" by the coal-carrying roads, through the pernicious system of unfair, unjust and infamous discrimination. Be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this protest be sent to the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission, a copy to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, and a request made upon all central bodies in this country and elsewhere in the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor that action be taken thereon, with the object in view of baffling the railroad octopus in its attempt to fleece the public and add more wealth to its already over-full and bursting coffers.

Moved and seconded that the resolution be received and adopted and copies

forwarded as requested. Motion carried.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 6—By Homer D. Call of Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen:**

Whereas, The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America has for the past six years made a determined and consistent effort to organize the employes in the packing industry; and

Whereas, Their efforts have been vigorously opposed by what is known as the American Meat Trade Association, who have repeatedly declared for the open or non-union plant; and

Whereas, At the present time the wages and conditions of the employes have been systematically reduced until today the average wage of the butcher workmen is less than \$7.00 per week; and

Whereas, Owing to the present system of government inspection, we believe the time opportune for organizing the said butcher workmen of North America; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled do hereby request the incoming Executive Council to render such aid and assistance as possible to organize the butcher workmen of this country; and be it further

Resolved, That some one general organizer of the American Federation of Labor be designated to take charge of the work of organizing, with instructions to devote his entire time to that work, at the expense of the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

**Resolution No. 7—By International Jewelry Workers' Union of America:**

Whereas, The annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Toronto, Ontario, Canada, November 8 to 20, 1909, referred Resolution No. 20, presented by the International Jewelry Workers' Union of America, to President Samuel Gompers for investigation and a final settlement; and

Whereas, A conference was called at New York City on June 23, 1910, by

Organizer Hugh Frayne, representing the American Federation of Labor, and all interested organizations were notified and attended conference; and

Whereas, Decision rendered through conference and indorsed by the American Federation of Labor Executive Board, granting jurisdiction to the International Jewelry Workers' Union of America over all metal parts of badges, buttons, medallions and novelties, not in conflict with Sheet Metal Workers' Union; and

Whereas, The Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers' Union refuse to withdraw their label from factories employing one to three of their members, while six to one hundred or more were eligible to membership in the International Jewelry Workers' Union of America, thereby hindering the organization of these factories; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers' Union be and is hereby ordered to immediately withdraw their label from factories manufacturing badges, buttons, medallions and novelties; and be it further

Resolved, That this Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled at St. Louis, Mo., 1910, do hereby indorse the decision of the General Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor granting jurisdiction to the International Jewelry Workers' Union of America over all metal parts of badges, buttons, medallions and novelties made in all metals other than tin and sheet iron.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

**Resolution No. 8—By Delegate Oscar F. Nelson of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, indorsing Senate Bill No. 5900 and House Bill No. 19796, providing for the regulation of the hours of labor of post office clerks:**

Whereas, The post office clerks are the only federal civil service employes who have no legalized regulation as to the number of hours that shall constitute a day's work, and for that reason are compelled to work an excessive number of hours without extra compensation; and

Whereas, The duties of a post office clerk are of an arduous nature, both

physically and mentally, and as a consequence long hours of labor imperil the health of such workers; and

Whereas, Senator Jones of Washington has introduced Senate Bill No. 5900, which provides "that forty-eight hours shall constitute a week's work for post office clerks," and Congressman Goebel of Ohio has introduced a like bill in the House of Representatives, No. 19796; and

Whereas, The National Federation of Post Office Clerks have indorsed these bills as meeting with their approval, and as we believe our government should be foremost amongst all employers of labor in maintaining a high standard of working conditions and equitable treatment of its employes; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled at St. Louis, Mo., do hereby go on record as indorsing Senate Bill No. 5900 and House Bill No. 19796, and do hereby instruct our Legislative Committee to strive to have this measure, as well as such other measures that will improve the working conditions of the post office clerks, enacted into law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 9—By the delegates of the International Longshoremen's Association:

Whereas, The closer affiliation of all organizations of the workers employed in the industry of transportation, such as longshoremen, seamen, teamsters, railroaders, freight-handlers, street carmen, boatmen, etc., will be of advantage to all concerned; and

Whereas, The development of industry will eventually force the workers to organize and affiliate on industrial lines; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be asked to inaugurate a movement to establish a Transportation Department within the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 10—By the delegates of the International Longshoremen's Association:

Whereas, In view of the recent ruling of the Solicitor-General of Immigration that there was no law at the present in the statutes to prevent Chinese, Japanese, or other Asiatic members of the crew of foreign vessels from landing in this country and working the cargo of their respective vessels, and neither the Geary Exclusion Act or the Allen Contract Labor Law afford any protection to the waterfront workers; and

Whereas, All other crafts are afforded protection under these laws from the coolie invasion in their respective callings, except the longshoremen and seamen; and

Whereas, The above ruling of the Solicitor-General of Immigration is past distinction, as it protects only certain crafts and not all citizens of the United States; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, do hereby empower their Executive Council to prepare a memorial to Congress, to legislate either by statute, law or treaty, to the end that all Asiatics (laborers) be excluded from the United States and from the merchant marine of our nation, as seamen, and to rigidly investigate the rulings of the immigration officials of the Pacific Coast making it possible, as is at present, the custom of admitting hordes of the lowest type of Hindoo coolies to the Pacific ports of the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That every delegate to this convention consider himself a committee of one to agitate this vital question in his home locality, for upon the completion of the Panama Canal this problem must be solved in the Gulf and Atlantic ports, as well as by their brothers on the Pacific Coast.

The Legislation Committee to whom this resolution was referred recommended the adoption of same, with a further recommendation that the delegates to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to have them adopted by that body.

Referred to Committee on President's Report.

**Resolution No. 11—By the Delegates of the International Longshoremen's Association:**

Whereas, In the work of loading and unloading of vessels of all classes there is absolutely no government rules to protect and safeguard the lives and health of the men engaged in such work and no government inspection of same, such as is provided for construction, factory and mining industries; and

Whereas, The lives and health of the members of this association are daily jeopardized and sacrificed to the most reckless speeding up of work for the sake of more profits for the employers; and

Whereas, We consider the lives and health of our members and of workmen in general more precious than profits; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and is herewith instructed to have such strict rules and regulations governing the work of loading and unloading of vessels in all its branches, tending to safeguard the lives and health of the men employed in such work, installed and enforced, preferably uniform in all states throughout the United States, and have a government inspection established for the purpose of properly enforcing such rules and regulations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 12—By Delegate James Buckley of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:**

Whereas, At the Second Annual Convention of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor the following resolution was unanimously adopted: That the convention place itself on record as favoring the interchange of transfer cards between the various labor unions, and that the American Federation of Labor at its next convention try and have this matter submitted to a referendum vote of all affiliated unions. Therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention take the necessary steps to submit this proposition to a referendum vote of the affiliated unions.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

**Resolution No. 13—By the Delegates of the Theatrical Stage Employees' International Alliance:**

To the delegates assembled at the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Whereas, The Seventeenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Nashville, Tenn., 1897, pronounced in no uncertain phrases that all work done back of the curtain is to be done under and by the sole jurisdiction of the then National Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees—this, however, not to include either engineer and fireman; and

Whereas, Through the growth of outside unions to the work of the theatrical stage employees these outside foreign trade unions seek to arrogate to themselves the jurisdiction granted to the above National Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees; therefore, be it

Resolved, By this the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in session in the city of St. Louis, Mo., that they do reconfirm the decision rendered by the Seventeenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to-wit: "That all work done behind the curtain line or proscenium arch of all theaters and places of amusement shall be done by the members of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees—this to not include engineers and firemen."

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

**Resolution No. 14—By Delegate J. J. McAndrews of the Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union No. 11959:**

Whereas, The Chicago Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union No. 11959 has been duly organized and chartered by the American Federation of Labor; and

Whereas, The jurisdiction of the Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union has not been defined and no mention of said organization is made in the A. F. of L.'s instructions to organizers; therefore, be it



Resolved, That the jurisdiction of the Chicago Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union No. 11959 be and is hereby defined as follows: "That the Chicago Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union No. 11959 shall have the right to operate all passenger and freight elevators installed in buildings, and to operate all elevators that carry passengers, furniture, freight and merchandise in buildings in the course of construction, when such buildings are tenanted." And be it further

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor instruct its organizers to organize into unions all persons engaged in the operation of elevators as above described in all cities where such unions are not already organized.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 15—By Delegates W. D. Huber, Frank Duffy, Wm. B. MacFarlane, Thomas Flynn, W. J. Kelly, Carl Young, A. M. Swartz, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

To the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

The Sixteenth Biennial Convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, held in Des Moines, Iowa, in September, 1910, instructed its delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention to present the following report of a special committee appointed to consider the question of the payment of insurance or benefits by labor organizations, to the end that some definite action may be taken to protect labor organizations in the payment of said benefits:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Sixteenth Biennial Convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, in Convention Assembled:

Brothers—We, your Committee on Insurance, desire to respectfully submit the following for your consideration:

Having carefully considered the various communications submitted by the general secretary in reference to the demands made by the legal representatives of claimants who have insisted that payment of benefit should be made,

and when informed that such payment would be in violation of benefit laws of the United Brotherhood, have invoked the aid of the insurance laws of the several states in which they reside, by inducing the Insurance Commissioners of said states to bring action against the United Brotherhood and its members, in order to secure, if possible, said benefits. Said Insurance Commissioners having stated that the benefit system or laws as set forth in the constitution of the United Brotherhood at this time, was in violation of the insurance laws of said states, and, after having considered sections of said laws with reference to the benefit laws of the United Brotherhood governing the payment of death, disability and other benefits, we are of the opinion that there is a very great necessity for a change in said laws, if we are to avoid the continued threats, demands and litigation that may arise in the future upon the refusal of the general secretary to pay such claims as are in violation of the laws of the United Brotherhood.

Your committee would therefore recommend that all sections of the constitution pertaining to death, disability, and other benefits or claims be so changed that they can not be legally construed as being in violation of the insurance laws of any state, and that the words "beneficial members" be stricken out of our constitution and the words "members in good standing" be inserted; that the word "benefit" be changed to read "donation," and that all sections where reference is made to the payment of death, disability and other benefits shall be so arranged that they shall clearly define and show that the intent under our constitution shall be to make donations to members in all cases of death, disability and other benefits, and in similar amounts as at present stated in the constitution of the United Brotherhood.

We would further recommend that this matter of insurance be referred to the Committee on Constitution for their consideration as recommended, and that such recommendations as shall be made by said committee, if approved by convention, shall be referred to the members of the United Brotherhood for

their approval or rejection at the time that other amendments to the constitution are sent them.

We would also recommend that the general secretary and the General Executive Board continue their effort to maintain our laws and protect our organization and its members from all unjust demands or claims, where same has been made by the Insurance Commissioners of any state operating under such laws.

We would also recommend that the question of the payment of benefits, as the same may apply to other trade organizations, shall be referred to the American Federation of Labor at its coming convention, for the purpose of securing the co-operation of all trades represented, to the end that uniform insurance laws may be enacted in the several states, such as will protect all trade organizations and exempt them from the operation of the insurance laws of all states, and that will permit of their continuing the payment of benefits to their members without interference or litigation.

Respectfully submitted,

A. M. SWARTZ, Secretary,  
A. D. SLYE,  
LEONARD DIEDENRICHS,  
J. A. ROBINSON,  
M. C. TEBO,

Committee.

Referred to Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 16—By Delegates W. D. Huber, Frank Duffy, W. B. MacFarlane, Thomas Flynn, W. J. Kelly, Carl Young and A. M. Swartz of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners:

Whereas, The states of Washington, Idaho and Montana are at present suffering from a scourge of forest fires, which are devastating vast areas of valuable land and destroying hundreds of lives and millions of dollars in valuable property, rendering homeless and helpless thousands of people; and

Whereas, The nature of the calamity is of a character that should not be permitted to impose its heavy burden solely upon the helpless survivors, who, in many cases, are now widows, orphans and maimed and crippled men

whose every dollar has been lost to them, and in many instances their capability of earning a livelihood destroyed by the terrible ordeal through which they have passed, and what was formerly a thriving district dotted with newly built homes of these pioneer settlers, is now a blackened ruin, making the task of rebuilding and reclaiming the same far more formidable than the one they originally faced when in good health, spirit, and possessed of some means; and

Whereas, These suffering people should not be called upon to face alone and unassisted in their present helpless condition the problem of rebuilding and reclaiming their homes, when the citizens of these United States have demonstrated in the past their great store of generosity and sympathy for people visited by such terrible calamities, and the assistance heretofore furnished has not been confined to our own people, nor limited by race or nationality, proximity or distance from our shores, and there has been expended in the aid of affliction in some instances millions of dollars; and

Whereas, The survivors of the calamity which has visited this section of our country are worthy citizens of these United States, engaged in the noble work of pioneering in a country where hardship is their daily lot, a recital of the terrible sufferings they have passed through is not deemed necessary for the purpose of appealing to the generosity of their country; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that the general government of these United States should at this time come to the aid of these people who have suffered by these devastating forest fires, not only for the purpose of relieving their present necessities, but in order that the whole burden of their loss should not be placed upon their stricken shoulders; that the general government should take such steps as may be necessary to aid in rebuilding and reclaiming the former homes of these people, and that help and succor be furnished to them, so that as near as may be possible their former homes

be rehabilitated and they given a fair start for a bright future; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States.

Referred to Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 17—By Delegates W. D. Huber, Frank Duffy, W. B. MacFarlane, Thomas Flynn, W. J. Kelly, Carl Young and A. M. Swartz of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

Whereas, For some time past there has been considerable conflict between the organization of the U. B. and the Wood-wire and Metallic Lathers as to jurisdiction over the putting on of metal corner-beads and picture moulding; and

Whereas, At a former meeting of the D. C. of St. Louis action was taken whereby said D. C. emphatically declared that all such work rightfully belonged to the carpenters, and for the purpose of establishing their claim by proof of the work being done throughout the country by carpenters, caused to be sent to the various district councils and local unions of the brotherhood, a circular asking information and facts regarding the placing of said work; in the great majority of replies received it was stated that carpenters claimed and did the work; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the D. C. of St. Louis, that we again reiterate our claim to the said work; and

Whereas, By the changes in the methods of building construction and the introduction of metal trim taking the place of what was formerly made of wood and put in place by carpenters, the same having brought about a conflict as to jurisdiction, it is therefore

Resolved, That in all such cases where such trim is used that the carpenters claim the right to put it up and will oppose all claims made by any and all of the trades now claiming jurisdiction over the same. We also claim jurisdiction over trim made of wood pulp, straw board, asbestos, etc.; also the setting of all concrete forms, regardless of material used. Be it

Resolved, That the delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to present our claims to said convention, and work for their adoption before that body.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 18—By Delegates W. D. Huber, Frank Duffy, W. B. MacFarlane, Thomas Flynn, W. J. Kelly, Carl Young and A. M. Swartz of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

Whereas, The erection of the material known as hollow metal trim, sash and doors, metallic trim, sash and doors, and metal trim was awarded to the carpenters by the Hon. Wm. J. Gaynor, who had been selected as umpire in accordance to all the laws and requirements laid down by the Arbitration Plan, in the matter of arbitration between the sheet metal workers on one side and the Joint District Council of Carpenters on the other; and

Whereas, Our General Executive Board has ruled on several occasions that the U. B. of C. & J. of A. claims jurisdiction over the erecting and placing of all hollow metal sash, frames, doors and trim; and

Whereas, The carpenters have been erecting this material since it first appeared on the market, and are still erecting it in New York City, as well as in a number of other cities, for the reason that it is a strictly carpenter's proposition and requires the methods and skill of the carpenters to prepare the grounds in order to apply and properly execute the work; and

Whereas, Every effort is being made by the sheet metal workers and the Kalamene Association to deprive the carpenters of the erection of this material; therefore be it

Resolved, That we declare emphatically and unequivocally as a whole to retain the erection of steel and hollow metal trim, sash, and doors, in accordance with the rulings of our General Executive Board; and be it further

Resolved, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the officers of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. be notified of our action, and that our delegates to

the conventions of the A. F. of L. and the Building Trades Department are hereby instructed to carry out these resolutions.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 19—By Delegates W. D. Huber, Frank Duffy, W. B. MacFarlane, Thomas Flynn, W. J. Kelly, Carl Young and A. M. Swartz of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

Whereas, The Homestake Mining Company, which company owns and operates one of the most valuable gold producing properties in the United States or in the world, and employs several thousand working men of different craft in the operation of its mines and mills, on November 24, 1909, declared a lockout against employes on account of their affiliation with various labor unions, as will be shown and fully explained by the following card:

Lead, South Dakota, November 24, 1909. I am not a member of any labor union and in consideration of my being employed by the Homestake Mining Company agree that I will not become such while in its service. (Signed by employe.)

Whereas, The members of Local Union No. 1440 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, together with the members of all other labor organizations, have been discriminated against by the Homestake Mining Company since its declaration of this lockout, which became effective on November 24, 1909; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the delegates of the Sixteenth Biennial Convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, in convention assembled, declare the Homestake Mining Company, whose works are located in South Dakota, to be a non-union concern and that we pledge our moral and financial support and assistance to all union men who may be involved in or affected by the lockout of the Homestake Mining Company; and be it further

Resolved, That our delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to present the cause of the lockout men in South

Dakota before said convention and to solicit the aid and assistance of the American Federation of Labor in the cause of our brothers who are maintaining this struggle against oppression and greed, to the end that organized labor may not be defeated, and that our brothers shall not be forced nor compelled to forfeit any rights of citizenship or to violate their honor as men.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate J. T. Carey of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers:

Whereas, A great bulk of news paper, book paper and writing papers are generally purchased in large quantities, over which the individual purchaser has no control; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall, immediately after the adjournment of the convention, communicate with the officers of the Newspaper Publishers' Association, in an endeavor to have all paper used by publishers who are members of said association bear the label of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers; and be it further

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, either by circular letter or otherwise, request that committees from all local unions, central bodies and state federations use their best endeavors, by the adoption of resolutions, communications or by conferences with all publishers in their respective localities to secure paper bearing the label of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers; and be it further

Resolved, That all national and international unions, local unions, central bodies, state federations and consumers of paper use their best endeavors to procure paper bearing the label of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers in all trade union publications and stationery used by them, and use their best endeavors to advance the use of paper bearing the label of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate P. J. Brice, Stone Derrick Men's Union No. 12878:

Whereas, We, the Stone Derrick Men's Union No. 12878 of St. Louis, have tried to form an international union of our craft, consisting of men over 21 years of age, employed at the following work:

The handling of all cut stone and granite cut by stone and granite cutters, in yards and on buildings, and the helping to set of all stone and granite.

The handling of all saws (except granite saws), travelers and derricks in yards, when used to handle cut stone or granite.

The drilling of stone or granite, whether by hand, steam, air or any other method.

Where specified granite drilling, said drilling is controlled by granite cutters.

Where specified hand drilling, this does not apply to mash hammer drilling when done by a stonecutter.

The handling and rigging of all derricks when used for the purpose of handling cut stone or granite, whether on construction, reconstruction and alterations of buildings, where cut stone or granite is handled.

All rubbing of stone (except granite polishing), all cleaning down of new stonework on buildings.

The handling and helping to set all artificial cut stone made in molds, blocks or slabs. By the term "artificial cut stone" is meant where molds, blocks or slabs are to take the place of cut stone. We do not claim the manufacture.

The handling and helping to set exterior marble, when said marble work is being done by stonecutters or stonemasons.

Having also solicited the aid of the American Federation of Labor in forming said international union, and having been informed by Mr. F. Morrison, your secretary, that the American Federation of Labor would do all in its power to help us form said union, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this, the thirtieth convention of the American Federation of Labor, give us their support to further the work of organizing the locals engaged in our class of work, and be it further

Resolved, That the thirtieth convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its organizers to work to that end, namely, that said international union may be formed.

We find in different cities that men of our craft are at this time unorganized, and we feel that locals could be organized, thereby getting together enough to warrant the forming of the proposed international union, and we, the Stone Derrick Men's Union No. 12878, pledge our financial support to further this movement.

In connection with the above resolution will say we have an eight-hour day schedule at the rate of 37 1-2c per hour; a schedule of four hours on Saturday, with time and a half for overtime; double time for Sundays and holidays, which are New Year's Day, Fourth of July, Thanksgiving and Christmas. No work on Labor Day.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 22—By Delegate L. F. Maire, of the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union:

Whereas, It is universally conceded, that the organizations of labor are all striving to the one end, viz.: Bettered conditions and uplift of the toilers, and

Whereas, It is further conceded that no organization can sustain a healthy growth with any member of its concrete body rent asunder, and

Whereas, It is still further conceded that what is tonic for some is poison for others; therefore be it

Resolved, that inasmuch as the carriage and wagon workers have evolved into the twentieth century automobile workers and are still evolving into aeroplane workers, that the word automobile be incorporated as per adoption at Buffalo convention; also that the word aeroplane be also incorporated and that the carriage and wagon workers as now constituted, be henceforth known as Carriage, Wagon, Automobile and Aeroplane Workers' International Union of North America; and be it further

Resolved, That its jurisdiction shall extend only to such crafts as are rightfully theirs, viz.:

Carriage, wagon, automobile and aeroplane body makers and woodworkers; carriage, wagon, automobile and aeroplane painters; carriage, wagon, automobile and aeroplane trimmers; carriage, wagon, automobile and aeroplane blacksmiths; carriage, wagon, automobile and aeroplane wheel makers; carriage, wagon, automobile and aeroplane spoke and hub makers; carriage, wagon, automobile and aeroplane flat spring makers; carriage, wagon, automobile and aeroplane bent stuff makers, such as shafts and felloes and all component parts of carriages, wagons, automobiles and aeroplanes in the rough.

In submitting this resolution, the movers recognize the various complex questions governing such jurisdictional awards and respectfully submit that they in no wise wish to encroach on the domain of sister international unions. They also wish to present for your earnest consideration the fact that, as an organization, the carriage and wagon workers can not exist and do your honorable body justice under its present status, and we earnestly appeal to you to right our wrongs. We ask only simple justice. Can you give less?

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 23—By Delegate T. J. Carolan, of International Brotherhood of Tip Printers:

Whereas, The value and utility of the union label as an organizing factor is firmly established among trades unionists, and

Whereas, The International Brotherhood of Tip Printers, who do gold, silver and metal printing and embossing in hats, caps, badges and novelties, has the greatest difficulty in organizing the tip printers in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago and other cities, because of the fact that the master tip printers have seen fit to lock them out for a number of years, and openly declared that no union man shall ever work in their shops again, a threat which they have lived up to a man, and all because the tip printers had courage to ask a little more wages so as to keep themselves and families from want, and

Whereas, Some of the master tip printers have gone so far as to degrade their men by putting up a prize of \$10 every six months, and the man working the most flesh from his hands, and the largest amount of blood out of his veins is the winner of this miserable and degrading prize, and

Whereas, A very large amount of the printing done in the non-union shops is placed in union hats and caps, and this work comes from union hat and cap manufacturers, who send the printing to non-union shops to have it printed and then place it in their union goods, and

Whereas, We believe that we have a just right to demand from organized labor that it should see that all printing in union hats, caps, badges, etc., is strictly union and done by union men, bearing the label of the International Brotherhood of Tip Printers; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, in its thirtieth convention assembled, hereby recommend that all international, state, central, local and federal unions, together with all officers of the departments of the federation itself, encourage to the extent of their ability the use of the Tip Printers' Label on hats, caps, badges and novelties printed in gold, silver and metal, and do further recommend that all labor journals do aid and encourage through their columns the use of the same, so as to create a demand for the Tip Printers' label on all hats and badges purchased in the United States and Canada, and be it further

Resolved, That all organizations, national or federal, having in their organization members working on tip printing presses and doing work which rightfully belongs and comes under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Tip Printers, be instructed by this convention to surrender all such members who are doing tip printers' work and working on tip printing presses, to the International Brotherhood of Tip Printers.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 24—By Steve McDonald, representing Scranton Central Labor Union:

Whereas, A number of railroad employes have lent their aid to the railroad manipulators for the purpose of petitioning the Interstate Commerce Commission to persuade that body to grant permission to increase the present freight rates; and

Whereas, Fabulous dividends are paid now as a result of the present freight rates charged on all commodities; therefore be it

Resolved, That the president of the A. F. of L. appoint a committee of five trade unionists, whose duty it shall be to make an investigation to ascertain the earnings and dividends of the railroads in this country, so that the American people may be placed in a position to determine whether the request for the privilege of increasing the freight rates is justifiable; be it further

Resolved, That all labor organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be requested to withhold any assistance from the railroads in the manner of indorsing the request of the owners and manipulators of said railroads, for an increase in freight rates until such time as the true condition of affairs is ascertained.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution 25—By Delegate John B. Lennon of the Tailors' Union:

Amend Section 1 of Article III, to read:

Section 1. The convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a. m., on the second Monday in August, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding convention.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 26—By Harry De Veaux, representing the Actors' International Union:

Whereas, At the Toronto (Canada) convention of the American Federation of Labor two resolutions were introduced by the Actors' International Union, one of which requested the assistance of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to aid the Actors' International Union in forming an international association of actors in all parts of the world; and the other resolution requested the as-

sistance of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to induce an organization known as The White Rats of America, a theatrical association of vaudeville actors, to become a component part of the American Federation of Labor, and

Whereas, Through the personal efforts of President Samuel Gompers several conferences were held between the Actors' International Union and The White Rats of America, which resulted in the amalgamation of the two organizations on the 7th day of November, 1910, at the Victoria Hotel, in New York City, at which conference representatives of the Actors' International Union, The White Rats of America and President Gompers were present, thereby forming in fact an international association of actors allied with the English, German, French and Australian federations of organized actors, under the title of The White Rats Actors' Union of America; therefore be it

Resolved, That all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor render their moral support and influence to The White Rats Actors' Union of America in their efforts to have all places of amusement in the United States and Canada employ members of the only recognized body of theatrical performers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

Resolved, That due notice of the amalgamation of the Actors' International Union and The White Rats of America be submitted officially by the American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, to all national and international unions, state federations and local city central bodies.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate Harry De Veaux of the Actors' International Union:

Whereas, Through the efforts made by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the association of actors, formerly known under the title of The White Rats of America, have been amalgamated with the Actors' International Union, thereby forming a well-organized branch of the

amusement profession under the new title of The White Rats Actors' Union of America, and

Whereas, It is to the best interests of those that are employed in the various places of amusement in this country and Canada, that the various crafts so employed, should assist in the practical organization of all engaged in these various branches; therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Musicians and the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees shall use their best efforts to assist The White Rats Actors' Union of America in their campaign of organization, and that every assistance will be given by the various locals of the two organizations named in regulating any local differences that may occur between the employer and the employees in so far as the constitutions of the international organizations above named will permit.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 28—By delegation of the International Association of Machinists:

Whereas, The controversy existing between the International Association of Machinists and the International Union of Elevator Constructors is yet unadjusted, and

Whereas, The Committee on Adjustment at the Toronto convention of the A. F. of L. favorably recommended a plan of amalgamation, which report of the committee was approved by the convention, and

Whereas, The International Union of Elevator Constructors refused to present the plan of amalgamation to its members, thereby preventing the carrying out of the wishes of the Toronto convention, be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is authorized and hereby instructed to carry into effect the plan of amalgamation as recommended by the Adjustment Committee of the Toronto Convention and approved by the Toronto Convention on or before April 1, 1911, and on the latter date the charter of affiliation held by the International Union of Elevator Constructors be canceled.

The report of the Adjustment Committee of the Toronto Convention was as follows:

"Committee has carefully reviewed the report of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., the proposition of the International Association of Machinists for amalgamation and the evidence submitted. The proposition of the International Association of Machinists containing the terms of amalgamation is as follows:

1. The I. U. of E. C. to be known in the I. A. of M. as Elevator Constructors' District No. 67. Said district to have jurisdiction over all men engaged in elevator construction work on buildings or wherever elevators may be erected.

2. The present international officers of the I. U. of E. C. shall be the district officers and conduct the affairs of the district in accordance with the laws of the I. A. of M. The salary of the officers to be the same as now paid.

3. The I. A. of M. will grant charters and supplies free of cost to all unions in good standing in the I. U. of E. C., and assign them numbers in accordance with the list of lodges of the I. A. of M.

4. All money in the treasury or hands of other officers or in any way held as the money of the I. U. of E. C. shall become the treasury and money of Elevator Constructors, District No. 67, and be held for the purpose of conducting the financial affairs of that district.

5. All members engaged in the construction of elevators in buildings, or elsewhere, where same is to be used, shall carry their membership in a lodge connected with Elevator Constructors, District No. 67. Members of the I. A. of M. who may be employed now or in the future in the erection or construction of elevators, holding membership in another lodge, shall transfer to the lodge having jurisdiction over this work in the locality where the member or members may be employed in Elevator Constructors, District No. 67.

6. The I. A. of M. agrees to pay 50 per cent of the legitimate salary and expenses of all business agents now paid by and under salary of the I. U. of



E. C., in accordance with the constitution of the I. A. of M.; said business agents who have their offices in the same office as the business agents of the I. A. of M. are located in order that the unnecessary expense of conducting two offices may be avoided.

7. Whereas, The constitution of the I. A. of M. requires that members, to be entitled to strike or victimized benefits of \$6.00 per week to single men and \$8.00 per week, married men, shall be in three months' good standing to be entitled to same; it is hereby agreed that upon the amalgamation of the two organizations all members of the I. U. of E. C. transferring to the I. A. of M. shall be immediately placed in good standing and entitled to strike and victimized benefits as provided for in the constitution of the I. A. of M.

8. All per capita tax of the A. F. of L. Building Trades Department, and such other departments or organizations as the consolidated organization may become attached to, shall be paid out of the general fund of the I. A. of M.

9. The Elevator Constructors, District No. 67, of the I. A. of M., can hold conventions, adopt laws to govern the district, and carry on the affairs of said district practically on the same lines as now being done by the I. U. of E. C., with the exception that all rules, regulations and laws adopted by Elevator Constructors, District No. 67, shall be in conformity with the general constitution of the I. A. of M.

10. All members of the I. U. of E. C., affiliated with the I. A. of M. shall pay to their local union at least \$1.00 per month dues, and each local lodge shall pay to the grand lodge the standard rate of per capita tax prescribed by our constitution, as follows: Journeymen initiation stamp, \$1.50; apprentice initiation stamp, 75c; reinstatement stamp, \$1.50; monthly due stamp, 55c; apprentice monthly due stamp, 25c; unemployed stamp, 20c. It being understood that the above per capita tax covers the subscription to the monthly journal, the same to be supplied to each lodge in proportion to the number of members in good standing. Each lodge

affiliated to conduct its financial business in accordance with the constitution of the I. A. of M.

11. As the I. A. of M. levied a one day's assessment of \$2.50 upon each member for three years, covering the years 1908, 1909 and 1910, it is agreed that members of the I. U. of E. C. coming into the I. A. of M. during the year 1909 shall be exempt from payment of the 1908 and 1909 assessments.

12. The I. A. of M. agrees to give all members of the I. U. of E. C. in good standing at the time of amalgamation a credit of six months' good standing membership, so that they will be entitled to the death benefits of the I. A. of M. as soon as the amalgamation takes place.

13. All lodges of the I. U. of E. C. becoming part of the I. A. of M. shall be entitled to send delegates to the convention of the I. A. of M. on the same basis as all other lodges of the I. A. of M. are entitled to.

14. It is hereby agreed that all members of the I. U. of E. C. transferring to and becoming a part of the I. A. of M. shall be entitled to all benefits, privileges and assistance of the association, and the general officers of the I. A. of M. as is given all members and lodges of the I. A. of M.

In the judgment of your Committee on Adjustment, the interests of the machinists and elevator constructors can best be protected by an amalgamation of the two international unions.

We, therefore, recommend that the terms proposed by the International Association of Machinists be accepted and adopted by the Elevator Constructors' International Union as a basis of settlement of the differences between those organizations; that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed to use its good offices without delay to consummate the amalgamation of the machinists and Elevator Constructors' International Union; and that the Executive Council for the American Federation of Labor become a party to the plan of amalgamation and settlement, as a guarantee to the absolute fulfillment of its terms.

We, your committee, further recommend that the Executive Council of the

A. F. of L. be authorized and instructed to take such action in the premises as may be deemed necessary to accomplish the desired result."

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

**Resolution No. 29**—By John S. Whalen, delegate New York State Federation of Labor.

Whereas, This organization has been organized for a number of years and is continually looking after the interest of organized labor in this state and for their benefit; and

Whereas, There are a large number of locals in the state that are not affiliated with this State Federation; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this Federation petition the American Federation of Labor to have its general, district and deputy organizers to do all in their power to have those locals affiliate with this State Federation; and be it further

Resolved, That the delegate to the American Federation of Labor Convention present an amendment to the American Federation of Labor Constitution to compel all city and local central bodies, local unions and federal unions to become affiliated at once with their respective state federations.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

**Resolution No. 30**—By John S. Whalen, delegate, New York State Federation of Labor.

Whereas, New York State has a model law regulating state prison labor,

Whereas, There does exist in many states of the Union convict labor;

Whereas, This convict labor is a menace to free labor of this and other states; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention recommend to the American Federation of Labor Convention to use its best efforts for the passage of a federal law abolishing prison labor; and be it further

Resolved, That the Legislative Committee be instructed to secure the passage of a bill to the end that each individual article made in a penitentiary, reformatory or state prison shall be stamped.

Referred to Committee on Education.

**Resolution No. 31**—By C. F. Russi, Jr., delegate from San Antonio Trades Council.

Whereas, It has been the custom of merchants throughout the country to cheat and defraud union men when demanding the union label on goods by removing labels that are glued on goods and placing them on nonunion-made goods; therefore, be it

Resolved, That all labels issued by the American Federation of Labor be sewed on all union-made goods.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

**Resolution No. 32**—By C. F. Russi, Jr., delegate San Antonio Trades Council.

Whereas, Texas has not been getting the recognition of the American Federation of Labor that it is entitled to in way of general organizers; and

Whereas, Texas is in need of a general organizer on account of the bad conditions existing throughout the state; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor send a general organizer to Texas on the first of January, 1911, and be it further

Resolved, That the organizer be kept active in Texas permanently.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

**Resolution No. 33**—By Roderick McGeary, C. F. U. of Providence, R. I.

Resolved, That an organizer be sent to Providence, R. I. and vicinity for the purpose of organizing the jewelry workers. At the present time there are 30,000 skilled workmen employed at their craft in this section, none of them being organized.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

**Resolution No. 34**—By E. Wm. Carr of the International Printing Pressmen's Union:

Owing to the centralization system of industry affording the people a lesser opportunity of launching successfully into business individually for themselves as formerly, and in view of the fact that almost all manufactories, mercantile and transportation, being owned

and controlled by a comparative few, there is now but little opportunity for those among the masses to distinguish themselves through intellect, energy and capability, except as salaried individuals in the capacity of managers, clerical positions, skilled artisans, mechanics and laborers; and in further view of the fact that no matter how talented the individual rarely is the salary allowed to be but little, if any, more than enough to keep them beyond the day whereof they toll; thus those who produce the wealth and splendor of the earth of a right, it is not just that when nearing the end of their journey they should be mortified and dependent on charity or turned away to the poor-house and finally to the potter's field; therefore it is

Resolved, That this body, The American Federation of Labor, herein instructs its Legislative Committee to engage legal talent and have formulated a proposed law, the same to be introduced in congress, substantially as hereinafter included, to-wit:

"Any person having been legally married and having previously been regularly engaged in an honorable business, or having previously been employed regularly at an honorable vocation, but being no longer in business or employed and having an income of less than six hundred dollars, or an equivalent thereto, per annum, and who shall be and shall have been a resident in and a citizen of the United States of America for at least twenty-one years, and who shall arrive at the age of sixty (60) years, shall be entitled to a pension of thirty dollars (\$30) per month from the government."

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 35—By delegation from the Coopers' International Union.

Whereas, The Coopers' International Union having adopted a new label to be used on repaired slack barrels, respectfully requests the American Federation of Labor to give the same its endorsement; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the new label of the

Coopers' International Union for repaired slack work as above depicted be and the same is hereby endorsed.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate John S. Whalen, New York State Federation of Labor.

Whereas, There has been successfully carried out for a number of years by the Brooklyn Central Labor Union, what is known as the Union Label Fair, which has effectively promoted the sale of union-made goods. Realizing that the plan would be more effective if such fairs were held in different parts of the country and promoted by the American Federation of Labor, and through them the manufacturers of union-made articles throughout the country would be induced to exhibit; be it

Resolved, That we endorse the plan conducted by the Brooklyn Central Labor Union and recommend the same to the American Federation of Labor Convention, to be held in St. Louis, and that the delegate of this body be instructed to present the same to the convention for action.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 37—By International Typographical Union Delegation:

Whereas, The jurisdictional question on single wrapping has been pending for some time; and

Whereas, The International President of the Brotherhood of Bookbinders' Union has absolutely refused to settle same in a labor court, and

Whereas, The International Brotherhood of Bookbinders have been chartering and maintaining a dual mailers' organization; be it

Resolved, That this convention go on record as declaring single wrapping part of the mailing trade, and under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate John S. Whalen, New York State Federation of Labor.

Whereas, Several attempts have been made during the past few years

to have legislation enacted, both state and national, which would destroy the efficient and practical pilot system in New York; and

Whereas, The present laws have proven beneficial to life and property, as the records will demonstrate; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this workingmen's federation condemn any attempt to amend the present law, which would not alone destroy the efficiency of the pilot system, but would also destroy the union whose members have been following this calling for a livelihood for many years; be it further

Resolved, That this be referred to the chairman of the Legislative Committee of this body, and also to the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate John S. Whalen, New York State Federation of Labor.

Whereas, The struggle to maintain and re-establish union conditions among the seamen of the great lakes has been conducted during the past season with such success as to give promise of ultimate victory, and

Whereas, The seamen now stand practically alone in the struggle against the Steel Trust and its system of labor, named by it "The Welfare Plan;" therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention congratulate the seamen upon their magnificent struggle; that we urge upon them to persevere, and we renew the pledge of the Toronto Convention to furnish to them such financial assistance as shall be needed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates A. McAndrew and E. Lewis Evans, Tobacco Workers' International Union.

Whereas, The promotion of the union label of each respective trade or craft in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor is one of the chief essentials of success,

Whereas, The Tobacco Workers' International Union has adopted a union

label to distinguish the union from the non-union products on tobaccos, cigarettes and snuff, and

Whereas, The Tobacco Workers' International Union have been for the past fifteen years and at the present time are consistently engaged in a continual educational and agitation campaign to create a greater demand for tobaccos, cigarettes and snuff that bears the label of the Tobacco Workers' International Union; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the delegates to the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in St. Louis, November, 1910, realize it our duty to aid and assist with our moral support in creating a greater demand for union labeled tobaccos, cigarettes and snuff; and be it further

Resolved, That at the present time there are some two or three thousand brands of tobaccos, cigarettes and snuff on the market bearing the label of the Tobacco Workers' International Union, superior in quality and cleanliness to non-union brands; that we therefore assert that there can be no valid excuse for members of organized labor for purchasing non-union products with money earned under union conditions.

Referred to Committee on Label.

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Victor R. Midgley, Vancouver Trades and Labor Council.

Whereas, In almost every locality where there is a local Building Trades Council there are some trades which refuse to join the local council; therefore, be it

Resolved, That Section 38, of the Building Trades Department By-Laws, which states that all local unions shall be compelled to join the Local Building Trades Council, be strictly enforced; and be it further

Resolved, That any International organization that fails to compel their locals to join the local councils when notified by the secretary-treasurer or Executive Board of the Building Trades Department, shall be suspended until they obey the instructions of the Department.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 42—By Harry T. Brady, Jefferson County Trades and Labor Assembly, Steubenville, Ohio.

Whereas, The Jefferson County Trades and Labor Assembly of Steubenville, Ohio, recognizes the fact that organized labor should grow much stronger and become an educator to all; and

Whereas, We believe a great benefit could be derived in both the central bodies and all local unions affiliated if Section 2, Article X, of Resolution No. 35, passed at the Twenty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Denver, Colorado, was placed in force; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that Section 2, Article X, of the constitution, be placed in force and to continue so; and be it further

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor notify all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, that Section 2, Article X, will be enforced within thirty days after adjournment of this convention.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

At 4 o'clock the convention was adjourned under the rules, to reconvene at 10 a. m., Wednesday, November 16.

## Third Day's Proceedings—Wednesday, November 16, 1910.

The convention was called to order at 10 a. m., Wednesday, November 16, 1910, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Noschang, Klapetzky, Anderson (Ed.), Franklin, Flynn (Joseph), Dolan (C. T.), Licht, Conway, Konenkamp, Fay, Feeney, Bechtold, Rickert, Larger, Meyer, Rosenberg, Dyche, Nestor, Bianchi, McSorley, Coakley, Dolan (T. J.), Lowe, Daly, Perry, Moorehouse, Kelley (Samuel), Carey, McGivern, Donlin, Tracy (Wm. J.), Murphy (E. Porter), Gaviak, McHugh, Evans (Jo), Grimshaw, Casey, Hatch, Drake, Skaggs, Pfeiffer, DeNedrey, Lee (Chas. H.), Joyner, Cathon, Jennings, Flynn (John J.), Kiefer, Andrick, Britf, Bratton, Christiansen, Urlick, Kleyhauer, Woodman, Tate, Ford, Smith (J. U. P.), Robben, Smith (O. P.), Howley (Geo. B.), Roach, Hunter, Guye, Bell, Keough, Leonard, Cotter, Rizzle, James, Kennedy, Stafford, Voll, Gaede, Gonzales, Swenson, Miller (Abraham), Mawman, Lipfert, Harris, McShea.

### Report of Fraternal Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Secretary Morrison read the following report:

Mr. President and Delegates to the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:

The Twenty-sixth Convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, held in the cities of Fort William and Port Arthur, Ontario, was called to order at 10:00 a. m., Monday, September 12, in the city hall, at Fort William, by President William Glockling, and in response to his invitation, addresses of welcome were made by Presidents Lionel Coursolle and James Booker, of the Fort William and Port Arthur Labor Councils respectively, Mayor Pelletier of Fort Williams, Past President Alphonse Verville; Member of the Dominion Parliament, Allan Studholme, M. P. P. Hamilton, A. W. Puttee, ex-M. P., Winnipeg; Donald McNab, ex-M. P., Alberta, and George Hastings, Mayor of Guelph, Ontario, which were responded to by President Glockling, after which he declared the convention to be ready for the transaction of business.

The report of the Committee on Credentials was then read and adopted, seating thirty-eight delegates from twenty-two Trades and Labor Councils, eleven delegates from five international unions directly affiliated with the congress, and 108 delegates from local and federal labor unions, a total of 157 delegates, one of the largest conventions ever held by the congress.

There were seventy resolutions introduced and acted upon, bearing on questions of vital import to the workers, principal among which were amending the factory laws, increasing the age limit at which children may be employed to 16 years, eight-hour laws, amending the immigration laws, liability and compensation laws, bi-monthly payment of wages by public service corporations, international peace, tuberculosis and the abuse of the writ of injunction.

The reports of the Executive Council and the solicitor for the congress on legislative matters and other topics were highly interesting.

Each of these reports treated especially that of the solicitor, of the legislation that had been introduced and enacted, and the present status of legislation that failed of enactment, among the latter being the eight-hour bill, introduced early in the session by Mr. Verville, which is at present being considered by a special committee during the recess of parliament.

The Lemieux Act was amended in two particulars, as follows: The procedure for references of disputes has been amended so that it is not necessary now in certain cases for officers to take a vote of the members to secure authority to say that a strike will likely be declared, and that authority to declare such a strike has been obtained. This amendment affects principally railway employees where a dispute will involve employees in more than one province, and such employees are members of a trade union having a general committee authorized to carry on any negotiations in a dispute. Another amendment provides that thirty days' notice must be given of any intended change in conditions of employment with respect to hours or

wages. If a dispute should result from the notice no change can be made until the board has passed upon the matter. As the act now stands, if any employer should propose to change conditions, he would have to call in a board himself, otherwise the men would simply refuse to accept the change and rest on their oars until the board was called in. The employer would thus either have to call for a board or refrain from making any change.

An act known as the Combines Investigation Act, somewhat similar in scope to our anti-trust law, was introduced at the last session of Parliament, which provided for the investigation of monopolies, combines, trusts, mergers, etc., which may enhance prices or restrict competition to the detriment of consumers. Representations were made to the introducer of this bill, Hon. Mr. King, that as the bill read it might possibly be made to refer to trade unions, and a request was made that a protecting clause be inserted, which was done as follows: Section 48. "This Act shall not be construed to repeal or amend or in any way affect the Trades Union Act, Chapter 125, of the Revised Statutes of 1906."

The successful effort of the congress in thus safeguarding the interests of the workers, especially trades unionists, is worthy of the highest praise and commendation, as it guarantees to the Canadian trades unionists that their future holds nothing in store for them similar to our experience with the Sherman anti-trust law.

Another noteworthy accomplishment of the congress was their success in having the immigration act amended to prevent the importation of strike-breakers in times of industrial strife, by the enactment of the following amendment: "The Governor in Council may, by proclamation or order, whenever he deems it necessary or expedient \* \* \* (c) Prohibit for a stated period or permanently the landing in Canada or the landing at any specified port of entry in Canada, immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada, or of immigrants of any specified class, occupation or character."

The explanatory note of the Hon. Mr. Oliver in the draft of the bill submitted to the House, read: "There should be power given to the government to check, in extreme cases, any sudden influx of immigrants whose habits of life or physical or moral characteristics are repugnant to Canadian ideals, or whose entry in unexpected large numbers would tend to lower the Canadian standard of living or would have an unsettling effect upon local labor markets."

In commenting on the passage of this amendment to the immigration act, the Executive Council said: "The importation of strike-breakers admittedly social and moral degenerates, must surely be 'repugnant to Canadian ideals,' and the workers are urged to take every advantage of this provision under the act to prevent the influx of this undesirable class during the time of industrial disputes."

In the report of the Executive Council decided objection was taken to any classification of the congress as a state federation, the position taken by the council and indorsed by the convention being that: "The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is as supreme in legislative and economic matters in Canada as the American Federation of Labor in the United States, or the British Trades Union Congress in Great Britain, or similar bodies in France, Germany or elsewhere. The American Federation of Labor might just as well class these other bodies as state federations as place the congress in that category. The American Federation of Labor as an organization has done nothing to justify our stating that it believes otherwise, but the correspondence of Secretary Morrison, of that body, shows that his views are that the congress is simply a state federation. We deny it, and no amount of argument will convince us to the contrary. So long as Canada is one country and the United States another, just so long will this congress speak as the supreme mouthpiece of the workers of this country, and it will make for a better understanding if all parties concerned will at once accept this intimation. This congress and every member and body affiliated, stands for international trades unionism, once and for all, but

loyalty to that principle does not involve the admission that in other respects our congress is not supreme in Canada. We further believe that where trades councils are chartered by the congress that they should not be requested nor required to take out another charter from the American Federation of Labor. This congress requires every affiliated body to belong to the international union of its trade. An effort has been and is being made to have trades councils already chartered by the congress take out a charter from the American Federation of Labor. We do not believe such efforts are in harmony with that spirit of mutual respect that has been manifested heretofore at all times between the congress and the American Federation of Labor, and we strongly recommend that your executive be authorized to draw the attention of the proper officers of the American Federation of Labor to the matter, with a request that such efforts be discontinued."

A favorable report on the above recommendation was made by the Committee on Officers' Reports, and the Executive Council was instructed to confer with the proper officers of the American Federation of Labor with a view of bringing about a better understanding between the two organizations in the matter of the issuance of charters in Canada.

The report of the secretary-treasurer indicated that the congress was in a very healthy condition, numerically and financially, as he reported a membership of 51,000, receipts of \$9,482.34, expenditures of \$7,783.56, with a balance of \$2,378.78 in the treasury, the largest membership and receipts in the history of the congress.

Of the loyalty of our brothers and sisters in Canada to the international trades union movement there can be no question, as on every hand and on all occasions, this principle appeared as the keystone of the labor movement in Canada. They are grappling with practically the same questions and problems that we are, and in some of the most vital of them they are far in advance of us, most notable of which is their success in having trades unions exempted from the Combines Act. In Port Arthur and Fort William, the

cities in which the convention was held, each city owns its own water and lighting plant, and they own jointly, the street railway connecting both cities, all of these plants paying a handsome return on the investment.

The sessions of the congress were impressive and instructive in the highest degree, and it seemed to me as though each delegate had made a careful study of the many perplexing questions discussed, and the intelligence and wisdom displayed in their discussion was conclusive evidence that the delegates realized fully the importance of the work in which they were engaged, and that no stone would be left unturned that would bring about better conditions to work and live under for our brothers and sisters in the Dominion of Canada.

The election of officers resulted in the choice of William Glockling, president; Gustave Granq, vice-president, and P. M. Draper, secretary,—all of whom were re-elected. Calgary, Alberta, was chosen as the convention city in 1911, and R. P. Pettipiece, of Vancouver, a member of the Typographical Union, was selected as the fraternal delegate to the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

No mere words can express the appreciation of your representative for the unlimited entertainment and hospitality that was extended him by the delegates to the convention, and I bespeak for their representative at this convention the same cordial greeting and general good time that has been extended to former representatives from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Again thanking you for the high honor conferred upon me in making me your fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades Congress, I am, with the earnest wish for a successful and harmonious convention, Fraternalty yours,

JOHN J. MANNING.

Secretary Morrison: I move that this report, with the report from the Fraternal Delegates to the British Trades Union Congress be referred to a special committee on Fraternal Delegates' Reports. (Seconded.)

In response to a question from Delegate Mahon, as to the object of desiring



its report referred to a special committee, Secretary Morrison said: There is a statement in that report that the secretary has stated that the Canadian Congress has the same relation to the American Federation of Labor as a state body. The secretary is not aware of ever having made such a statement. He did, in a letter to the miners eight or ten years ago, state that in the payment of per capita tax their relation to the local unions was the same as the state bodies and central bodies in this country. They have chartered central bodies. The American Federation of Labor today is carrying out the agreement that was entered into with the officers of the Canadian Congress in Toronto and also carrying out the action of a Special Committee I think at New Orleans, in which it was agreed that the American Federation of Labor should charter all central bodies in Canada, the one requirement being that before the Federation would issue a charter to a central body in Canada it would be required to first affiliate with the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. The Federation has kept faith. I feel that while there is no intention on the part of the Executive Council of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress to place my position in a false light, yet in reading the report it appears to me such is the case. For that reason I believe it should go to a committee to clear up these two points.

Delegate Draper spoke in favor of the motion offered by Secretary Morrison.

Delegate Mahon: I move that the matter be referred to a special committee to define the position of the labor bodies in Canada, and report back to this convention what they think the proper relations of labor organizations in Canada and the United States should be. (Seconded.)

Delegate Furuseth: I move that the report of the delegates be referred to the Committee on President's Report. (Seconded, but not carried.)

President Gompers: The chair would suggest that we first dispose of the report of the committee.

On motion the report of the Fraternal Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Council was accepted.

Delegate Mahon: I move that the subject matter of the relations between organized labor of Canada and the United States be referred to a special committee. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Duffy (Frank): In looking over the minutes of yesterday, in the report of the Executive Council, I find an omission in that portion under the head of United Brotherhood of Carpenters—Amalgamated Wood-workers.

Secretary Morrison: On page 20, of the proceedings four or five lines were either omitted or distributed in some other part of the report in the make-up. The lines are as follows: "has accepted the Toronto agreement of the Amalgamated Wood-workers' International Union and rejected it. We recommend that unless the latter organization complies with the decision of the Toronto Convention of the American Federation of Labor and becomes amalgamated with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters on or before April 1, 1911, the action and decision of the Toronto Convention shall become effective on that date."

#### **Report of Committee on Credentials.**

Delegate Kelly (W. J.), for the Committee, reported as follows:

November 16, 1910.

Your Committee on Credentials beg to report that we have examined credentials from the following organizations, and recommend that their delegates be seated:

Mineral Water Workers' Union 12674—Samuel Leibowitz, 1 vote.  
Bellingham, Washington, Central Labor Council—Fred Hudson, 1 vote.  
Tuck Pointers' Union 10384—Wm. Lorenzen, 1 vote.  
Louisville, Ky., United Trades and Labor Assembly—V. B. Smith, 1 vote.

We further report that the following organizations have liquidated their indebtedness and we recommend that their delegates be seated.

International Brotherhood of Tip Printers—T. J. Carolan, 7 votes.  
International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers—John H. Malin, 7 votes.

We have received a communication from Delegate Lowe of the International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, stating that he is leaving the city, and requesting that Secretary S. J. Pegg, of their organization be seated in his place. We recommend that the request be complied with and

Mr. Pegg be seated as the delegate from the Maintenance of Way Employees in Mr. Lowe's place.

We have received credential from Federal Labor Union 12735, for Osborne More as delegate. The organization, however, is indebted for eleven months' per capita tax and the Hatters' Assessment and is suspended from the Federation and is therefore not entitled to representation.

Federation Labor Union 12363—Guy T. White, 1 vote.

The following protests have been decided by the committee:

Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, protested by the International Association of Car Workers; protest has been withdrawn and we recommend the seating of Martin F. Ryan, Frank Paquin, William J. Adams and John J. Gallagher be seated with 228 votes.

Protest of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America, against the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters; the protest is withdrawn owing to the fact of an agreement being reached in New York, which is as follows:

New York, November 11, 1910.

Meeting of joint committees representing the Granite Cutters' Local Branch and the Amalgamated Blue Stone Cutters, Flaggers, Bridge and Curb Stone Setters, and General Organizer Hugh Frayne, acting as mediator, as per resolution adopted by the Building Trades Council on the report of the grievance committee in connection with the grievance of the Granite Cutters against the Blue Stone Cutters. Those present at the meeting were as follows:

From the Granite Cutters—Wm. J. O'Brien, Jas. Sweeney, Lawrence Foley, W. Webster and S. Squibb.

From the Amalgamated Blue Stone Cutters—Edward Broderick, Daniel Murphy and James Urell.

General Organizer Hugh Frayne acting as chairman. Samuel Squibb, Secretary.

A general discussion of the grievances existing between both organizations was entered into in which all those present expressed their views. Two documents were read by Mr. Broderick, relative to the Amalgamated Blue Stone Cutters getting a national charter from the American Federation of Labor. The other in reference to the protest against granting an extension of charter rights by the American Federation of Labor to the Pavers and Rammermen which conflicted with the jurisdiction of the

Amalgamated Blue Stone Cutters. Jurisdictions claimed by both organizations were freely discussed, after which both sides were made thoroughly acquainted with the general proposition. General Organizer Frayne then suggested the following:

We, the joint committee representing Local Branch of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America, and the Amalgamated Blue Stone Cutters, Flaggers, Bridge and Curb Stone Setters of America agree to recommend to our respective unions the following:

That the Amalgamated Blue Stone Cutters, Flaggers, Bridge and Curb Stone Setters of America, make application for a charter to the International Association of Granite Cutters of America, and that the same be granted under the following conditions:

That they be given full authority and jurisdiction over all the work which they now control, all contracts and agreements with employers governing their working condition, hours of labor and wages to remain in effect.

Motion by Brother Broderick of the Blue Stone Cutters and seconded by Brother Sweeney of the Granite Cutters that the recommendation of the joint committee be adopted and that same be recommended to our respective unions for their endorsement and ratification.

Motion unanimously carried.

A motion then was made that all hostilities cease between the Granite Cutters and the Amalgamated Blue Stone Cutters and that both unions work in harmony pending the granting of the charter to the Amalgamated Blue Stone Cutters, Flaggers, Bridge and Curb Stone Setters of America.

Motion unanimously carried.

(Signed) for Granite Cutters.

Wm. J. O'Brien,  
Jas. J. Sweeney,  
Lawrence Foley,  
Wm. C. Webster,  
Samuel Squibb,

Secretary of Committee.

(Signed) for Blue Stone Cutters.

Edward Broderick,  
Daniel F. Murphy,  
Jas. H. Urell.

Hugh Frayne, General Organizer of the American Federation of Labor, representing the Building Trades Department.

We recommend the seating of Edward I. Hannah, with 15 votes.

Protest of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America against the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity; the protest is withdrawn for the same reasons as the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Curb Stone Setters. Recommend the seating of Albert Abrahams, with one vote.

Protest of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers against the Keokuk Trades and Labor Assembly for refusing to unseat a seceding organization of Electrical Workers. Committee recommend that Delegate Curtis C. Koepf representing that body be not seated for violation of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor in retaining in its body a seceding organization of Electrical Workers.

Protest of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America against the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union of America. Your committee have heard both sides in this protest, but inasmuch as the Executive Council in their report to this convention have reported that if the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union of America do not comply with the Toronto decision and amalgamate with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America by April 1, 1911, that their charter will be revoked. We recommend that the delegate representing the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union, D. D. Mulcahy, be seated in this convention with 32 votes, with the distinct understanding that the report of the Executive Council be positively carried out.

Respectfully submitted,

MICHAEL J. HALLINAN, Chairman.  
A. J. KUGLER,  
WM. J. KELLY, Secretary.

Delegate Kelly, Secretary of the Committee: I move the seating of the delegates whose seating is recommended in the report of the committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Mulcahy (D. D.): The report of the committee just read recommends my seating with the express understanding that the report and recommendation of the Executive Council be carried out. Would the adoption of the report of the committee preclude the delegate from the woodworkers making a contest on the question of the revocation of the charter?

President Gompers: The chair will say that a statement contained in the report of the Committee on Credentials, that a delegate be admitted to a seat upon a condition such as is included in the statement of the Committee on

Credentials, has no binding effect until the matter itself is determined by this convention.

Delegate Furuseth: I move that the condition be stricken out.

President Gompers: If there is no objection it will be stricken out.

Delegate Duffy (Frank): There is objection on my part to striking it out. The carpenters have no objection to Delegate Mulcahy of the woodworkers being seated. Toward Delegate Mulcahy we have no personal animosity whatever. We hope in the future in attending a convention of the American Federation of Labor that Delegate Mulcahy will be a delegate representing the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

Delegate Gallagher opposed the report of the committee in regard to the central body of Keokuk, Iowa.

The motion offered by Delegate Kelly, to seat the delegates recommended in the report of the committee, was carried.

Delegate Kelly: The committee recommends that the delegate of the Keokuk Trades and Labor Assembly be not seated, and moves the adoption of the report. (Seconded.)

Delegate Gallagher spoke in opposition to the report of the committee. Delegate Kelly spoke in favor of the report of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth: I move as a substitute that the delegate be seated. (Seconded.)

Vice-President Duncan arose to a point of order, and stated that the motion offered by Delegate Furuseth was a negative motion. The point of order was declared well taken.

Delegate Robinson (D. W.): Delegate Bell, Delegate Gallagher and Delegate Midgley opposed the report of the committee. Delegate Collins, Delegate Kugler and Delegate Hallinan spoke in favor of the report of the committee.

Delegate Curtis C. Koepf of the Keokuk central body made a statement in behalf of his organization.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee, to not seat the delegate from the Keokuk Trades and Labor Assembly, was carried by a vote of 124 in the affirmative to 82 in the negative.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

Los Angeles, Cal., Nov. 15, 1910.  
Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary A. F. of L., St. Louis.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., Greetings:

By unanimous action of the Allied Printing Trades Council of Los Angeles I was instructed to urge upon the delegates assembled the urgent necessity of your co-operation in assisting the unions of Los Angeles to combat the powerful anti-union organizations who are now trying to disrupt all of the union organizations of the city. Trusting this appeal will receive due consideration, I remain,

Fraternally yours,

Geo. A. Peterson,  
Secretary Los Angeles Allied Printing Trades Council.

Greater New York, Nov. 15, 1910.  
Convention American Federation of Labor, N. W. Turner and Liederkrantz Hall, St. Louis, Mo.

Brother President, Vice-President and Fellow Delegates, Greetings—Ladies' Waist and Dressmakers' Union, New York Local 25 I. L. G. W. Union sends its heartiest congratulations and best wishes to the Thirtieth Convention of our great body, and trusts that this convention will take best ways and means to organize the workers of this country to be successful in our daily struggle against our exploiters.

Ladies Waist and Garment Workers' Union, Local 25.

Los Angeles, Cal., Nov. 15, 1910.

Frank Morrison, A. F. of L. Convention Hall, St. Louis, Mo.

To the Thirtieth Annual Convention A. F. of L.—Do not let the papers deceive you about Los Angeles. The hounds are in the flesh pots, but the spirit of organization was never better than now. Labor stands firm in its position here. Our hope is that your action will bring help.

A. Johannesen,  
State Building Trades Council of California.

Tampa, Fla., Nov. 14, 1910.

L. E. Lambias, A. F. of L. Convention, St. Louis, Mo.

Six girls arrested for picketing and handled in rough way. Strike O. K.

Edward Stanley.

Savannah, Ga., Nov. 14, 1910.

Frank Morrison, Secretary A. F. of L., Planters Hotel, St. Louis, Mo.

Members of organized labor in the state of Georgia send greetings to the officers and delegates of the Thirtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor. Our sincere wish is that plans will be matured to push the work

already started to a successful finish, and that new problems will be successfully met. With best wishes for a successful and harmonious convention, we are,

Fraternally,

C. T. Williamson, President,  
Robt. Fechner, Secretary,  
Georgia State Federation of Labor.

Secretary Morrison read a communication from St. Louis Aerie No. 41, F. O. E., in which was contained an invitation to the delegates to visit the club hall of the organization, 2729 Pine street.

Secretary Morrison also read a communication from Waitresses' Union Local 249, in which an invitation was extended to the delegates to attend a ball to be given by the union Saturday evening, November 19, at 3535 Pine street.

Secretary Morrison read a communication from a local photographer who desired the privilege of making a group photograph of the convention.

Delegate Owen Miller of the Local Committee stated that arrangements had already been made with a photographer, and on motion the time for taking the photograph was fixed at 1 o'clock Thursday.

Delegate Mahon asked if arrangements had been made to consider the Los Angeles situation. Delegate Gallagher stated that a resolution on that subject had been introduced, and when the committee to which it had been referred reported on the resolution the matter would come up.

Delegate Owen Miller stated that as president of the Missouri Federation of Labor he desired to call a meeting of all the delegates representing central and state bodies at the Planters Hotel, at 7:30 p. m., Wednesday.

Delegate Lewis (T. L.): I desire to say that I will not be able to serve on the Committee on Adjustment this year and wish to be excused. I sent a telegram to the president to that effect. That telegram stands. I have served on that committee, I believe, for seven years, and have been deprived of attending the sessions of this convention because of the amount of work the secretary of that committee has had to perform. My other duties require my attention, and I am not sure I will be here during all the sessions of this convention.

**President Gompers:** The chair desires to say to Delegate Lewis that the telegram was received after the committee had been made up. When the committees were announced mention was made of the fact that the telegram had been received. Delegate O'Connell expressed a great desire for your assistance on that committee, Delegate Lewis, and inasmuch as you said in the telegram that you would be in the convention in a day or two I deferred the matter until your arrival. If you decline to serve, I suppose there is nothing for the convention to do but to accept your declination to serve this year, and the chair will substitute Emmet Adams as a member of that committee.

Secretary Morrison read an announcement that the International Labor Press Association would hold a meeting at 2 o'clock Thursday afternoon in the upper room of the convention hall. The communication was signed by Charles W. Fear, president, and Will M. Maupin, secretary.

Secretary Morrison announced that the chairman had appointed the following special committee:

Special Committee on Relations of Labor in Canada to Labor in the United States—F. W. McCullough, Robert Glockling, Frank M. Ryan, W. D. Mahon, Alex. Kelso, J. F. Dunachie, John Tobin, Samuel Kelley, E. L. Smyth, Joe Evans, Ben Teagarden, Norval White, Charles H. Joyner, Frank Paquin.

**Delegate Frey:** The committee appointed at the Toronto Convention on the Electrical Workers' case has a report prepared, and is ready to submit it.

**Delegate Duffy (Frank):** As one of that committee I, too, have a report to submit to the convention, if necessary, but it is not here. I would ask that the matter be postponed until I have a chance to have my report here.

The request of Delegate Duffy was complied with, and later the following reports were submitted:

**Report of Special Committee Appointed by Toronto Convention on Dispute of Electrical Workers.**

**Delegate Frey,** for the committee, reported as follows:

**Mr. Chairman—**In making this report the committee desires to say that it is as brief as we felt it was possible to

make it. Only those points of special interest, in so far as what the committee actually did in the way of rendering decisions, are covered in the report itself. There are a large number of documents connected with the work which the committee undertook after the adjournment of the Toronto Convention. Those documents are here, but have not all been incorporated in the report. Mention only is made of them. If all the documents were incorporated it would probably take an entire day to read the matter that came to the attention of the committee. The following is the report of the committee:

St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 14, 1910.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

**Brothers—**Your special committee appointed by the Toronto Convention of the American Federation of Labor, 1909, in connection with the dispute existing between the two factions of the electrical workers, submits to you the following report:

The committee met in Springfield, Ill., on December 9, 1909, and organized by selecting John P. Frey as chairman.

Both factions of the electrical workers being present, a statement was made of the duties which had been placed upon the committee by the Toronto Convention, and the object which the committee would endeavor to accomplish. For your information, and as an evidence of the committee's conception of its duties, the following excerpts of statements made by the chairman of the committee and Mr. Frank Duffy, at the opening of the committee's first session, are herewith reproduced from the stenographic report.

The chairman said, in part: As we understand the position of the Toronto Convention, it decided that an amalgamation of the two organizations must take place. The Committee of Arbitration that was appointed has been made responsible for bringing about that amalgamation, so that the principal subject for this committee to consider is the most practical and the most satisfactory basis for amalgamation that can be reached, as a result of your advising the committee and assisting it as far as you can; but it seems to me it is well during all the time we are going to spend together to hold this one fact clearly in view, that the object of our efforts is to assist in bringing about amalgamation.

The action of the Toronto Convention was then read, after which Mr. Frank Duffy made the following statement:

The whole drift of the agreement of Denver is leading to amalgamation, and the whole drift of the Toronto Conven-

tion is leading to amalgamation, and that agreement at Denver was signed by representatives of both organizations, which neither deny; afterwards both organizations on the floor of the Toronto Convention agreed to abide by the report brought in then, which included the Denver agreement, and afterwards, before the final adjournment, Mr. Frey asked the question of President Gompers which he just read and President Gompers replied to same. We want you to understand it. I take it that the committee had in mind that the general executive officers of both sides and the president of the American Federation of Labor would appoint capable, careful men, who would be impartial in their efforts to see that amalgamation is accomplished.

The convention took no exception to the answer of President Gompers, with the exception of myself. I said: "I am not quite satisfied with that answer. I am appointed on a special committee to work to accomplish something if possible, but if it is only in an advisory capacity, you might as well take me off right now. The organization I represent is involved; we have been suffering from it, and other building trades have been suffering. I want to know if the decision of the committee appointed by both factions of the electrical workers and by the president is to be final and binding, and settle forever this question."

President Gompers answered. "The chair is under the impression that he firmly and emphatically so declared."

What I want to make clear was that all the agreements, Denver and Toronto, and the questions and answers given before the conventions, all tell us clearly, satisfactorily and definitely, that this committee must bring about amalgamation of the two organizations.

Your committee found that one of the situations which must be overcome before the preliminary steps for amalgamation could be set in motion, was the full release of all funds belonging to the two factions of the electrical workers, which were tied up in banks either through official protests which had been filed by officers of one or both of the factions, or through a court's restraining order.

Formal notification to the State National Bank and the Sangamon Loan and Trust Company, both of Springfield, Ill., notifying them that the protests which had been entered, were hereby withdrawn, were signed by the officers of the two factions and given to the committee, with the understanding that these sums of money would remain in the banks until the committee was prepared to assume charge as trustee of the funds which would be turned over to the duly elected officers of the amalgamated organization.

To prevent any action which would tend to increase the sentiments of hostility which might exist between members of the two factions, the commit-

tee by a unanimous vote decided that where either faction had a local union in existence that the other faction would not be recognized as having the right to organize a union of its faction in that city.

Your committee was unanimously of the opinion that the standing of all local unions of either faction at the time the Toronto Convention adjourned should remain in statu quo until the committee had succeeded in bringing about an amalgamation of both factions, and it was decided to present this opinion to the first meeting of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and strongly urge that the American Federation of Labor should maintain a neutral attitude toward all questions arising through the presence of local unions of the Reid faction which might be seated in bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

On January 12, 1910, two members of the committee appeared before the Executive Council, the third member, Mr. Frank Duffy, being unable, because of other duties, to be present. The desire of the committee was presented and a report made of the results of the committee's first session.

On February 10, the full committee had its second session, this being again held in Springfield, Ill. After going into executive session, the committee believing that a positive statement as to its purpose had become necessary, a statement was unanimously adopted and then presented in open session to the representatives of both factions, as follows:

The committee has come to the conclusion that a convention must be held before a satisfactory amalgamation of both factions of the electrical workers can take place, and that this convention should be held at the earliest possible date.

The committee will issue a call for this convention in conjunction with the officers of both bodies of the electrical workers, this action on the part of the committee being contingent upon the assurance of the attorneys of both factions that the injunctions which are at present tying up brotherhood funds in the Cleveland banks, and all suits at law tying up brotherhood funds in any other banks in any other city, have been dissolved.

Furthermore, that these funds after being so released shall be placed under the charge and control of this committee, to be placed in a trust fund to the credit of the United Brotherhood in such manner that they can be legally transferred to the duly authorized officers of the amalgamated organization.

The officers of the Reid faction were informed by your committee that they must immediately institute steps to have the injunction tying up electrical workers' funds in the banks of Cleveland, Ohio, dissolved, and also furnish evidence that steps to this end were being taken.

In connection with this injunction and all matters of law suits by either faction, the committee, by an unanimous vote, notified both factions that no suits at law between the two factions could be entered; that no suits on file should be called for a hearing, except such legal steps as were necessary on the part of the Reid faction to secure the dissolving of the injunction tying up brotherhood funds in Cleveland banks.

The committee was given an opportunity of consulting with President Kirby of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, relative to situations which had arisen because of the affiliation of Reid faction locals with building trades councils, and being desirous of having neutrality maintained, the committee, by unanimous action drafted the following letter, to which the reply is herewith appended:

Springfield, Ill., February 13, 1910.

Mr. James Kirby, President Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.:

Dear Sir and Brother: The special committee appointed by the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of taking up the dispute between the two factions of the electrical workers desire to make a request, in view of the situation which has developed since the recent Toronto Convention of the A. F. of L.

We have learned that there are at present several local unions affiliated with the so-called Reid faction of the electrical workers which are seated in local councils of the Building Trades Department, this being in contravention to the laws of the A. F. of L.

In view of the tense feeling existing between the two factions of the electrical workers and the many difficulties which must be overcome before amalgamation can be effected, our committee believes that no good purpose could be accomplished at this time by the unseating of these Reid locals.

We therefore take the liberty of requesting that you lend our committee such assistance as you can by not taking any action at this time which would bring about the unseating of the local unions referred to, as such action, in our opinion, would tend to make our labors difficult.

Trusting that you will find it possible to comply with our request and to assist in the work that this committee has undertaken, we remain, fraternally yours,

(Signed) Committee.

**Building Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.**

February 16, 1910.

Mr. John P. Frey, Commercial Tribune Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio:

Dear Sir and Brother—I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 13th instant, in which you re-

quest that the Building Trades Department lend its assistance to your committee by not taking any action for the time being that will lead to the unseating of local unions of the Reid faction of the electrical workers. I beg to say that such a course will be repugnant to the Building Trades Department, but if by its observance it is possible to bring about a solidification of the electrical workers in one organization under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, we shall cheerfully respect your wish.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am,

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) JAMES KIRBY.

President Building Trades Department.

On the afternoon of the second day of this session a statement was made that the Reid faction had violated the provisions of the Toronto agreement by instituting additional joinders to the injunction on February 7.

This charge was later on discovered to be an error due to a stenographer employed by an attorney of one of the factions. The facts being that on November 16, 1909, three joinders to the injunction suit had been sent to the Reid attorneys and filed in court on December 7 of the same year. Before this information had been secured the committee believed it inadvisable to continue its sessions further in Springfield, deciding to hold its next session in Cleveland, Ohio, where it would be possible to have the attorneys for both factions appear before the committee. This session was set for February 23.

But little was accomplished at this meeting, for at the noon hour of the first day and before an open session of the committee had been held, Mr. Starr, leading counsel for the Reid faction, died suddenly, from heart failure.

But one point of importance was decided upon at this session.

A Pittsburg contractor, employing members of the McNulty faction, had secured the contract for the electrical work in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' building in Cleveland. As the Reid faction had an organization in Cleveland, objections had been entered against working with a member of the other faction, and a serious situation was arising in the building trades over the question which had arisen. To meet this situation the committee, by unanimous action, laid down the following decision: That where a member of one faction in good standing secured a position under the jurisdiction of the other faction, that he should not be discriminated against.

On March 10 your committee again met in Cleveland, Ohio, representatives and the attorneys of both factions being present. The attorneys were advised as to the desire of the committee in having the funds tied up by injunction released, through the dissolving of the restraining order, and then placed

in the committee's control as trustees in such manner that they could be legally turned over to the duly elected officers of an amalgamated organization. Lengthy verbal statements were made by the attorneys of both sides, supplemented by as lengthy written ones, and in addition a proposition was submitted by the Reid attorneys which they thought would untangle the legal phases of the controversy. This proposition, which was tentative in character and too lengthy to incorporate in this report, was unanimously rejected by the committee as impractical and unsatisfactory, and the attorneys were informed of the conditions which the committee would insist upon being complied with.

At the forenoon session of the following day, a verbal statement was submitted by the Reid attorneys and later submitted in writing, which reads as follows:

**Law Offices, Weed, Miller & Rothenberg.**  
Cleveland, Ohio, March 11, 1910.

**Messrs. John P. Frey, Frank Duffy, A. L. Urlick, Arbitration Committee of the American Federation of Labor,** appointed to adjust the differences of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

Gentlemen: In pursuance with your permission and for the purpose of putting in black and white the proposition we submitted to you this morning by parole, we wish to say on behalf of our clients, whom we have referred to as the Reid Organization of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, that we offer for the purpose of harmony and unifying the brotherhood to do the following things:

1. To have the consent order of court made dissolving the injunction heretofore granted in the suit pending in the Court of Common Pleas here.

2. To immediately dismiss said suit as far as the same stands in the name of the plaintiff and all other parties to the action whom we represent, provided the attorneys for the other organization of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, whom we have referred to as the McNulty Organization, will dismiss their cross petition in said action.

3. That the proper officers of the Reid Organization will join with the proper officers of the McNulty Organization in an assignment, by which they each and all assign and transfer to your committee all and every one of their respective rights, title and interest in and to the moneys in the banks here in Cleveland and the respective rights, title and interest of their respective organizations in the same in trust, to receive and hold the same; to be by such trustees turned over to the proper officers of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers that shall be elected at a convention of that brotherhood, as heretofore directed by you to be held

at Springfield, Illinois, the time for holding the same to be fixed by you.

As it is evident and conceded that the banks here would not pay over these moneys to such trustees unless ordered by the court to do so, we further offer to join with the attorneys and representatives of the McNulty Organization in bringing such suitable proceedings in the Court of Common Pleas here as may be proper and necessary for the purpose of getting such order of the court, and believe and feel confident that if said attorneys and representatives of the McNulty Organization join with us in such proceedings, we can secure such order, so that the moneys will be on hand and in the possession of said trustees in ample time before the meeting of said convention, so that the same can be immediately turned over to the officers of said brotherhood elected by said convention, upon their election having been consummated.

The foregoing we believe is in substance the same as the proposition we made to you by parole this morning, and we herewith again submit the same proposition to you, desiring, however, that a complete agreement shall be had by which the things that shall be done shall be definitely and positively established and determined, so that there will be no possibility of any dispute in the future.

We have submitted to you a written outline of the method of procedure which we believe would be wise to make and follow for the purpose intended, which written method we submit to you for your approval, but will be satisfied to make such modifications, amendments or additions thereto as in your judgment is necessary in order to accomplish the unification and amalgamation of the entire brotherhood.

Personally, as attorneys for the organization known as the Reid Organization, we have submitted the several propositions and the foregoing as the conclusion of them all, to you in good faith and we hereby pledge to you our professional and personal promise that we will do all in our power to see that said propositions are carried out in accordance with their letter and spirit. We recognize the situation as it now is, and believe that what we have offered is the only method by which the present situation can be handled, so as to secure the results desired, to-wit, the unification of the Brotherhood and the placing of the assets of the Brotherhood in the hands of whom they belong. We can not do impossibilities. We have got to take the situation as it is now, and will seek to co-operate with your committee in every possible and reasonable effort to secure such unification.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) WILLIAM T. CLARK,  
ALBERT H. WEED.

Attorneys for the International  
Brotherhood of Electrical Workers  
(Reid Organization.)



This written statement of the verbal proposal of the Reid factions attorneys was read by the full committee, who agreed that it was, in substance and effect, the same as the verbal statement. Before this statement was transferred to writing the committee went into executive session, when the following ultimatum was presented by Mr. Frank Duffy:

Cleveland, Ohio, March 11, 1910.

Messrs. Frey and Urlick, Members Special Committee appointed by Toronto Convention of the A. F. of L., in the Electrical Workers' Dispute:

Gentlemen—I herewith notify you that I will not serve further on the Special Committee of the A. F. of L. in the electrical workers' dispute, nor will I attend any more sessions of said committee, either here or elsewhere, until I am officially notified by the American Federation of Labor that the lawsuits now pending in Cleveland, Ohio, have been withdrawn by Messrs. Gelb, Reid, Sullivan, Murphy and others who entered same and are parties thereto, and until such time as the moneys now tied up by the injunction process and otherwise have been liberated and placed in such a manner that they can be at the disposal of the convention when such is called.

I am sorry to be compelled to take this course, but as Reid, Sullivan, Murphy and others have done nothing up to the present time to comply with the orders of the Denver and Toronto Conventions of the A. F. of L. I have no other alternative.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) FRANK DUFFY.

Member of Special Committee.

Upon receipt of this ultimatum, the representatives of the two factions and their attorneys were called before the committee and informed of the position which had been assumed by Mr. Duffy. At this time Mr. Frank J. McNulty informed the committee that he would withdraw his side from the arbitration, and with his representatives and attorneys he left the room. He was asked to place his action in writing, which he did. It reads as follows:

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Springfield, Ill., March 11, 1910.

Messrs. John P. Frey, Frank Duffy, and A. L. Urlick.

Dear Sirs—Confirming my verbal statement made to you this morning respecting our inability to further continue the arbitration matter pending before you, and our withdrawal from it, I desire to call your attention briefly to the present situation.

We wrote you in a letter dated March 8th and delivered it to you on March

10th, in which we called to your attention a few of the failures and refusals of the Reid faction to abide by the Denver and Toronto agreements. We refer you to that letter.

It has always been our desire to have a united brotherhood, and to that end we willingly entered into the Denver agreement in November of 1908, which provided that all lawsuits should be immediately withdrawn and all moneys turned into a trust fund, to be held at Springfield, Illinois, and that all disputes should be immediately settled by arbitration.

We have at all times, both under the Denver and the Toronto agreements, been willing, and have aided you, and attended every meeting you have held to assist in effecting a settlement of the Electrical Workers' disputes.

From the very day of the Denver agreement the Reid faction has done nothing either to help a settlement, dismiss the suits, establish the trust fund, or in any manner to harmonize the Electrical Workers. On the contrary, they have filed new cross petitions in the suit at Cleveland and have instituted new suits at Springfield. Even after the Toronto agreement was made they continued to file cross petitions in the Cleveland suit, all of which shows that they do not intend that you shall make any final and decisive holding in this matter. Instead of complying with the Denver and Toronto agreements, and going forward in good faith with this arbitration, the other side now comes forward with new plans, which are wholly contrary to the letter and spirit of the Denver and Toronto agreements.

Manifestly these plans are intended to accomplish nothing but procrastination and delay, and thereby enable them to use your committee and its meetings from time to time as a further aid in accomplishing their purpose to disrupt our organization.

In the meantime we learn that the Reid faction have been circulating at large the statement that the lawsuits have not been tried and disposed of because we are afraid to meet them in the courts. Such is not the fact. Our only reason for permitting delay in the trial of the existing lawsuits was because of our express contract with the other side, found in the Denver and Toronto agreements, by which we were to settle all matters of dispute by arbitration and not by law.

As matters now stand, by reason of the bad faith and flagrant violation of contract by the other side, we are released from our agreement to arbitrate, and it becomes our duty in protection of the rights and standing of our brotherhood to immediately press forward the trial of the lawsuit to the end that an early decision be reached, which shall forever set at rest the wrongful claims being made against us, and which will establish the rights of our brotherhood.

For these reasons we respectfully withdraw from this arbitration, and say that if the Reid faction will consent to the trial of their lawsuit immediately, we will be ready at once to meet them in court; and if they do not consent, we have instructed our lawyers to press the suit for trial at the very earliest possible date that the court can compel the other side to come to trial.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) F. J. McNULTY.

International President.

JAS. P. NOONAN.

International Vice-President.

At a brief session of the committee which followed, Mr. Duffy presented his resignation as a member of the committee to the committee, which read as follows:

Cleveland, Ohio, March 11, 1910.

Messrs. Frey and Urick, Members Special Committee of the A. F. of L., appointed at the Convention of said Body held in Toronto, November, 1909:

Gentlemen—After listening to the lawyers this forenoon when my communication of even date was read and my rights as a member of the committee questioned, my motives and intentions ridiculed by the lawyers representing the Reid faction, and owing to the fact that Messrs. Gelb, Reid, Sullivan, Murphy and others have absolutely done nothing to comply with the agreements entered into at the Denver and Toronto Conventions of the A. F. of L., although repeatedly requested to do so by the committee at every meeting of the committee, I herewith notify you that I resign from the committee, same to take effect this date.

I will notify the A. F. of L. of my action in this respect.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) FRANK DUFFY,  
Member of Special Committee.

Mr. Duffy was informed that the committee had no power or authority to accept his resignation, but that it should be tendered to the American Federation of Labor, and your committee has been informed that this was done. Since the action taken by Mr. Duffy and Mr. McNulty, your committee has held itself in readiness to proceed with its duties, but no further sessions have been held, as Mr. McNulty has not indicated any desire to recede from his action in withdrawing his side from arbitration.

Your committee is of the opinion that the amalgamation of the two factions of the Electrical Workers can only be

affected through a convention at which the representatives of the local unions of both factions are present as delegates. It does not believe that a decision of a court of law could affect an amalgamation of the two factions of the Electrical Workers. Furthermore, it does not believe that the best interest of the trade union movement are to be conserved by having contending factions agree to arbitration for the purpose of adjusting their differences, before the highest court of organized labor, the American Federation of Labor, and afterwards withdrawing from arbitration, and endeavoring to accomplish their object by securing a decision from a court of law which may give to them the authority and jurisdiction they were contending for.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN P. FREY,

A. L. URICK.

Delegate Duffy (Frank)—Just before reading my report I wish to inform you that I looked upon myself all the time as a representative of the American Federation of Labor, not as representing the McNulty faction, and so expressed myself on the committee on more than one occasion. The convention in Toronto could have appointed a committee, but in order to give satisfaction to all the parties interested Mr. McNulty was allowed to appoint one member of that committee, Mr. Reid another, and the American Federation of Labor a third. I always looked upon all the members of that committee as representing the American Federation of Labor, and not any particular party.

Delegate Duffy read the following report:

#### ELECTRICAL WORKERS.

Indianapolis, Ind., March 15, 1910.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.:

Dear Sir and Brother:—When I was selected by President McNulty, of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers at the Toronto Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to represent his organization on the special committee appointed by order of said convention to bring about an amalgamation of

the divided forces of the Electrical Workers into one united organization, it was unwillingly I consented to act, as I did not want to become involved in a dispute to which I was not a party, and of which I knew practically nothing; besides that, I could not afford to spend much time in others' troubles, as my time was completely taken up with the affairs of my own organization. However, as the Building Trades were involved in this dispute for some time past, yes, from its very inception, and as the carpenters were also involved in it to the extent of walking the streets, out of work, I at last consented to act, and to do my best to bring about a satisfactory amalgamation of the divided forces of the Electrical Workers into one organization in accordance with the provisions, terms and conditions of the agreements entered into at Denver and Toronto by both parties, and concurred in and endorsed by the American Federation of Labor. I was not prejudiced in any way to either party when I accepted to act, nor am I now. I believed something could be done to solidify and unite the scattered forces of the Electrical Workers, and to that end and for that purpose I willingly gave my services. Although four months have elapsed since the adjournment of the Toronto Convention, and although four meetings of the committee were held, two in Springfield, Ill., and two in Cleveland, Ohio, nothing has been accomplished. It is not the fault of the committee, however. I can assure you the committee did its best to proceed with the work referred to it, but it was hampered and blocked in every way possible by the opposing forces.

At the meeting held in Cleveland, Ohio, February 23d and 24th, the committee found fault because no progress was made. I drew President McNulty's attention to this complaint, and he and his colleagues took it up with their lawyers, with the object in view of trying to get the Reid faction, through their lawyers, to withdraw the suits and liberate the funds tied up.

Under date of March 7, 1910, Mr. Stewart & Co., lawyers for the McNulty faction, notified Mr. McNulty that the Reid faction had not withdrawn their suits, and, further, that they did not

intend to withdraw them, as their lawyers had advised them not to withdraw or dismiss said suits. (See copy of Mr. Stewart's letter herewith attached, marked "Exhibit A.")

On March 10th, the special committee received a letter from President McNulty, dated March 8, 1910, informing said committee that he and his organization had complied in every particular with the terms of the Denver agreement. Had dismissed the one suit they had on the docket, and stood ready and willing to comply with any further orders of the committee, in accordance with the terms of the Denver and Toronto agreements. (See copy of letter herewith attached, marked "Exhibit B.")

On the same date, March 10, 1910, the lawyers told the committee in session at the Euclid Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio:

1. That the lawsuits could not be withdrawn.

2. That the moneys tied up could not be liberated only by action of courts.

I, in reply informed the lawyers representing both sides that the lawsuits could be withdrawn, dismissed or dissolved and that the moneys could be released. The Reid lawyers then submitted to the committee a plan to bring about amalgamation, which, in sum and substance amounted to this; that the lawsuits be continued; that the funds remain tied up as they are and that on the election of officers at the proposed special convention when amalgamation takes place the whole matter be there and then settled. This I would not agree to nor would the other members of the committee. On March 11th, the Reid lawyers proposed verbally:

1. To withdraw, dismiss and dissolve the lawsuits.

2. To try and liberate part of the funds, say one-half so as to be able to pay the expenses of the convention. But when pinned down to facts they acknowledged they could only begin to dissolve the suits; that while they could get Gelb, Reid, Murphy and others present in Cleveland to consent yet they would have to get the consent of all parties to the suits to withdraw or dismiss them. This included three hundred and fifty local unions and district councils of the Reid faction who had

become parties to the suits since the Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor, any one of which could object and the suits would have to still stand. This to my mind was only a play for time. What Reid and his followers and lawyers wanted was delay; besides that, they could not guarantee that even part of the funds would be liberated. They would try and liberate some but they could not promise anything definite. That left us in this position.

1. The suits at law would not be withdrawn.
2. The funds would not be liberated.
3. A convention would be called and at its adjournment no funds would be on hand to pay the delegates.
4. The courts would have to decide to whom the funds must be paid before the banks would pay same.

I informed the members of the committee and the lawyers representing both sides that we were at the parting of the ways; that I would not consent to any such proposition; that I would never be a party to calling a convention under such conditions; that I would not attend such a convention if called, and that I would only stand for a convention being called at all when the terms of the Denver and Toronto agreements had been complied with. In order to bring the Reid faction to a sense of their duty I served the following notice on the other two members of the committee:

"Cleveland, Ohio, March 11, 1910.

Messrs. Frey and Urlick, members Special Committee appointed by Toronto Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in the Electrical Workers' Dispute.

Gentlemen—I herewith notify you that I will not serve further on the Special Committee of the American Federation of Labor, in the Electrical Workers' dispute, nor will I attend any more sessions of said committee, either here or elsewhere until I am officially notified by the American Federation of Labor that the lawsuits now pending in Cleveland, Ohio, have been withdrawn by Messrs. Gelb, Reid, Sullivan, Murphy and others who entered same and are parties thereto and until such time as the moneys now tied up by injunction process and otherwise have been liberated and placed in such a manner that they can be at the disposal of the convention when such is called.

I am sorry to be compelled to take this course, but as Reid, Sullivan, Murphy and others have done nothing up to the present time to comply with the orders of the Toronto and Denver Conventions of the American Federation of Labor, I have no other alternative.

Respectfully and fraternally yours,

FRANK DUFFY,  
Member of Special Committee."

When the committee called in the lawyers and the representatives of both factions, and read the aforesaid communication I was accused by the Reid lawyers of:

1. Blocking the way.
2. Of resigning from the committee.
3. Of being unfair.
4. Of taking uncalled and unnecessary measures in the premises. Besides that, my rights as a member of the committee were questioned. It was pointed out I was only the minority part of the committee; that the majority could go ahead, hold sessions, and make a final award. My motives and intentions were ridiculed. It was then plain to me that the lawyers representing the Reid faction, and that Messrs. Reid, Murphy and others of the Reid faction, did not intend to live up to or abide by the Denver and Toronto agreements. I forthwith resigned from the committee by serving the following notice on that body:

"Cleveland, Ohio, March 11, 1910.

Messrs. Frey and Urlick, members Special Committee of the American Federation of Labor, appointed by the Convention of said body held in Toronto, November, 1909.

Gentlemen—After listening to the lawyers this forenoon when my communication of even date was read and my rights as a member of the committee questioned, my motives and intentions ridiculed by the lawyers representing the Reid faction, and owing to the fact that Messrs. Gelb, Reid, Sullivan, Murphy and others have absolutely done nothing to comply with the agreements entered into at the Denver and Toronto Conventions of the American Federation of Labor, although repeatedly requested to do so by the committee at every meeting of the committee, I herewith notify you that I resign from the committee, same to take effect this date. I will notify the American Federation of Labor of my action in this respect.

Respectfully and fraternally yours,

FRANK DUFFY,  
Member of Special Committee."

President McNulty, seeing the trend affairs had taken, was compelled, there and then to withdraw from the arbitration plan of amalgamation as it would not be fair, right or just to his organization, to allow the committee to proceed with its work when his representative had resigned. He so notified the committee in writing. That action on his part, along with my resignation, put the committee out of business.

I wish here to inform you, plainly, clearly and distinctly, without fear of contradiction from any one, that Reid and his organization have not abided by, observed or lived up to the Denver and Toronto agreements in any semblance. After the Denver Convention, Reid, Murphy and others advised all their local unions and district councils to become parties to the Cleveland injunction suit, tying up the funds, resulting in, as Mr. Clark, their attorney, says, of over three hundred and fifty local unions and district councils becoming parties thereto. In doing this they built up a colossal barrier, they thought would be insurmountable, and would defy the A. F. of L. to overcome. This was in violation of the Denver agreement. Secretary Murphy, of the Reid faction, had power of attorney to act for these unions in making them parties to the Cleveland suits. (See statements from their journal, marked "Exhibit C.") He also had power of attorney for said unions when dismissing the suits, but the lawyers carefully kept this matter quiet, making the committee believe all parties to the suits must be considered, and their consent obtained before dismissal took place.

On December 7, 1909, two days before the special committee held its first session in Springfield, three local unions of the Reid faction became parties to the Cleveland suits; another violation of the Denver agreement as well as the Toronto agreement. The Reid faction cared nothing for the Denver and Toronto agreements. All they wanted was to put the committee on record, in black and white, making decisions favorable to them, and if not favorable, twisting and contorting the English language in such a manner as to lead others to believe everything was in their favor. They wanted local matters in Far Rockaway, New York City, Cleveland,

Pittsburg, and elsewhere adjusted in their favor. The main issue was dodged by them from first to last. As a member of the committee I performed my duty, as I saw it, without fear or favor, open and above board. I have no apologies to make for my actions in this controversy so far. On the other hand, to show you how much I am interested in this whole affair I wish to inform you that in my spare moments since the adjournment of the Toronto Convention of the A. F. of L., I have been working on a plan of amalgamation whereby unity, harmony, peace, good will and fraternity might be brought about between the warring factions of this organization. I am ready to make my recommendations in this dispute just as soon as you call upon me to do so.

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK DUFFY,

Member of Special Committee.

**Joinders:** The few remaining locals that have not joined in the Geib suit, should investigate and determine if their officers are acting for the best interest of all concerned.

These joinders should be addressed to the general secretary without delay in order to place all in this suit.

(Published on page 536 "The Electrical Worker," issued by the Reid, Sullivan faction. September, 1909.)

**Delegate Hayes (F. J.):** I move that the majority report of the committee submitted by Brothers Urick and Frey, be accepted, and the recommendations contained therein be concurred in by this convention. (Seconded.)

**President Gompers:** That the recommendation in both be adopted?

**Delegate Hayes:** The recommendation in the report submitted by Messrs. Frey and Urick.

**President Gompers:** The chair is desirous to call attention to the fact that in the report of the Executive Council is contained some important references to this subject, which have been referred to the Committee on Adjustment.

**Vice-President Duncan:** The majority of this committee of three ended their report with a recommendation. Delegate Duffy read his report, and near its close stated that he had recommenda-

tions to make which he would do when called upon by this convention. I move that he be invited now to give his recommendations, so that both reports and the recommendations contained therein may be made a matter of record, and we may all be able to know what they are. (Seconded.)

President Gompers: Is unanimous consent given the motion of Delegate Hayes? Objection is offered, the motion can not be entertained.

Delegate Hayes: I understand a special committee reported on this matter.

President Gompers: Even the reports of the officers and the Executive Council and their recommendations are referred to committees for consideration.

Delegate Woll: I move you that we hear the recommendations of Brother Duffy, and that both reports and recommendations be referred to the Committee on Adjustment, together with the matter contained in the reports of the President and the Executive Council. (Seconded.)

President Gompers: That is the motion before the house.

Delegate Lewis (T. L.) discussed the matter at some length, and in closing, said: The question I want to ask, Mr. Chairman, is on the motion now before the house requesting Brother Duffy to submit his recommendation. Will he submit his recommendation as a member of a committee from which he has withdrawn, or as a delegate on the floor of this convention?

President Gompers: Do you desire to answer the question, Delegate Duffy?

Delegate Duffy: If I am so requested by the Executive Council or by this convention I will submit my recommendation either way. I am a delegate here on the floor.

The question was further discussed by Delegate Lewis, Delegate Keegan and Delegate Downing.

President Gompers: There are two distinct subjects in the motion before the house, a request for Mr. Duffy to make his recommendation, and the other is to refer the entire subject matter to the Committee on Adjustment. It must be decided upon by two separate votes. The sense of the subject requires it.

Delegate Keegan: Has the majority report of the committee made a recommendation?

President Gompers: That question is not before the house.

Delegate Keegan: The motion is to refer the recommendations.

President Gompers: The motion is that the report made by Messrs. Frey and Urlick and the report made by Mr. Duffy be referred to the Committee on Adjustment, to which the report of the Executive Council on that subject was also referred. The motion is that Mr. Duffy be requested to state to the convention the recommendation he had in mind to make, and that the report made by him, as well as the report made by Messrs. Frey and Urlick be referred to the Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Lewis (T. L.): I rise to a point of order. There are three subjects in the motion the way it is stated and consequently it is not in order. It is not in order to instruct Brother Duffy to make his recommendation to the convention, then to refer whatever he may recommend to the proper committee, when no motion is made to refer the majority report of the committee.

President Gompers: The point of order is not well taken. The motion before the house provides that the report of Messrs. Frey and Urlick shall also be referred to the Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Woll, as the mover of the motion, stated that he had no objection to its being separated.

Delegate Walker (J. H.): I would like to ask if the reference to the Adjustment Committee of that portion of the Executive Council's report dealing with the Electrical Workers' dispute carried with it the reference of the entire controversy?

President Gompers: The chair had in mind that the Adjustment Committee would have the report of the Executive Council before it for consideration and that all matters pertaining to the subject of the controversy between the Electrical Workers should be referred to the same committee for consideration and action.

Delegate Walker spoke at length in opposition to the reference of the report of the Executive Council to the

Adjustment Committee, and said in part: If the reference of the report of the Executive Council was right, then the report of this committee has no business before this convention at this time. In other words, no consideration of this controversy should have been had until that committee reported back. Unless this matter is out of order, I believe the convention should have the right to decide what course it will pursue in disposing of this matter without regard to the reference of that portion of the report of the Executive Council to the Adjustment Committee.

The question was further discussed by Delegate Sanderson, who spoke in favor of the pending motion.

On motion of Delegate Furuseth debate was closed.

President Gompers: The first motion is that Mr. Duffy be requested to submit his recommendation for amalgamation of the two factions of the Electrical Workers to this convention.

The motion as stated by President Gompers was carried.

President Gompers: The motion that the entire subject matter be referred to the Committee on Adjustment is before the convention.

Delegate Lewis (T. L.): I rise to a point of order. The first thing in order is to hear from Brother Duffy. I would like to hear Brother Duffy's recommendation before we vote to refer it.

President Gompers stated that the point of order was not well taken; that the previous question had been ordered by the convention.

The motion that the entire subject be referred to the Committee of Adjustment was carried.

President Gompers requested Delegate Duffy to present his recommendations.

Delegate Duffy stated that he did not have his recommendations in written form in the convention, but was willing to make a verbal statement. No objection being offered, Delegate Duffy made the following recommendation:

"That on account of the Reid faction of the Electrical Workers having done absolutely nothing and four months having been spent in trying to bring about an understanding, at quite an expense to the American Federation of Labor, the Reid organization, or that known as the Reid organization of the Electrical Workers, be not recognized as an International organization of Electrical Workers by the American

Federation of Labor; that local unions of the organization known as the Reid organization apply to the International Brotherhood for charters as local unions of the craft; that same be granted free of cost, and that said members be placed in good standing in the International Brotherhood immediately."

During the session the following resolutions were introduced, and referred by the chairman to the various committees:

#### Resolution No. 43—By the Seamen's Delegation:

Whereas, Congress again has under consideration the proposition to give a general subsidy to the merchant marines of the United States, and

Whereas, Great and systematic agitation, in fact, a regular educational campaign—has been and is carried on to mislead the people of this country on the subject of ships and seamen, by distributing "facts that are not so" with reference to these matters, especially maintaining that the cost of operation is greater under the American than any other flag; and

Whereas, This in the main is untrue and in the few instances where it is true can be amended or changed by this country ceasing to hunt up, arrest and deliver back to their owners the sea slaves of other nations; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we enter our emphatic protest against any such legislation; and further

Resolved, That full information on the real facts will disclose that any such subsidy under existing railroad domination of transportation by water as well as by land will be a subsidy to the railroads and of no value whatever to the shipping of the country.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### Resolution No. 44—By the Seamen's Delegation:

Whereas, There are a large number of men who, by their occupation, (that of general laborers) are under great difficulty in trying to organize, and yet who, more than any other class of men, are in serious need of organization; and

Whereas, These men (more than three million) travel from place to place to obtain work of different kinds; and

Whereas, These men are ill-paid, ill-fed, ill-housed and treated in a way that denies their common humanity, that prevents them from obtaining promptly even the pitiful small pay which they are promised; and

Whereas, These men are gradually getting to believe that not only the world generally, but even the trade unionists are their enemies and are therefore learning to hate unionism; and

Whereas, We seem thus to be travelling in nearly the same way as did the guilds to a condition which will divide them from the rest of the workers; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council be instructed to devise a form of organization that shall be suitable to the needs of these migratory laborers; and be it further

Resolved, That such part of the funds of the federation as can possibly be spared be devoted to the organization of what may be called the migratory laborer of such states where such work may give the best promise of results.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate John P. Frey of the International Molders' Union of North America:

Whereas, The thorough education of all workmen and the public in the principles and policies of trade unionism is one of the prominent purposes of the American Federation of Labor; and

Whereas, There are many publications indorsed by the American Federation of Labor, its affiliated bodies and sub-divisions, which, nationally and locally, are constantly engaged in an effort to spread the gospel of trade unionism and keep their readers informed on all questions of interest affecting the welfare of labor; be it

Resolved, That a bureau of information be created and placed in charge of a secretary to be selected by the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the bureau of information shall furnish a weekly letter, without cost, to all publications officially indorsed by the American Federation of Labor, its affiliated bodies and sub-divisions, which shall contain a summary of all important matters affecting labor occurring in the industrial, legislative and judicial fields, and all such other matters which will tend to further the development and progress of the trade union movement.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 46—By the Seamen's Delegation:

Whereas, The seamen themselves describe their status, their needs and the injustice under which they live in the following petition:

To those who govern nations, to those who make laws, to humanitarians, democrats, Christians and friends of human freedom everywhere: Do we, the seamen, the yet remaining bondmen, humbly yet earnestly submit this our petition that we may be made free men and that the blighting disgrace of bondage be removed from our labor, which once was considered honorable, which is yet needed in the world of commerce, and which has been held to be of great importance to nations with sea coasts to defend.

Existing maritime law, except in the domestic trade of these United States, makes of us the property of the vessel on which we sail. We can not work as seamen without signing a contract which brings us under this law. The contract is fixed by law or authorized by governments. We have nothing to do with its terms. We either sign it and sail or we sign it not and remain landmen.

When signing this contract we surrender our working power to the will of another man at all times while the contract runs. We may not leave the vessel, though she is in perfect safety. We may not without our master's permission go to a mother's sick-

bed or funeral or attend to any other duties of a son, a brother, a Christian or a citizen.

If our owner thinks he has reason to fear that we desire to escape, he may, without judicial investigation, cause us to be imprisoned for safekeeping until he shall think it proper to take us out. If we have escaped, he may publish our personal appearance along with a reward for our apprehension and return. He may through contracts between nations cause the peace officers and police to aid him in recovering his property. The captain may change, the owner may change—we are sold with the vessel, and so long as the flag does not change there is nothing except serious illness or our master's pleasure that will release us from the vessel.

The master, acting for the vessel, may release himself and the vessel by paying a few dollars, with no alternative.

He that owns another man's labor-power owns his body, since the two can not be separated.

We stand in the same relation to the vessel as the serf did to the estate, as the slave to his master. When serfdom was abolished in Western Europe we were forgotten by the liberators and our status remained. When the slaves of the United States and Brazil were emancipated our status continued. When serfdom was abolished in Russia no change came to us.

We now raise our manacled hands in humble supplication to restore to us our rights as brother men, to our labor that honor which belonged to it until your power, expressing itself through your law, set upon it the brand of bondage in the interest of cheap transportation by water.

We respectfully submit that this serfdom of the men in our calling is of comparatively modern origin. Earlier maritime law bound while in strange countries and climates the seaman to his shipmates and his ship, and the ship to him, on the principle of common hazard. In his own country he was free—the freest of men. We further humbly submit that, as the consciousness of the seamen's status penetrates through the population, it will be impossible to get free men to send their sons into bondage or to induce free men's sons to accept it, and we, in all candor, remind you that you, when you travel by water, expect us—the serfs—to exhibit in danger the highest qualities of free men, by giving our lives for your safety.

At sea the law of common hazard remains; there must be discipline and self-sacrifice, but in any harbor where the vessel and you are safe, we beseech you, give to us that freedom which you claim for yourself and which you bestow on others, to the end that we may be relieved of that bitterness of soul that is the heavy burden of him who knows and feels that his body is not his own; and

Whereas, We are satisfied that the seaman's status is correctly described in this petition, and that the great loss of property and of life at sea is caused by the condition here described, that the seaman's helplessness has its origin therein and that a fundamental change is absolutely necessary; and

Whereas, House Bill 11193, introduced by Mr. Spight of Mississippi, and Senate Bill



6155, introduced by Senator LaFollette of Wisconsin, are designed to and when enacted will abolish the existing status of the seaman, make of him a free man, give him possibilities of self-help and improve the safety of travel at sea; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we urge upon Congress the immediate consideration and enactment of this bill into law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 47—By Delegates A. Miller and M. Greenbaum of Neckwear Cutters' Union 6939 and Neckwear Makers' Union 1106:

Whereas, In the city of New York the neckwear cutters and the neckwear makers are well organized and are enjoying higher wages and shorter hours than any other part of the country; and

Whereas, There are several large cities throughout the country that are yet practically unorganized, namely, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Baltimore, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Louisville, Buffalo and Rochester; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. that the president be and is hereby instructed to have all organizers of the A. F. of L. pay special attention to the above-named cities, for the purpose of thoroughly organizing them, with the object in view of forming a national organization.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 48—By James M. Lynch, International Typographical Union; George L. Berry, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; Robert Glockling, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Mathew Woll, International Photo Engravers' Union; James J. Freel, International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union:

Whereas, Arrangements have been made to print the eleventh edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica in a non-union printing office in Chicago, Ill.; and

Whereas, Many trades unionists and sympathizers were purchasers of former editions of the Encyclopedia Britannica; therefore, be it

Resolved, That all friends and sympathizers with organized labor and members of trade unions who contemplate purchasing the eleventh edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica immediately write the promoters thereof requesting that the mechanical work thereon shall be performed in a strictly union printing office, and in event of refusal to accede to such request that the promoters and publishers be informed that members of organized labor can not consistently patronize a non-union publication.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate C. F. Russi, Jr., of San Antonio Trades Council:

Whereas, The affairs of the International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employes are in such bad condition that they need to be investigated, the international union

having decreased in membership in the last six years from 21 votes to 3 votes in the convention of the A. F. of L., as the report of the secretary of the A. F. of L. will show; and

Whereas, The financial condition of the international union is so bad that notice has been sent to our local union that in case of trouble it can not pay strike or lockout benefits. (There is no international president, as the last one was expelled for non-payment of dues. There has not been a financial statement issued from headquarters for more than a year. Our local union has not received a communication nor answers to its letters from headquarters except receipts for money sent in payment of per capita tax); and

Whereas, The condition of the International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employes is so bad as to discourage the few remaining locals and cause them to disband, which could be avoided if attended to at once; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed to investigate the affairs of the International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employes; and be it further

Resolved, That if conditions are found to be in bad shape, have the secretary of the A. F. of L. revoke the charter of the international, and have the charters of the remaining few local unions transferred back to the A. F. of L. and issue new charters as Federal Labor Unions; and be it further

Resolved, That the label of the A. F. of L. be placed upon the product of the mills that have contracts signed with the international union in the place of the label now in use.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate D. W. Robinson of Central Council, Portland, Ore.:

Whereas, The present method of labels, emblems, etc., existing in the affiliated organizations of the American Federation of Labor is very confusing; and

Whereas, It should be our desire as union men to cement the interests of all workers into as close and compact a relationship as possible; and

Whereas, We believe that the establishment of one universal label will result in much good to the entire labor movement; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Thirtieth Annual Convention that the Executive Council is hereby authorized and instructed to make a thorough investigation of the matter and report to the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate Geo. W. Bell of Gas Workers' Union 9841:

Whereas, The large army of wage-workers now employed in the manufacturing and distributing of artificial and natural gas in the United States and Canada are unorganized except in the state of California; and

Whereas, If these men were organized it would be the means of bringing into the fold of the American Federation of Labor many thousands of wage-workers; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to make every effort to organize the gas workers in the large cities of the East and Middle West.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate C. D. Wheeler of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

Protesting against executive orders that deprive federal civil service employes of their constitutional right as citizens to petition Congress for a redress of grievances and the right of free speech:

Whereas, Executive orders now in effect and part of the rules and regulations of the federal civil service forbids and prohibits all federal civil service employes (250,000 in number) from in any way attempting to influence legislation, directly or indirectly, in behalf of better working conditions, and which orders prohibit even the right to petition Congress in behalf of such legislation and restricts freedom of speech in that a civil service employe is forbidden to respond to requests for information desired by a member of either house of Congress or a committee of Congress, unless first granted permission to do so by departmental heads; and

Whereas, Such orders are not consistent with the constitution of the United States, which reads "Congress shall make no laws abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people to peaceably assemble, and to petition Congress for a redress of grievances;" and

Whereas, The officials of the Post Office Department have removed employes because of alleged violation of such orders, and in one particular instance did summarily dismiss from the service Brother Oscar F. Nelson, president of the Chicago Post Office Clerks' Union, on the charge that he attempted to influence legislation in the interest of better working conditions indirectly through the Legislative Committee of this American Federation of Labor, and because of his action in introducing a resolution in the Chicago Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, at St. Louis, Mo., denounce as un-American and despotic executive orders and rules that prohibit or restrict federal employes from exercising to the fullest extent the inalienable right of free speech and free press and the right to petition Congress; and be it further

Resolved, That a committee of three, consisting of the president and secretary of this A. F. of L. and the chairman of its Legislative Committee be and are hereby instructed to present a copy of this resolution to President Taft in person and request the revocation of executive orders protested against and the reinstatement of Oscar F. Nelson to the service.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate Charles Lavin of Pennsylvania State Federation:

Whereas, The state of Pennsylvania employs over 50,000 people in the textile industry; and

Whereas, The larger portion of these are women and girls, working long hours and for meager wages, as a result of their lack of organization; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the delegates to the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, do strongly urge upon the Executive Council the advisability of placing one organizer in that territory for at least six months of the coming year, with a view of assisting to bring about a more thorough organization among these textile workers; and be it further

Resolved, That the organizer so assigned shall be one who has at least some knowledge of the textile industry.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 54—By Wm. E. Eck-enrod, Tennessee Federation of Labor, Chas. P. Fahey, Nashville Trades and Labor Council, and S. H. Lowe, Jackson Trades and Labor Council:

Whereas, The State Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union in Tennessee has passed the following resolutions at their annual convention, held September 13, 14, 1910, at Dickson, Tenn.

Whereas, The organized workmen of Tennessee are striving to improve the condition of themselves and their families; and

Whereas, It is the desire of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of Tennessee to assist them in every practical way possible; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the State Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union, that we request the Tennessee Federation of Labor to prevail upon the International Labor Organization to send representatives to our country meetings to explain to our members the importance of purchasing the product of union labor that bears the union label; and be it further

Resolved, That our state secretary be instructed to furnish the secretary of the State Federation of Labor, on his request, the dates and places of the meetings of our county unions for that purpose. Be it

Resolved, That our legislative committee is hereby instructed to meet and co-operate with the legislative committee of the Tennessee Federation of Labor on all measures pertaining to the common interest of labor and that all legislation agreed upon by both organizations shall be submitted to all candidates for legislative honors.

Resolved, That the President of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of Tennessee be empowered to appoint a committee of three from this

body to co-operate with the authorities of the Tennessee Federation of Labor to arrange a joint convention of the two orders above named at a convenient point in the state during the year 1911; and

Whereas, The Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union in Tennessee has by the passage of the above resolutions indicated their desire to co-operate with and assist the Trade Unionists in Tennessee in a practical way to improve their condition; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the delegates to the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we most heartily endorse the proposed working agreement between the organized Farmers and the Trade Unionists of Tennessee; and, be it further

Resolved, That we instruct the incoming Executive Council to comply with the request contained in the resolutions and send some person to attend the meetings of the county unions of the farmers to explain and instruct them of the importance of purchasing the goods that bear the union label.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate James Murray, of the Texas State Federation of Labor:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this convention that the National Congress should cease to make further appropriations and expenditure of public money for the improvement of harbors, rivers or other internal waterways to aid navigation or to promote traffic thereon, unless that the state wherein such expenditure and improvements are made and which are to be benefited by the same, shall have previously made ample provision for the public use of all wharves and landings bordering on such navigable channels within their boundaries or under their legal jurisdiction free from discrimination; and be it further

Resolved, That where such discriminations are practiced against one shipper or carrier, as against another in the use of such wharves or landings or railroad terminals connected therewith and intended for the purpose of completing the service of the same, or by one locality or community as against another for the purpose of lessening or destroying the industries or commerce of the one in order that the other may benefit thereby, that such discriminations should be penalized by imprisonment and fine, and the revocation of charters or franchises to operate such utilities.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate Samuel Letovitz 12674, Mineral Water Workers:

Whereas, The label of the American Federation of Labor is being counterfeited by several manufacturers in the city of New York; and

Whereas, The counterfeiting of said label of the American Federation of Labor, is very detrimental to the progress and welfare of the different federal local unions of the American Federation of Labor in the City of New York; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the President and Executive Council be and are hereby instructed to take this matter up at once, and prosecute the offending manufacturers, and stop the counterfeiting of the label of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to the Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 57—Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union:

Whereas, Unscrupulous employers of the baking industry, employing thousands of craftsmen of the baking trade have in the past year reduced wages and forced men to inhuman conditions, and while we are doing all within our power to uphold and defend our constitution against the wanton attack of corporate power, which seeks to take advantage and fasten upon its employees a slavish condition of servitude; and

Whereas, The members of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union have been engaged in bitter strikes the country over, we feel that the conditions of the bakery industry must be sharply looked after; and

Whereas, As the situation presents itself to us, we picture it with serious alarm and apprehension, for we recognize in it an insidious attack on organized labor; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized by this convention to give to our organization assistance in the way of organizing by instructing organizers in all localities to give particular attention to the organizing of bakers.

Respectfully submitted,  
CHRIST KERKER,  
HENRY KOCH.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 58—By Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union:

Whereas, The label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America represents

bread and other bakery and confectionery goods made under fair and sanitary conditions, honest wages, living hours, and by union men, and

Whereas, The label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America is the only proof of same, as it distinguishes union from nonunion; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the America Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, re-endorse the label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America; and be it further

Resolved, That every member of each affiliated union be and is hereby requested to ask for the union label on all products he or she may purchase, thereby showing or proving his or her loyalty to the cause of unionism in a substantial manner.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY KOCH,

CHRIST KERKER,

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate Norval White, Jefferson City Trades and Labor Assembly:

Whereas, It is a well-known fact that the first Monday in September is set apart by many state governments to be observed as Labor Day; and

Whereas, The men of labor are losing sight of the importance of observing the day as it should be; therefore, be it

Resolved, By this Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at St. Louis, Mo., That all of the national and international unions so amend their constitutions so as to compel its local unions to take part in the Labor Day celebrations in the localities where they are held, so as to bring credit and not discredit to the labor movement; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to send each national and international union a circular letter within ninety days after this convention adjourns to carry out the request of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate Archie Grant, United Trades and Labor Council, Erie County:

Whereas, The Larkin Soap Company, of the city of Buffalo, N. Y., is having practically all its printing done without the union label, keeping one of the largest printing offices in that city in operation under nonunion conditions; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, instruct its Executive Council to take this matter up with the Larkin Company, and use its good offices in assist-

ing the Printings Trades Council of the city of Buffalo in having the Larkin Soap Company's printing done under union conditions.

Referred to the Committee on Boycott.

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate Riley, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks:

Whereas, There are approximately one-fourth million clerical employees of the various railroad companies in the United States at the present time who are unorganized, and

Whereas, This vast number of wage-earners is by far the largest contingent of unorganized labor embraced in a single class now in existence, and

Whereas, The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks has organized a certain percentage of this class and upon a number of railroad lines this class has materially increased its wages, reduced its hours of service and secured other improved conditions through such organization, and

Whereas, The organization of this vast body of workmen is of paramount importance to the labor movement at the present time, and

Whereas, The said Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, claiming jurisdiction over this class of wage-earners, is an affiliated body; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that special effort be made to organize this large contingent of unorganized labor; that each and every organizer of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to at once begin and prosecute a vigorous campaign of education along trade union lines among this class, and be it further

Resolved, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be, and hereby are, instructed to assign at least one of its organizers to the special and exclusive work of organizing this one-fourth million unorganized wage-earners, such organizer or organizers to work under the assignment and direction of the Grand President of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 62—By Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union:

Whereas, The Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America has been engaged in a severe contest with the American Baking Co., composed of the following branches: Heydt, Condon, St. Louis, Freund, Welle-Boettler, Hauck-Hoerr, and the Home Bakeries of St. Louis, Mo., and

Whereas, Said trust controls a large portion of the baking industry, thus making it difficult for the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America to successfully push

a boycott against each branch of the American Bakery Co. and all brands of bakery products made by the trust, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, through its officers and organizers, give special aid and assistance to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America in pushing a boycott against each individual product or brand of goods made by the American Baking Company, and be it further

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor request by circular letter all affiliated unions, federal unions, central bodies, state federations and national and international unions to give a helping hand to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America by vigorously pushing a boycott against the unfair products sold in their respective localities, and whereas, the above resolutions were adopted by the twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth conventions and referred to the Executive Council for action, be it further

Resolved, That the above recommendations be carried out by electing a committee at this convention, who, with the representatives, shall try and settle the differences, and report back to this convention as to their action and recommendations.

Referred to the Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate John Mitchell, United Mine Workers of America:

Whereas, The American Federation of Labor has in every possible way aided the movement for the study and prevention of tuberculosis throughout the United States and Canada, and

Whereas, The American National Red Cross has been in the past and is now making an especial effort, through the sale of Red Cross Christmas seals, to secure funds to carry on the war against tuberculosis, and by means of the funds raised in this manner has been able to do much effective work in this direction, therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor give its endorsement to the movement of the American National Red Cross and encourage its members to further in every reasonable way the sale of these seals in their respective communities.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 64—By Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union:

Whereas, The fight against the McKinney Bread Co., of St. Louis, Mo., as endorsed and re-endorsed by annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and

Whereas, The McKinney Bread Co. still refuses to make a settlement with the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America, and

Whereas, The twenty-eighth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor made an effort to bring about an adjustment of the long-standing controversy, and if not successful that a vigorous campaign be started to make their declaration of unfairness effective, therefore be it

Resolved, That the twenty-ninth convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm and place upon the unfair list the McKinney firm of St. Louis, Mo., and if not successful in bringing about successful endeavors satisfactory to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America, and whereas, the above resolutions were adopted by the twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth conventions and referred to the Executive Council for action, be it further

Resolved, That the above recommendations be carried out by electing a committee at this convention, who, with the representatives, shall try and settle the differences, and report back to this convention as to their action and recommendations.

Referred to the Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 65—By Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union:

Whereas, The Drexler Baking Co., of Springfield, Mass., and the Schultz Baking Co., of New York and Hudson county, and the Fleishman Baking Co., of New York, have declared open war upon our members of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union, who are doing all within their power to uphold and defend their constitution, and

Whereas, Mr. Drexler, of Springfield, Mass., is vice president of the Massachusetts Master Bakers' Association and Mr. Schultz of the pool of the Master Bakers' Boss Association, of New York and New Jersey, which in the name of master means nothing but bringing about a slavish condition, therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, through its president, officers and organizers, give special aid and assistance to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America in bringing about a suitable settlement, and be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor request, by circular letter, all affiliated unions, federal unions, central unions, state federation, national or international unions to give a helping hand to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union in trying to bring about a settlement, and if not successful, that a vigorous campaign be inaugurated

against the products, which are everything but fair.

Referred to the Committee on Boycotts.

**Resolution No. 66 — By Delegate Homer D. Call, of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America:**

Whereas, The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, whose charter of affiliation was granted in the year 1897, has jurisdiction over all persons employed in the meat industry, and

Whereas, There is at the present time small dual organizations posing as butcher workmen, to the detriment of the labor movement as a whole, in violation of the recognized and admitted jurisdiction of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, and which is injurious to the welfare and progress of the men engaged in the meat industry, therefore be it

Resolved, By the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the International Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America is the only organization having jurisdiction over the Butcher Workmen, and recommend to all men engaged in the trade to affiliate themselves with their fellow-workmen by becoming members of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, and be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor notify all general and special organizers of the federation to organize the men in the meat trade into the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

Referred to the Committee on Adjustment.

**Resolution No. 67—By Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union:**

Whereas, The Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America has been engaged in a severe contest with the American Baking Co., composed of the following branches: Heydt, Condon, St. Louis, Freund, Welle-Boettler, Hauck-Hoerr and the Home Bakeries, of St. Louis, Mo., and

Whereas, Said trust controls a large portion of the baking industry, thus making it difficult for the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America to successfully push a boycott against each branch of the American Bakery Co., and all brands of bakery products made by the trusts, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, through its officers and organizers, give special aid and assist-

ance to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America in pushing a boycott against each individual product or brand of goods made by the American Baking Company, and be it further

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor request, by circular letter, all affiliated unions, federal unions, central bodies, state federations and national or international unions, to give a helping hand to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America by vigorously pushing a boycott against the unfair products sold in their respective localities, and whereas, the above resolutions were adopted by the twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth conventions and referred to the Executive Council for action, be it further

Resolved, That the above recommendations be carried out by electing a committee at this convention, who, with the representatives, shall try and settle the differences, and report back to this convention as to their action and recommendations.

Referred to the Committee on Boycotts.

**Resolution No. 68—By Delegate Albert Abrahams, for the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:**

Resolved, That the delegate of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity to the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor be and hereby is instructed to introduce and advocate to the best of his ability the adoption of the following resolutions, to-wit:

Whereas, The American Federation of Labor, as set forth in the preamble of its constitution, has recognized that a struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the tolling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit, and it, therefore, behooves the representatives of the trade and labor unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

Whereas, The decisions of the United States Supreme Court and of the state courts in labor and injunction cases, based upon the United States Constitution, have conclusively shown that the Constitution of the United States is a wall for the protection of the capitalist interests as against the interests of the tolling millions.

Whereas, Article V of the Constitution of the United States provides that

amendments to the Constitution may be made.

Whereas, The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated state federations have devoted their energies to the enactment of national, state and territorial labor legislation, and to the embodying of provisions for the protection of labor in several state constitutions, and

Whereas, Logically and inevitably the next great step in the struggle of the oppressed to secure the recognition of rights to which the tolling millions of our country are justly entitled, is the demand and propagandism for a labor amendment to the United States Constitution, ordaining that "neither wage slavery nor voluntary servitude shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction," and embodying all legislative demands of the American Federation of Labor, which shall bring about the industrial emancipation of all toilers, therefore, be it

Resolved, By the American Federation of Labor in the Thirtieth Annual Convention assembled, that the time has arrived to crown the thirty years' work for labor legislation in our generation, as achieved by the American Federation of Labor with the demand and propagandism for a labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States, to secure the industrial emancipation of all toilers.

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and hereby is instructed to frame a labor amendment to the United States Constitution and to inaugurate and encourage a movement leading to its adoption by the people of our country, and

Resolved, That for the purpose of defraying the expenditures to be incurred by the Executive Council in carrying out these instructions a one cent assessment be contributed by the membership of the American Federation of Labor to what shall be known as the Labor Amendment Fund.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate Geo. W. Bell, Gas Worker's Union, 9840:

Whereas, The Sugar Workers' Union 10,519 is the one and only union of its kind in America, and therefore not in a position to organize the sugar workers throughout the country, and

Whereas, The sugar workers of America, if organized, would form one of the largest organizations in the country, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Incoming Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor be, and hereby is, instructed to use its best efforts to organize the sugar workers in the eastern states.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate A. Abrahams, Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

Whereas, The great purpose of organized labor is to accomplish by its organized strength the improvement of the material conditions of the workers, and

Whereas, It is becoming more and more evident, day by day, that we must meet the employing class with a more compact system of attack, and

Whereas, The American labor movement is considerably hindered by the powerlessness of the American Federation of Labor to demand of international unions that they materially assist a sister organization in its struggles, and

Whereas, In central bodies, requests are constantly made for the assistance of the other organization, which the central body is powerless to give, we have reached a stage in the development of the American labor movement where power should be vested in the supreme body and in central bodies, to command organizations to call out their men in sympathy, if necessary, to assist their brother union men in the struggles for a betterment of their condition, now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention appoint a committee of three, who shall bring in recommendations to so amend the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor as to bring about this state of organization.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate Owen Miller, American Federation of Musicians, by request:

Whereas, Oleomargarine is conceded by chemists and food experts to be a wholesome food product, and

Whereas, Existing laws discriminate against this wholesome food product through a tax of 10 cents a pound when artificially colored, the only purpose of which is to make it appear palatable, and

Whereas, Artificial coloring matter is permitted in butter and other dairy products, which clearly establishes a discrimination, and

Whereas, The discriminatory tax placed upon oleomargarine must be paid in the main by the poorer classes of people, and has a tendency to increase the price of butter, and

Whereas, The placing of a tax of 10 cents per pound on colored oleomargarine has rather increased than decreased violations of the law, therefore, be it

Resolved, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that Congress be petitioned to so amend the oleomargarine law that a tax not exceeding 2 cents per pound be placed upon the product, whether colored or uncolored, and that a license fee not exceeding six dollars (\$6.00) per year be

placed upon the retailer for the privilege of vending oleomargarine, and that the product be packed in one-half, one, two and three pound packages only, and that the product be sold only in original tax-paid packages.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate A. Abrahams, Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

Whereas, At the present time it is not compulsory for unions having shop cards, buttons or labels to join the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, therefore be it

Resolved, That the delegate from this body to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor, at St. Louis, be instructed to introduce an amendment to the present laws governing the Union Label Trades Department to compel the affiliation of all national or international unions having labels, shop cards or buttons to their union product, and be it further

Resolved, That the delegate be instructed to introduce a law making it compulsory for local unions to affiliate with the local label department of the central bodies.

Referred to the Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate Sim A. Bramlette, Central Labor Union, Kansas City, Kan.:

Whereas, The Central Labor Union, of Kansas City, Kan., has been carrying on a campaign of organization among the unorganized workers of that city with the hope of being able to ultimately organize the several thousand unorganized workers, and in such effort have exhausted practically every means available, and

Whereas, Such effort on the part of the Central Labor Union has been supplemented by the State Federation of Labor as far as that organization was able to contribute to the work, with the result that favorable conditions have been established to form several local organizations, provided the work is continued, therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor place a general organizer in said city or appoint some competent local worker as a special organizer to take up the work of organization in Kansas City, Kan., and that such or-

ganizer maintain headquarters in said city while engaged in such work.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 74—Communicated by the New York Building Trades Council:

Whereas, In almost every locality where there is a local building trades council, there are some trades who refuse to join the local council, therefore be it

Resolved, That Section 38 of the Building Trades Department by-laws, which states that all local unions shall be compelled to join the local building trades council be strictly enforced, and be it further

Resolved, That any international organization that fails to compel their locals to join the local councils when notified by the Secretary-Treasurer or Executive Board of the Building Trades Department, shall be suspended until they obey the instructions of the Building Trades Department.

Referred to the Building Trades Committee.

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate John F. O'Flaherty, Central Trades and Labor Union, East St. Louis, Ill.:

Whereas, In the city of East St. Louis, Ill., the local unions of carpenters, lathers, plasterers and painters, have withdrawn from the Building Trades Council to work with and are at the present time doing so, with non-union plumbers, steamfitters, gasfitters, electricians and cement workers, contrary to Section 38 of the laws of the Building Trades Department,

Resolved, That any international union which does not compel its local organizations to affiliate with the Building Trades Council and Central Trades and Labor Union, be instructed by the A. F. of L. to revoke that local's charter, and on their failure, the international charter be revoked, until such time as they comply with said constitution. The said resolution to apply to all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to the Committee on Adjustment.

At 2:30 p. m. the rules were suspended, and the convention adjourned, to reconvene at 10 o'clock a. m., Thursday, November 17th.



## Fourth Day's Proceedings—Thursday, November 17, 1910.

The convention was called to order at 10 a. m., Thursday, November 17, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees** — Noschang, Klapetzky, Kline, Dolan (C. T.), Richardson (P. F.), Humphrey, Licht, Hinde, Feeney, Glass, Bechtold, Rickert, Altman, Landers, Meyer, Maher, Kenehan, Handley, Daly, McCullough, Wilson (James), Gernon, McGivern, Donlin, Murphy (Patrick), Tracy (Wm. J.), Roth, McHugh, Evans (Jo), Casey, Hatch, Drake, Butler, Skaggs, Lee (Chas. H.), Joyner, Cathon, Jennings, Sears, Courtenay, O'Brien, Klefer, Andrick, Britt, Bratton, Christiansen, Wentz, Kleyhauer, Tate, Wilson (Geo. F.), Smith (J. U. P.), Silger, Koepf, Smith (O. P.), Howley (Geo. B.), Keough, Leonard, Cotter, Woodmansee, Rizzle, Stafford, Gaede, Swenson, Carter (Chas. A.), Miller (Abraham), Mawman, Lippert, Harris, Goldstein, Davis (William).

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

Samuel Gompers, care American Federation of Labor, St. Louis, Mo.:

Seventy thousand organized victorious cloak and skirt makers send their greeting to the delegates of the Thirtieth Annual Convention, and hope that their deliberation will result in permanent benefit to the working classes of this country. Our people will never forget the moral support they have received from your Treasurer Lennon and Organizer Grant Hamilton. Long live the American Federation of Labor.

**HARRY KLEINMAN,**  
Secretary Joint Executive Board of  
Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union.

Berlin, Germany, November, 1910.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, President 1910 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at St. Louis, Mo., U. S. A.:

Dear Sir and Comrade—The friendly and fraternal relations that have always existed between the trade unions of the American and European continent have been brought into a definitive form by the recent affiliation of the American Federation of Labor to the International Secretariat of the National Trade Union Centres. For these reasons I desire, on behalf of the International Secretariat and of the General Kommission or Federation of the German trade unions, to convey our best wishes and fraternal greetings to your convention. The preceding conventions of the American Federation of

Labor have at all times been closely watched and earnestly studied by the German trade unionists, and they have been especially pleased to learn from the work of your international gatherings that the necessity of the workers taking their lot into their own hands is more and more recognized also on your side of the world. The German workers have for many years already lived up to this fact, creating well-united industrial and political organizations for this purpose. The German workers therefore viewed with the utmost satisfaction that the American movement is happily and steadily growing in a similar direction. Recognizing the necessity of labor's unity on the industrial and political field, in order to successfully defend the rights of the working classes, we wish your convention all success, and we are convinced that the St. Louis Convention of the American Federation of Labor will anew demonstrate and foster the unity of international labor.

With best wishes and fraternal greetings to the delegates, I beg to remain,  
Yours fraternally,

**C. LEGIEN,**  
Secretary International Secretariat of  
the National Trade Union Centres;  
President of the General Kommission  
of the German Trade Unions.

New York, November 17, 1910.

To the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, St. Louis, Mo.:

The United Hebrew Trades of New York, a central body of eighty Jewish-speaking unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, are sending their hearty congratulations on your Thirtieth Annual Convention. We wish you success. As for our organization, we can report great success. In one year and a half we increased our membership from 8,000 to 150,000. We wish the trade unions of other cities the same progress. Long live organized labor. Long live the American Federation of Labor.

**WEINSTEIN,**  
Secretary.

Secretary Morrison read an invitation from the Knights of Columbus to the members of that order and their friends in the convention, to attend a reception on Sunday evening, November 20, at 3545 Olive street. The invitation was accepted by the convention.

Another communication from the Knights of Columbus was read, in which was extended the hospitality of

their club-house, 3545 Olive street, to miles away from that vast river, and visiting Knights and their friends. on one of the biggest rivers in the world.

Vice-President O'Connell: Yesterday when the question of the electrical workers' dispute was under consideration I tried to get the floor to make a motion, but was unable to do so. The Committee on Adjustment has a great deal of work to do. We feel it would be imposing upon the committee to sit long enough to do anything like justice to the electrical workers' matter. I move you that the electrical workers' matter be referred to a special committee. (Seconded and carried.)

President Gompers: The hour for the special order has arrived. I have to present to you the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, who will address the convention, and through the convention the men and women of organized labor, the men and women of toil, the great thinking, earnest mass of men and women who are striving to do something in their way for the better day to come.

The men who will speak to you today are not graduates of colleges or universities; they are graduates of the industrial struggle of the workers; and, better than all, they have not risen from the masses, but are remaining with them, shoulder to shoulder. I shall not longer deprive you of the pleasure of hearing from these gentlemen direct. I take pleasure in presenting to you Brother Ben Turner, one of the delegates from the British Trades Union Congress.

Fraternal Delegate Turner said: Mr. President and Comrades in the Trade Union Movement—My friend Mr. Brace and myself are charged from the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain—I think the mother country of trades unionism—to bring to you their fraternal greetings and good wishes from the old country to the new country, from the same class of organized workmen and the same section of laboring men that are to be found the wide world over. I never dreamed in my early days of being able to visit the great continent of America. I have sung many times one of your songs—

To the West, to the West, the land of the free,  
Where the mighty Missouri runs down to the sea,

but I never dreamed when I sang that song of being able to be here, fifteen

Time brings its changes and movements develop. Twenty-five years ago when our trades union movement in Great Britain was only about a million strong and the fraternal relations between America and Great Britain had not been established, one could not dream of being able to visit the American Federation of Labor as one of the delegates from Great Britain and Ireland. I find somewhat of a difference between Great Britain and America from a trade union standpoint. We are only a small island in the sea, about as big as the State of Missouri itself, while you are a continent many thousands of miles long and a thousand or two miles broad. While we are very insular you are bound to be, and are, very cosmopolitan. You have all the languages, all nationalities and all creeds represented here, and for that reason the movement is bound to be more tremendous and vast than the movement of the country we come from. But when all is reckoned up, the movement itself, the trades union and wage movement itself is absolutely alike, whether it be in the East, in Japan, the West, in America or in our country of Great Britain. The wage-workers all over the earth have the same difficulties to face, the same trials to tackle and the same obstacles to overcome. It is bound to be so because of one fact. Labor is bought when labor is profitable. It is never bought when it will not return a dividend to those who employ it. From that particular standpoint, whether it be in the Far East or the Far West, the same principle applies. Human labor is bought because it will bring a return in dividends to those who purchase it. We on our side have our labor to sell. If we do not sell it we cannot live except by the aid and assistance of other people. As long as we have our labor to sell as our means for life we want the protection, and must have it, of our trades union force. We want the trades union movement to protect and promote our interests in general.

We have in Great Britain just now, in place of 1,500,000, as we had fifteen years ago, 2,800,000 paying trades union members. That is a great number for a small country like ours, but it is not enough. When you find that only one in about each nine or ten persons is a member of a trades union, then you must know quite well that there are nine drags, nine stoppers of progress that the one in the ten has to carry forward. That is true of our country. What it may be in yours, I cannot tell. We have broadened our trades union movement out. We have found it needful to have our Trades Union Congress, which comprises nearly all the trades union movement of Great Britain and Ireland, and then we have the General Federation of Trades Unions. That federation exists solely for the purpose of financial in-

insurance in times of trades disputes. We have found at times that when disputes have occurred and the funds of one union have been used up, there must be some protection elsewhere for those on strike or lockout. The result is that nearly 700,000 of our trades union force are paying insurance money to their own Federation of Trades Unions, and when a lockout, great or small, takes place or a trades disturbance arises they can use their power and influence for promoting a satisfactory settlement, and from the insurance fund they can help them carry on the strike or lockout to a successful issue. On those two lines the movement is now developing.

Some ten years back, because we were driven there, the trades union movement started in Great Britain what is termed its political side, and the labor representation committee was formed as a second or third wing of the Trades Union Congress. In this direction my friend Mr. Brace will speak, because he happens to be the odd man in Parliament and I am the odd man out of Parliament of the two present. With all these three bodies we have some troubles similar to yours. A day or two is usually spent on questions of demarcation or jurisdiction. It is a great misfortune, but it is there, and is part of a growing trades union movement. It can hardly be avoided. When you find a dozen men, each one thinking his union is the best—and they usually think that—you are bound to have some trouble about jurisdiction or demarcation.

In our country we are finding today a new suggestion, or an old suggestion in new clothes, in what is termed industrial unionism. I want to say, Mr. Chairman, that the ideal may be absolutely and perfectly right when it can be arrived at, but I do not believe it is wise at the present time. We can not jump to the ideal of one trades union all at once. We have got to develop into it on safe lines. We are finding that a number of our industrial unionist friends who want one trade combination for all workers are retarding progress from the trade industrial standpoint. In our country these pin-pricks are, after all, a little bit of a nuisance and sometimes stop progress in the right direction. It shows that among the large number of our men who are young like myself, and some younger, there is a fair amount of education to do even among the organized and the thinking portion of our trades union and working class element. And we are finding the ideal growing towards their ideal of less unions and more trades unionists. It is a right ideal, but it is bound to come by slow stages. Our Trades Union Congress in Sheffield this last September adopted several resolutions suggesting amalgamating unions of one trade or industry. We must have a federation of all the industries, and then the time may peaceably come in orderly and sensible fashion when the whole laboring sec-

tion and the whole laboring movement may be governed from one head and controlled from the top to the bottom.

However, we are being driven to changes as the time goes on. We have the same evils in England that you have in America, the evils of capitalism and trusts. When you find trusts and combinations—and we are having them more and more in our country, and mostly copied from America—then we have a form of employment, a form of wage control that is monstrous, conscienceless, and tyrannical. It, therefore, needs a stronger organization of the working class to meet this body, that is impersonal in itself, and that therefore has no thought or idea of justice towards those who toil.

Then we have the same evil to fight against that you have here—the great rage for gold. It is the question of Dimes and dollars, dollars and dimes. An empty pocket's the worst of crimes.

It may not apply in America, but it does in Great Britain and Ireland. If a man is poor it is "God help him!" there, whatever it may be in this country of yours. We have, therefore, to create a new religion, or revive an old religion, and I think it is on the lines of one of your American writers who, about 1779, said: "The world is my country; mankind are my brethren; to do good is my religion." A new public conscience is being aroused in our country, and I think also in yours, because I have noticed in the past few weeks how the laboring men have seemed to awake from a state of torpor to intelligent consideration of the political and labor side. I gather this from what I read in the papers day by day. Of course there are even among our working people in Great Britain those who believe capital is king, that it is the creator of commercial progress. They forget that it was said years ago by Abe Lincoln, in days gone by that labor was prior to and independent of capital. There was no capital in the old days Fennimore Cooper speaks of, when the pioneers from all parts of England, Ireland, Scotland and the continent went man by man long distances into the wilds of your American continent and delved their way on the farm lands of Minnesota and other States. There was no capital then; labor created the wealth. Capital had no power then. Labor is the creative genius of all wealth in this or any other country.

I would like to say that we have today in our country, and I think you have it in your country also, that hard, callous evil, aye, nearly devilish, result of our present day commercialism—the nightmare of unemployment. In our country in times of even good trade there are a number of men who want work and can not find it. One of the great kings of commerce or captains of industry, writing a short time ago in one of our magazines, said—and it is quite true that they mean it—that in-

dustry must have a surplus amount of labor; that they must always have, or they want to have, a greater number of men in the labor market seeking work than there is work for them. They said they wanted that surplus of labor because in times of emergency they desired to have that market to call upon.

I do not want to deny the fact that it may be serviceable to them to have a surplus amount of labor, but if they desire this surplus they ought to maintain it when the time comes that they can not employ all the workers. When God created men, women and children they were created with the sole object of being useful citizens in a great and mighty world. They were not born to be clothed in rags, to be housed in hovels and to die in hunger. They were born to be intelligent, able, upright persons in a great and mighty and glorious world; and yet man has so changed God's mission, man has so reconstructed God's ideals that today machinery, dollars, stocks and shares more concern the nations and the governments than do human beings. We have, therefore, got to see that the public conscience of our country, and maybe of yours, shall be aroused until there shall be no honest man or woman or child—and all children are honest, bear that in mind, and all children are good, and worthy therefore—who is not given the right to live in fairness and fullness his time through.

We are going to have therefore in our country what is termed an insurance bill to apply to the building trades and to one or two more sections where unemployment is more common in winter time. The idea is that during the time a person is unemployed he shall not be reduced to want. You know if a man is pleading for work and can not get it he becomes partly demoralized, partly degraded, or partly despairing as the time goes along. The idea is to save a man before he becomes a physical wreck and insure him a certain sum of money during times of unemployment. That is an experiment. I think it is a right one, and I hope Great Britain will go on making such experiments until all men who deserve, and all women who deserve, and all children anyhow, have a right to a full life whether trade is good or bad, profits high or low.

This deals with results only. We have some time got to tackle causes. The causes of unemployment are being driven into our minds for consideration more every day as we go along. With more machinery, with the genius of man employed to produce labor-saving machinery we are making more and more a surplus of unemployment. We have therefore to go down to the causes of these effects. I believe, myself, and speaking for myself, we are bound to have an unemployment problem in Great Britain, and probably in all countries, as long as there is private profit in labor. Until the time comes when we can change the public well being

to private well being we have got to make slow progress.

I try my best in my own country to deny the idea of some of my socialist friends that the trades union movement is played out. The trades union movement is only on the threshold of the household. It is just starting in its power and strength. It has got to grow into a giant before it is played out. I understand your population in America is seventy or eighty millions in all. Of that number there are certainly one-third or one-fourth who are wage workers, and until you have got seven-tenths of those wage workers members of your trades unions, and the same with ourselves, the trades union movement will not be placed in its proper position. I wish that we who are sometimes termed "young men in a hurry" would realize that all progress must be slow. Mazzini, the Italian patriot, said, "Ye were once slaves, then serfs, then hirelings. You have but to become brothers and free producers through association." Through association, through combination, through co-operation you can become free. In the days gone by we had slavery, in the early part of the Christian era, then serfdom, then feudalism, then the wage time, and we are going on step by step until the time is bound to come when we have public ownership of the general means of life. It is a long time off, and we must use our present day forces toward the ideal.

May I say that is one of the reasons why we have been driven into politics in Great Britain and Ireland. I think we have been fairly successful for the past five or six years. I can remember as a member of the Socialist party, twenty-five years ago being ridiculed for it. I can remember twenty-five years back being condemned because I was a member of a trades union. If you will read history you will find that all the early reformers were ridiculed. I will guarantee that your old General here has been condemned times without number because he has been, like John the Baptist, going ahead of his fellows, holding the light forward.

Our friend Mr. O'Conner yesterday mentioned that at Sheffield we had an exhibition of chain-making where three women came to our platform and said they made chains for a penny a yard. Our trades union movement has so far controlled or created public opinion that it now says that in the box-making trade, the clothing trade and in some branches of tin work there will be no more sweated wages paid to the women and children who work at those jobs. It is something to have aroused public opinion to say that these remorseless systems of commerce shall not be so uncontrolled that they can pay any price they care to the labor they employ. The wages now are 120 per cent more than they were before the Wages Board came into operation. When they come under trades unionism the wages

will increase 500 per cent to those women.

We are just now having proposed an amendment to our Factories Law. It is needed. We have in certain parts of Great Britain what is termed child labor. I remember as a lad of nine going two miles and a half to my work at half-past five in the morning, with my breakfast in my hand, and start work in the mill at six. That thing has been changed and amended. Now children can not work until they are twelve years of age, and I would have it fourteen years, and I think next year or the year after our law will be so changed that no child can be employed under fourteen years of age. I would not stop even at that. I would have children go to school until they are at least sixteen years of age, so that they may be trained mentally and physically to fight the battle of life better than they can at the present time.

We have also had our old religion revised. In the old Book it says: "Suffer little children to come unto Me." It also says: "Feed my lambs." Twenty years back, when the old Socialist member talked of feeding school children he was laughed at. I have spoken in the market place, with a chair for a platform and have advocated those things and was laughed at by working people. Today the law says that every child going to school unfed must have a meal provided at the expense of the public. It has been found out that there is a wicked waste of time and money and of human effort in trying to give a mental education to an underfed or starving child. In twenty-five years' time, after a small bit of talk here and there among those who were termed wild men in those days, our labor party came into being in 1906, and in 1907 and 1908 they made a law in Great Britain and Ireland to save these children from mental destruction.

We have in the past year adopted a Housing Bill. The Trades Union Congress, the labor party and every trades council for years have been trying for it. We will have no hovels in the near future, no houses built that may become hovels in the days to come, and no tenements that will be unhealthy and improper from a sanitary point of view. The trades unions have said we are bound to have politics in our movement, and they have done these things that make for comfort for themselves and their families.

We have difficulties. The land question is one in Great Britain. Every Trades Congress says we ought to have nationalism of land. We remember Pope Leo's words in one of his encyclicals many years ago, "That earth, air and sunshine should not be privately owned." Our labor party believes this, and fights for public ownership of land.

We have 1,600,000 trades union members in our labor party. Of these 550,000 are miners of Great Britain and Ireland. We only have officially 35,000

members of the Socialist party, and when you hear tell in the papers about the Socialist section ruling the trades union force of Great Britain you need not believe it, it cannot be done. There are 1,600,000 trades union members and only 35,000 official parties of the Socialist party who are members of the labor party. The newspapers usually omit the things you ought to know.

We have besides our national party a large number of local labor parties. On November 1, I was glad to find in the papers that in nearly every town and city in Great Britain the labor party gained in numbers in the municipal elections. What does that mean? That there is not a town or village now in the North of England or in most portions of Wales and Scotland where on school boards and town and county councils we have not men and women from our own body, men from the mills and mines and forges, the actual daily toilers, who are members of these public bodies. I am also pleased to find that in your country, as in ours, there is an improvement in the attitude towards the women's movement. In days gone by men have been calloused towards the women's movement; they have been careless with regard to women in the trades unions. Now there is a growing movement in England toward economic, political and industrial freedom for our women. The men have got to help them and stand by them. They are now wage competitors in the same market as ourselves, and we must help to organize them, even to save ourselves from destruction.

There is another movement that may be new here. It is a temperance fellowship movement in our trades union movement. Every September at the Trades Union Congress there is a gathering of about 200 trades union delegates who go together to talk temperance and labor measures only. The idea is to remove our trades union locals or branches from the various saloons or public houses into our own halls or homes. That is growing there, and it may grow here. I wish the movement Godspeed.

We have, what I think you do not have here, the co-operative movement. We have 2,500,000 members in the movement, and most of them are members of our trades unions. That movement, the friendly orders, the temperance movement and the Socialist movement go hand in hand with our trades union organization towards material progress. Why should there not be a revival of the old Owenite ideals? When Owen came to America talking co-operation he said that the first object should be to try to abolish poverty. That is all right—it needs abolishing. We have had it too long and we don't like it. The second object was to try to secure a greater share of the comforts of life. Isn't that right? You make all these things, why should you not have them?

The third ideal was to try to get these things by means of a common capital.

Our movement nationally takes in hand other issues of vital importance to our working class movement. One is to abolish war or murder by law in military or naval battles. Today our country is spending double what it was twenty-five years ago when I signed a petition against the excessive expenditure of money for the army and navy. The money comes from the toilers and the fighting men come from the working class forces. The men who control the army and navy, the men who give the orders, are drawn from the middle and upper classes, but the working classes are those who fight and pay and die. I find there is a new spirit in our country to the effect that if our rulers create wars they should go to the front and fight themselves. A new idea is growing that if Germany and France and Great Britain and your country are called upon to fight that those who find the coal and those who run the railway service and man the ships and make the goods that soldiers and sailors need, should chuck down their tools and say, "We are brothers and we are not going to fight against each other."

I am glad to be here in your vast country. In New York, Washington, Philadelphia and St. Louis, for when one finds a trades union man or woman he feels at home. Those are the people who are doing a share of the world mending. We might therefore sing and plead together with Elliot, the common law poet:

God save the people, Thine they are,  
Thy children and Thy angels fair,  
Save them from bondage and despair—  
God save the people.

President Gompers introduced to the convention Mr. W. Brace, Fraternal Delegate from the British Trades Union Congress.

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Trades Unionists: I think my first words at this convention should be words of sincere thanks to the American Federation of Labor for the more than cordial welcome given Mr. Turner and myself and our wives since we arrived at New York. I could never forgive myself if I did not publicly bear testimony to the joy we felt when Mr. Hugh Frayne and Mr. Larger came on board our boat to be our guides, philosophers, and friends until we met your distinguished President and his colleagues later.

Attending this convention or attending the British Trades Union Congress as a delegate is the legitimate ambition of every trades union leader. I, therefore, come to America with as great joy as I have ever had in any undertaking of my life, and I look upon it as a red letter day in my trades union existence when the honor is conferred upon me of expressing the fraternal greetings of our own trades unionists in Britain to our brethren in America.

Since I have come here I have given some little attention to the movement as I see it in your America. I hope I am a man of what you term in America too much "horse sense" to attempt to express an opinion upon your institutions without having time to give them proper study; but I have been here long enough to appreciate the magnitude of the task before you in this great American continent, thousands of miles in extent and with a multiplicity of languages. And the problem of organizing is such that unless the movement were led by men of the stoutest and most courageous hearts, they would faint by the way because of the enormity of the task and the responsibilities before them. I therefore may be permitted to say to you leaders of labor in America that I honor you for the way you are tackling your responsibilities, and I shall go back home and testify that only by the efforts of men of the mightiest courage is it possible to build up a great and powerful trades union movement on this great continent.

The task in Britain is a comparatively small one as compared to yours, but we are members of the same people. Through cable and steamship and Marconigram we are near neighbors, and therefore we are heirs to a great inheritance and a greater destiny, and I am anxious that this great continent, with Great Britain, as the English speaking people, shall be loyal to their destiny and shall establish the claims of humanity as the greatest possible undertaking that valiant men and noble women can accomplish in their day.

One of the passages of Lord Morley in the life of Gladstone has a most pregnant sentence I should like to repeat: "Be inspired with the belief that life is a great and noble calling, not a mean and grovelling thing to be hustled through as we can, but a great and lofty destiny." It is because trades unionists realize that life ought to be a lofty destiny that we decline to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the privileged classes of any nation. It is because of my profound faith in the movement that I rejoice in coming before you as a trades unionist and a strong supporter of the trades union movement, which is the bedrock upon which all these great movements have been established.

I was glad to hear Mr. Turner say it does not well become us to talk down our movement which has done so much for the amelioration of the conditions of the working classes in every country where it has been tried. I am a member of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain and I have for nearly twenty years been attending the International Congresses. I meet my brethren in Germany, in Austria, in France, and in Belgium. What do we find? That capital is impersonal. We have found that, irrespective of country or nationalities, trades unions are essential and vital necessities if the

laborer is to secure a return for service, fair conditions of employment, and wages of a character that will allow him to raise and maintain his family in some kind of comfort and some kind of respectability. I have no patience with men who talk down the trades union movement. They are attacking a movement that has been built upon blood and suffering, whether in America, the United Kingdom, or the continent of Europe.

You have heard of the Barbarini vase. History says that it is one of two pieces of wonderful pottery created by a genius to hold the ashes of a great emperor. This vase became the property of the Duchess of Portland and was placed in the British Museum. If you go there you will see this little piece of pottery ten inches high and a few inches in circumference; looking at it you will think it entirely whole and complete; looking carefully you will find that it is lined and seamed, the cause being that one day a drunken man went into the British Museum and with a stone smashed this precious piece of pottery into a hundred fragments. What it took a genius to create a mad man destroyed. I say to you, to the American people who do not know the history of this great trades union movement, whether in Great Britain or in America, that it is a splendid jewel to be jealously guarded, and no man can be a friend to the oppressed and the poor who would, for any reason whatever, attempt to reduce the power of this mighty institution that stands between capital and often too helpless labor.

In Great Britain we work largely by conciliation and arbitration. In our Society and in many other Societies we have our conciliation boards selected for five years or for three years, as the case may be. An equal number of employers' and workmen's representatives meet. When we fail to agree there is an independent or neutral chairman called in. He has not full power to please himself but to give a casting vote for or against the proposition before the board. The miners, one of the most powerful organized trades in Great Britain or in the world, have their own conciliation board and their own minimum. Wages now are 50 per cent above the standard of 1879. We take a certain period and the rates and conditions of that period will be taken as a standard. The years 1879 and 1885 are the two periods taken in Wales, England and Scotland. Upon that period we have 50 per cent; but there is a distinct proviso that no matter what the condition of trade may be, no matter what the selling price of the commodity may be, no matter what the cost of production may be, no instrument or power or institution or award shall bring wages below a 35 per cent minimum upon the standard of 1879 and 1885.

That, in a sentence, demonstrates the kind of work we do in the trades union movement.

In the industrial field we must have the trades union. The union must be powerful to look after the interests of the individual man, to look after the interests of the collective body in factory, mine or workshop, to deal with matters generally such as this American Federation of Labor deals with. But side by side with its industrial effort, the trades union movement must be political as well. It is bound to be such in character. The day has gone by, in my judgment, when trades unionists can afford to ignore their position in the political life of the nation. Capital is represented in the British House of Commons and powerfully entrenched in the House of Lords. Labor, therefore, must not be content to stand in the outer lobby of Parliament asking other people to do for it what it should do for itself. Labor must go on the floor of Parliament and demand in the name of the organized workers that its desires be carried into effect.

I listened with great interest to the more than admirable and eloquent speech of the Governor of Missouri from this platform, dealing with compensation. May I say to you trades unionists in America that I do not think we could have had a compensation law—at least I am certain we could not have had such a compensation law as we have in Great Britain, today—were it not that members of the working people were in their places upon the floor of the Chamber and in the committee rooms doing their part and taking their share in molding the law.

I am not to be classed among those who do not recognize that there are men outside of the ranks of the workers who have great sympathy with them. I am always glad to receive the help of any section of the community that is willing to help us make the conditions of our people better than they are, but no parliament can translate into law the real desires and necessities of the people unless men are there who are of the people, bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh, and who in their own lives and experience can tell the legislative authorities exactly the views and aspirations of those who are doing the work for the nation.

Our compensation law provides that men and women shall get half their wages if they have been injured. The servant girls are protected; the woman who goes out to work in the villa of the rich or the cottage of the humble is protected. The laundry girls and the factory girls are protected. In case of an accident, half of their wages shall be paid; and let me say that it does not follow if their rules have been violated that they do not get compensation. As a matter of fact, our courts have held that the idea of wilful misconduct, the idea that a man or a woman would get hurt to secure compensation, is without the bounds of human reason. Although a man or a woman may violate the mining laws or the fac-

tory laws and as a consequence is hurt, the courts have held that it is not wilful and serious misconduct, but that it is an error of judgment, and you may fine a person under the law he has violated, but you have to pay the compensation.

The compensation law does not abolish our right under the common law or under the employers' liability act. Say an employer has been guilty of not taking all the reasonable precautions to protect the life and limb of his people and an accident occurs; we take that employer into court—not under the compensation law but under the employers' liability law or under the common law—and publicly expose him as a man who is guilty of not treating human life in all its sacredness. We are not limited as to the amount we can claim. Whereas our limit under the compensation law in case of death would be three hundred pounds, time and again we have gone into court and secured four or five hundred pounds as the amount of compensation the court held the employer should pay under the liability law because he had not taken all reasonable precautions to safeguard the people in his employ. We were able to secure this largely through our political activity.

We have our eight hours act for the mines. No man, other than under a special order or for special reasons which have to be entered in a book, is allowed to work in the mines of the United Kingdom for a period longer than eight hours in twenty-four. Let me say as a kind of demonstration of the power of the trades union that while we were able to win this measure of reform through legislative enactment, the power of our organization enabled us to retain our wages intact when the hours were reduced.

The last speech I made in the House of Commons before adjournment in August was a speech calling upon the government to deal seriously with the awful waste of human life that had been going on in the mines of the United Kingdom. As I came across the water I secured one of the little bulletins issued on the vessel and was amazed to find that, heavy and appalling as the death rate is among the miners of Great Britain, the death rate in America is substantially 100 per cent more than that. Oh, men of America, it is time that great owners of capital and great powerful statesmen are taught by organized labor that the great wealth of a nation is not property or silver or gold, but that the real wealth of a nation is its human lives!

I am glad to testify that the home secretary, Mr. Churchill, recognizing there was a cause to be answered, here, has undertaken to have in the next session of Parliament a new mines bill which will embrace some of the things organized labor for years has been demanding in behalf of the men who go down, with an enormous loss of life, to bring one great source of wealth to the nation. We are promised that we

shall have a certain number of men appointed as mines inspectors; they will be drawn from the working class themselves; so that we shall have an extensive investigation before accidents happen, and thereby prevent the awful loss of life.

The tragedy of the labor movement is that our opponents are not always outside our ranks; the tragedy of the labor movement is when men of their own class turn against their fellows. A number of our trades unionists have become plaintiffs in an action, and as a consequence the trades unions of Great Britain are under injunction to prevent them from using their money for political purposes. There is likely to be another general election within a few weeks. You can not fight an election in Great Britain or in America without money. Payment of members of Parliament presupposes success at the polls. I am glad to see my friend W. B. Wilson in this convention, and if I may be permitted, I take this occasion to congratulate him upon his election to Congress. He knows there is an amount not only of labor but of expenditure to be undertaken before a man can succeed at the polls. In my own Parliamentary election money was poured out like water to prevent us from succeeding. It cost my Society twenty-four hundred pounds to win the seat I hold. What is the use of saying to men such as we are that they will pay members of Parliament and that they ought to accept that as meeting their views, when, unless they spend money in large amounts, it is impossible for labor to stand any chance against the representatives of capital in the contest for membership in the House of Parliament? We will accept payment of members of Parliament as a civic right, not as meeting our case but as the right of every man who serves the State to be paid for the service he renders to the State. We demand that the trades unions shall be free to spend their own money in their own way and for their own interests. What are we asking for? Simply the right to govern ourselves upon the democratic principle of government by majority. We are not asking for the right to spend the employers' money; not asking for the right to spend other people's money; we are simply demanding the right to spend our own money in our own way according to the wish of the majority of our members. We are up against a great fundamental rule from which we can not be driven back. The right of the majority to rule and govern themselves is a right which every body of people in every democratic state is bound to demand and maintain. There are two parties at least in America, the Republican and the Democratic. Whichever party gets in power, the laws are made against the wishes of a substantial minority; suppose the minority says "We do not like these laws and we are not willing to pay taxes or to conform to the laws." All the resources of this mighty nation would be brought to bear to make them



obey the law, made not by unanimous vote but by the vote of the majority.

I was very much interested to see, speaking as a Welshman, that upon your records of last year you carried a resolution of compliment and congratulation to my distinguished countryman, Lloyd-George, because of his desire to deal more strictly with the owners of land in the United Kingdom. The landlords were unwilling to pay the increased taxes. They said, "We are not going to sign form four to give you the information you desire," and they said, "We are not going to sign form seven," which would cause them to be taxed more than they were being taxed. The government said, "You may object as much as you like, but you have got to pay." If it is right for the landlords by majority rule to be made to pay all the demands under the budget, can it be wrong for the majority of the trades unionists to say that within their own trades unions the minority must obey the law of the majority and that we have the right to spend our money for political or other purposes as the majority think wise?

Not only must we have the right to spend our money to keep members in parliament, but we must have our right to local administrative bodies. What is the use of having a powerful parliamentary party and the means to win reforms through political machinery, unless we have on local administrative bodies of the country men who will give sympathetic consideration to the causes of reform that have been won through the imperial legislature? We call upon the government to concede to the cause of labor the same principle of government by democracy that is recognized by the wisest minds of every democratic state, no matter in what part of the country it may be found. You can not claim for America or for Britain or for any other country that law by the majority is the soundest and best law and refuse to give that same principle of government to labor whether in the United Kingdom or in America. That is what we stand for.

I have a profound faith in the power of organized labor when powerfully organized and intelligently directed. The time has more than come when we must rouse ourselves up to the fact that we must emphasize before the public our points of agreement, not our points of disagreement. Do not let us weaken the great movement for which we stand by allowing the public to think that because we differ in policies or in opinions, there is no room within our great democratic trades unions for such differences. We want to stand four square to push back the attack of capital. The attack is becoming acute that capital is making day by day upon the working people. It is because of my profound faith in the movement that I say we want to strike a new note, national, international, local, and individual. Too long has it been thought that in the great contest of nations the determining factor as to whether we

live or die as a great people will be settled by a few privileged families or a few millionaires. Nations must not forget that for every millionaire in every land, there must be millions of people who do not know where to turn for their next meal. In the great testing day of nations, when great America and imperial Britain shall stand face to face with the great crisis, the determining factor of whether we shall be reduced in power or strengthened will not be the wealth of the millionaires or the aristocratic families. It will be the measure of comfort to be found in the homes of the people.

I am satisfied that this movement of ours, with all its imperfections, is the one instrument that will bring pressure to bear upon nations to do some measure of justice to the wage-earners. Think of Rome, imperial Rome! that stood out mighty in engineering skill and mighty in military power! I have fished sometimes in the forest of Dean by the side of a road built by the Romans, and it is as perfect today as when it was made. But what of Rome? Rome has been broken; swept into oblivion as a world power, not because she lacked skill or power, but because she failed to do her duty in her day to the mass of the people. In these days when nations are working for great mercantile marines it might be pointed out that Carthage was a mighty mercantile power in the days that are gone. Carthage did not lack capacity or commercial skill, but Carthage was wiped out, not because she lacked power but because she failed to recognize the great human problems. In my own beloved Wales, where we have a passion for education of the people, where fathers and mothers make enormous sacrifices that their boys and girls may have a straight course from the elementary schools to the universities, I point out as I do here: "What of Greece? Greece gathered to herself all the culture of the world, but Greece is broken and swept away. She failed to realize her obligation to the people." The same great fundamental laws that broke Rome and Carthage and Greece will break America and will break Britain, if the claims of the poor are not dealt with.

The responsibility is upon organized labor here and upon organized labor in Britain, to tell this new note to the nations: that capital has its responsibilities as well as its privileges; that the call for the newer and the higher humanity is a call the nations can not afford to ignore with impunity. And with a view of making this note strong and powerful enough to give us reform, I say to the working classes:

Give us men—

Men of every rank,  
Fresh and free and frank;  
Men of thought and reading,  
Men of light and leading,  
Men of faith and not of faction,  
Men of lofty aim and action—  
Give us men, I plead again,  
Give us men!

President Gompers introduced to the convention Mr. R. P. Pettipiece, Fraternal Delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Fraternal Delegate Pettipiece: Mr. Chairman and fellow workers: It is my duty, my pleasure and my privilege this morning to convey to you from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada the greetings of its affiliated membership and the wage-workers generally throughout the Dominion. I have always been proud to be a member of the international labor movement; but after my experience here this morning, after listening to my fellow fraternal delegates, I am more than ever convinced that the future statesmen of this Continent will be found largely within the confines of our international labor movement.

I believe one of the greatest problems that confronts the workers of this Continent is, not so much to push on to accepting responsibility, as to prepare ourselves for the responsibilities that are fast being forced upon us. As compared with my esteemed friend, Brother Turner, I have been only a short time in the international labor movement; but in that short time I have been made to feel that the trades union movement, allied with the political movement, is nothing more, possibly, than a training school for the future statesmen and law-makers of this Continent.

It is sometimes a habit among members of the organized labor movement to find a little fault in connection with the huge expense of holding such conventions as this; but I ask any delegate here this morning, after the experience we have already had in this convention, after the things we have been able to learn, if the value of the personal acquaintanceship and the value of the hand-clasp of those we have been working with and reading about can be measured by the monetary cost? Who is going to estimate it in dollars and cents? Who is going to put a price upon the bearing it will have upon the future labor movement of this Continent.

The modern school of thought in the international labor movement owes much to the old school of trades unionists, to the men who have made possible the purpose and trend of the wage-workers' movement of today.

The speakers who preceded me have referred to the problems that confront the wage-workers, not only on the American Continent and the United Kingdom, but throughout the entire world; and just in proportion as members of the wage-working class learn to understand this international character of the labor movement, just so much will we make for its future triumph. Speaking from a continental standpoint, we have such issues as the rapid capitalist development, increased cost of living and the same old night-

mare my brother fraternal delegates referred to, that of unemployment, due to the introduction of machinery and the displacement of labor. We have all these and many other problems to face. I will not go into them in detail, but I am of the opinion that all these problems we are grappling with at this time have their tape-root in and spring from the fundamental evil of corporate ownership of the means of life.

As a representative of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress it becomes my duty to explain to you as best I can some of the immediate problems we are grappling with over there. At the last convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada one of the subjects that occupied the attention of the delegates was that of a phenomenal immigration. The delegates will understand that Canada is a new and a growing country. I want to impress upon the officers of international unions especially the tremendous responsibilities that are being placed upon the shoulders of the members of the organized labor movement in Canada by virtue of the number of people being poured into that country. In addition to the one transcontinental railroad we already have, four more are being constructed, and as they are being built the governmental authorities and other agencies under various cloaks and disguises seem to be at work for the purpose of pouring into the country the surplus labor of Europe and elsewhere. The development in Canada during the next ten years will equal a development it has taken thirty years to produce in the United States. I remember, although I am a young man, the rush there was to the far West of the States a few years ago. That same or even a greater development, is taking place in Canada. I want to again impress upon international officers the necessity of coming to the aid of the officers and members of the unions in Canada to help us organize and educate and care for the tremendous influx of population into Canada at this time. Some three years ago the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress sent a representative to Great Britain to plead with the unionists there to prevent immigrants coming to Canada under misrepresentation. We found the government—the employers' executives—against us and were compelled to change our methods. Now we have resolved at the last congress to face the issues squarely and turn organizers loose in an effort to assimilate and organize and educate those men as they come in, and persuade them to join with us and face the problems as we have been doing in the past. In this gigantic task I plead for the co-operation of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor. At the convention of the Trades and Labor Congress in Victoria, in 1906, after a discussion of some two or three days, the delegates came to the conclu-

sion that in the best interests of the workers throughout Canada they would declare for absolutely independent political action. That declaration on the part of the congress has been reaffirmed at every convention from then until now. I want to point out, however, that the congress made a provision that in the carrying out of that declaration provincial autonomy was granted. The workers in each province therefore determine for themselves how best to carry out the declaration. There are so many things I might refer to in connection with this great international labor movement that I scarcely know where to begin; but as my fellow fraternal delegates have so thoroughly covered the necessity of the wage-workers, and especially the necessity of members of the organized labor movement going into politics for themselves, I do not believe it will be necessary for me to further emphasize that point. However, as my home town is in British Columbia, I will touch on the situation there. The problem of immigration is a live question in British Columbia, more so than in any other portions of the Dominion, on account of the presence of orientals. There are between 35,000 and 40,000 orientals in the Province of the British Columbia. We have occasion to believe that something more than resolutions may be required in the settlement of that problem. As a delegate to the Trades and Labor Congress for the last five or six years I have introduced a hardy annual, that, "inasmuch as the capitalists of the world create the wars they should do their own fighting." I appreciate, however, that all the privileges we, as workingmen enjoy, are granted to us only in proportion to the power we have to secure them. For the last twenty or thirty years we have been educating the orientals by the best means that could be found in Germany, in England and in the United States. We have had every ship carrying over the means of producing wealth, and the Japanese at least have demonstrated to us that they are masters at the art of warfare. They are also beginning to demonstrate their achievements in the industries. In proportion to this development among the orientals we have to handle delicately the question of the Japanese. Since we have had a little squabble with them on our coast a year or two ago their quarters there have been nothing more than an arsenal. I am opposed to militarism, but I am compelled to believe that because of this "spirit of Japan" that inspires these orientals to take the position they do we may be compelled to reconsider our position in that respect and make up our minds to take action to preserve the white race on this continent. We had hoped that by education and probably by organization we would be able to assimilate and make these people part of the international labor movement, but that does not seem probable

in the near future. In British Columbia I presume we have had nothing more than the growth and development you have had in this country. When I went to the province about twenty-one years ago the different industries were in the hands of individuals. Later they grew into the hands of companies, then into syndicates, and although we sing "Britons never will be slaves," our timber interests are dominated practically by Mr. Swift, of Swift, Armour and Company; our coal mines are owned by another labor-skinning corporation, in San Francisco, in conjunction with James J. Hill, of St. Paul; and our fisheries are owned by other American and British capitalists. Whatever is left the Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Companies own. No matter what flag floats over Canada, our friend Pierpont Morgan seems to rule the industrial waves! We as workingmen in the Province of British Columbia and in Canada have ourselves made all this possible. Every privilege of every corporation in the capitalized world enjoys has been given to them by the working class. Years ago in Sunday school I learned that "the Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away." So it must be with the workers. Every privilege we have given them we must take away if we are to defend our own interests. They—the capitalists—have shown us how to do it. The workers of British Columbia and elsewhere have voted for the representatives of the old political parties, and, no matter whether they were Liberals or Conservatives, Democrats or Republicans, they were no better than the principles their parties stood for, and that is the corporate ownership of the means of life. As soon as three or four corporations owned the jobs of the citizens of that province we were compelled to take action. As with the workers elsewhere, we never do anything until we are compelled to. We were compelled to take some radical and revolutionary steps there. When James Dunsmuir closed down the mines on Vancouver Island because the miners had asked for an increase in pay and had gone on strike, he said to the striking miners through a royal commission: "These mines are mine. Can not I do as I like with my own property?" That statement, Mr. Chairman, is correct, no matter how brutal it may be. If the workers will walk to the ballot box on election day and confer the power to write the law and make it legal for them to own these things we must give them the right to do as they like with their own property. The miners in British Columbia then began to question their right to own that property. That famous declaration in British Columbia gave birth to the Socialist party. Its exponents declared that when they got a majority they would make all this property the collective property of the working class. I remember how unpopular it was to be a member of that party at that time. We had to carry on a campaign simi-

lar to that referred to by Mr. Turner this morning. However, since 1903 the Socialist party in British Columbia has grown from a little group of less than a dozen men in Vancouver to a party that polled twenty-one per cent of the votes in that county, despite of the fact that we had only twenty-one candidates running in forty-two constituencies. In British Columbia the Socialist Party has the distinguished honor of having one of its members the parliamentary leader of His Majesty's loyal opposition. A great deal has been said about legislation that has been secured. All the legislation that has been referred to by my comrades and all I could refer to that has been passed in British Columbia came after the appearance of a few labor members in the house. We got the eight-hour day for bituminous miners and metalliferous miners, then we secured the workman's compensation act, and much other pallistine labor legislation. Almost every province in Canada now has a workman's compensation act. That word "compensation" is very often misinterpreted. I have stood on the banks of Coal Creek in the Fernie District, after an explosion that had killed 136 bread winners. I saw the widows and children waiting for their loved ones to be brought to the surface—and then you talk to me about compensation. If all the corporations on top of earth at this moment were to relinquish their right, title and ownership and hand over to the working people everything they have on earth, it would not compensate for the wrongs they have perpetrated on our people for lo, these many years. It now costs money to kill a man in these particular provinces, and therefore there is less killing done. Where they were killing at the rate of four or five hundred miners a year, after the first and second year we had the compensation act and had wrung from two mining corporations in British Columbia \$132,000, they got busy and brought in a measure which provided for mine inspectors. For the first time in our history they allowed the miners to name one inspector, the government to name one and these in turn name the third. A miner can now go to a member of his own union and inform him of gas in the mine without danger of losing his job. This is as it should be, according to the testimony given by many of the miners themselves. The real value of this Workman's Compensation Act is to better protect and fit us to fight the real battles for industrial freedom. I hope that as a result of the magnificent addresses given by my fellow delegates, and as a result of the deliberations of this convention, some new ideas, some new thoughts will be planted in the minds of the delegates. I hope also that as a result of the deliberations of this convention we will go home bigger and better men.

President Gompers introduced to the convention Rev. Charles Stelzle, Fraternal Delegate from the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ.

Fraternal Delegate Stelzle: It is a particular pleasure for me to come to this convention in St. Louis, not simply because of the privilege of attending this convention, but because about a dozen years ago I began my ministry in St. Louis among the working people on the south side of the city. I remember that work most vividly. In an auditorium about as large as this we gathered together every Sunday about a thousand children from the homes of the working people. I remember with pleasure also that we had seventy-five of the daughters of the workmen of South St. Louis in the cooking classes. We engaged the best teachers of cooking in St. Louis to give them weekly instructions. We had six boys' clubs. We had meetings of women. I remember the gymnasium and other features in connection with that enterprise. I recall also the job I used to have to find work for the men. We had a chorus of a hundred voices and we employed music teachers to bring more of sweetness and joy into the lives of those working people. I have always had a profound impression that what great numbers of working men and women and children lack is the enlargement of their lives; that which would broaden their outlook and give them a chance to enjoy the beautiful things in life, which in most cases are given to the rich. Last night I had the pleasure of going to the same church, invited by those people and there as I looked into the faces of tired mothers, of widows, I recalled my own personal experience in their homes as they lived their lives of sacrifice and suffering, due in many cases to weak husbands, due often to adverse economic conditions; but whatever the cause may have been it was my privilege as their minister to counsel with them, to help them as I had opportunity. But also I saw on that platform a great crowd of young people, a great chorus larger than the one we had twelve years ago, presided over by a little Polish girl. When I was there twelve years ago, that little Polish shop girl, then about twelve years old, was struggling in the midst of the most adverse circumstances to break out into the larger life which, by all the rights of God and of humanity, belonged to her. I remember that as she became a member of the choir we had then she was eager to learn more about music. In some way, I need not tell you how, she got the chance. Last night, still a young Polish girl, she stood before that chorus with her baton in her hand, and as they sang I was more deeply thrilled as she led that great chorus than I was when the St. Louis Choral Symphony played the other day, and I was thrilled then. As I walked out of that church last night I grinned, because there wasn't any "trough" in

front of the church! There was a fountain inside, and a fountain is a whole lot better than a "trough!"

It is about six years since I first came to the convention of the American Federation of Labor as a Fraternal Delegate representing the Presbyterian Department of Church and Labor. Last year I came as a fraternal delegate representing the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, which represents thirty-three denominations with a membership of about 18,000,000. I come to you in the same capacity this year. Some of you may recall that last year I made a statement that if I got the chance this year I would get that council to stand for some pretty definite things with regard to the economic conditions of the working people of America. One of the first things accomplished last year after I went back from the convention was the appointment of a special committee to visit South Bethlehem where the strike of the steel workers was in progress. We investigated conditions there. I need not repeat to this convention the things we discovered. We did make certain recommendations which were sent broadcast throughout the country and throughout the church. I want to read two or three of these recommendations.

"A twelve-hour day and a seven-day week are alike a disgrace to civilization. There is a way of avoiding each, but they will not be avoided until society requires the backward members of the community to conform to the standards recognized by decent men. The continuous industries—those necessarily operating on seven days a week—are numerous enough to require special regulation. They include today, railroads, street cars, telegraph and telephone lines, heat, light and power plants, newspaper offices, blast furnaces, hotels and restaurants and other industries. There should be laws requiring three shifts in all industries operating 24 hours a day, and there should be laws requiring one day of rest in seven for all workmen in seven-day industries.

"That directly growing out of the Bethlehem situation the Federal Government be urged to include in its specifications for armor plate, war vessels, construction work and the like, that the work be done on a six-day basis, and that where operations are necessarily continuous, the 24 hours be divided into three shifts of eight instead of two of twelve. The government is rich enough to pay for vessels constructed under the best sanitary and economic conditions.

"It is essential that there be some method whereby employes may approach their employers with their grievances without prejudice against those selected to represent them. The committee would raise the question of recognition of the right of all workmen to organize in such a manner as may seem best to them, provided that they keep within the limits of the law; and

we recommend that employers of labor recognize such organizations when they speak in behalf of their members.

"The committee reaffirms, in the name of the Commission on the Church and Social Service, the three principles for which the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America asserts the church must stand:

"1. The gradual and reasonable reduction of the hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life.

"2. A release from employment one day in seven.

"3. A living wage as a minimum in every industry, and the highest wage that each industry can afford."

That is merely a report of progress. We are on the job. We are doing what we can in our way, not as a trades union, mind you, but as a combination of the Protestant churches of America to bring about better economic conditions among the working people of this country.

But other things have happened during the past year. I have been amazed and my friends have been amazed because there has not been a more determined opposition to this department I have been representing. There has been opposition. There has been opposition by Mr. Parry and Mr. Post, but recently there has been a very decided and determined opposition by Mr. John Kirby, Jr., of Dayton, Ohio. I have never replied to any of these accusations or criticisms, and this is the first time in all my career that I have mentioned the names of these gentlemen in public in relation to their attack upon me personally and upon the department which I represent. A little while ago Mr. Kirby sent out to all the editors of our church a long letter in which he said some very strong things with reference to my personal attitude towards organized labor, and especially the attitude of the Presbyterian Church with regard to these matters. I will not read all the letter, but will read a few extracts:

"The attitude of the Presbyterian Church in encouraging and promoting the boycott in spite of the many court decisions, including the Supreme Court of the United States, that it is unlawful and wicked; the closed shop; the deprivation of opportunity for our boys to learn trades of their choice and the leveling down process of all working men, by affiliating through officially authorized delegates with the American Federation of Labor and thus condoning its record of barbarism, is so repulsive to me and from my viewpoint so out of harmony with the laws of God and the teachings of Christ that that church professes to promote that my conscience will not permit me to assist in extending its influence. Indeed it would be the height of inconsistency for me to do so. I not only criticize but I condemn the wisdom of such a policy. The spectacle of a Presbyterian min-

ister authoritatively representing the Presbyterian Church in affiliation with such an anti-Christian organization as the American Federation of Labor and boldly advocating its doctrines, boasting that he is a member of the International Association of Machinists and carries a union card and proclaiming his approval of the closed shop and the union labels is so abhorrent to me that I wonder what material is made after all. This deception has lasted for five years or more and its influence is stronger today than ever."

It has come to pass that Mr. Kirby reports stenographically in some cases the addresses I have been giving about the country; that he reports the addresses of my associates in my department, and I have no doubt that his representative is present in this audience today. These reports are sent back to Mr. Kirby, who prints them in a subsidized paper in Dayton, a paper which poses as a labor paper. A little while ago in a six-column article Mr. Kirby roasts the speaker to a finish. I want to read a paragraph of this roast:

"In the opinion of those who have opportunity of viewing the entire field of organized labor's activity, studying its plans and analyzing its motives and have the acumen to understand what they see, hear and read, the time has come when every friend of the Y. M. C. A., every advocate of the cause and every worker in the field of Christian endeavor, should give intelligent, earnest and conscientious consideration to the plans and methods of the American Federation of Labor for capturing this great movement which has for its purpose the moral, intellectual and social uplift of the young men of America—of the civilized world. That it has such plans and is carrying them out can not be successfully denied.

"The same advice and warning is equally applicable to those who are promoting the movement to 'Take the Church to the Working Man,' by which the plotters against the non-union workman and the subservient representatives of the American Federation of Labor mean its 'capture,' its rule and domination by Gompers' trades unionism, Debs' socialism and Emma Goldman's anarchism—then, Revolution."

Another paper said:

"The conviction has been growing that the influence of Mr. Stelzie's work is bad; that Stelzie's efforts to take the Presbyterian church over to and into organized labor should be condemned and opposed, and they will be in the near future and in a general and surprising way, one which will attract general attention in and outside of the Presbyterian church."

Here is another:

"Rev. Charles Stelzie, Superintendent of the Church and Labor Department of the Presbyterian church, is the American Federation of Labor's most successful propagandist.

"He represents that large and influential denomination as fraternal delegate

to the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor, the annual conventions of national labor organizations of the different crafts, and at meetings of local trades and labor councils.

"By personal visitation, influence and entreaty he has secured the appointment of fraternal delegates to local trades and labor councils by the ministerial associations of the larger cities of the country, and arranged for representation of these trades bodies in the ministerial associations.

"He avails himself of every opportunity to proclaim his doctrine and advocate the closed shop in the pulpit, on the lecture platform, at the chautauquas, and whenever and wherever he can get an audience. His work is successful; partly because of his special qualification, but largely because of the fact that he assumes the air of thus saith the Lord, out of the mouth of His apostle, chosen by the Presbyterian Church of the United States to represent him."

I want to say, gentlemen, that the influence of this sort of thing is such as will in no sense injure either the American Federation of Labor or the department of church and labor. If there is one thing Mr. Kirby has insisted on in his public declarations it is that he believes in good unionism. Does Mr. Kirby imagine for a moment that I could afford to stand for any other kind of unionism? Does he imagine for a moment that this American Federation of Labor could afford to stand for any other kind of unionism? And while Mr. Kirby persistently reiterates the statement that he believes in organized labor, but that he does not believe in the kind of organized labor I am advocating, I insist that what Mr. Kirby practically means is that he believes in no kind of organized labor, and he would wipe the whole thing off the face of the earth if he got half a chance.

Any man who is so intemperate in his speech as Mr. Kirby so frequently is, is unfit to represent the decent manufacturers of the United States. I want to say further that if Mr. Kirby insists on lying about me he will not hesitate to lie about you. I stand by everything I have ever said in any meeting of this convention with regard to organized labor. That does not mean, and you will bear me witness, that I stand for lawlessness or anything that is contrary to the customs of our country, any more than I believe that you gentlemen do; because I have a notion that I know your sentiments with regard to these great problems. I do stand, however, for better economic conditions, and I welcome any movement, I care not where it comes from, that stands by the workmen of the world in lifting up the downtrodden and the oppressed. If Mr. Kirby believes he can intimidate or coerce me or the Presbyterian church he has undertaken a bigger job than he thinks.

I have always had an idea since I have been on this job, and long before, that the church is simply a means to an end and not an end in itself, and frankly I repeat here what I have said before our own church conventions, that while I am anxious to have workmen go to church; to the Protestant Church, if that is their church; to the Catholic church, if that is their church; to the Jewish church, if that is their church—while I believe in that and would agitate it and talk about it, I am far more anxious to have the church go to the workingman. It is the business of the church of Jesus Christ, if it is here for anything at all, to uplift our common humanity, and if it is not doing that it had better get out of business.

I need not repeat here some of the things I have said about my own personal experience and why it is I am on this job; but I do want to make this statement, that there came a time in my life, back in that old machine shop in New York, when I could no longer stay there. I had lived among the tenements of the East Side too long not to feel the great heart throb of the working people. I knew their sufferings—aye, I knew them down to the point where it weighed down my life and deprived me, and is depriving me today, of some of those privileges I believed belonged to me by reason of being born into this world. I felt I could no longer stay in that shop working at my trade, not because I did not like the job, because I did; but I had a profound conviction that I must get out and fight the battles of the working people—my people. The question arose as to whether I should become a labor agitator, talking upon the streets of the East Side of New York, from the end of a bobtail cart if I could not get a hall, talking to the people on the street corners and urging them to fight for their rights, to aspire to the better things of life and to oppose every movement and every institution that stood in the way of the progress of the people, whether to do that sort of thing or whether I should become a minister and work from within the Church outward was the problem. After thinking the whole thing over I decided, so far as I was concerned, I could do my best work from within the Church rather than from without, and from that day to this I have been honestly trying to do it, sometimes with considerable opposition, often in the face of misunderstandings from without the labor movement and from within.

But, gentlemen, let me say that I am on this job to stay, and I am on the job because of my original purpose to stand by the working people of America until the day shall arrive when they shall receive those things which rightfully belong to them in spite of every opposing force. And the thing that has spurred me on, particularly in the past few

weeks, has been the messages I have received from back home, from a mother who has gone through the whole round of suffering and sacrifice, a mother who has been put out upon the streets of the East Side of New York because she could not pay the rent, who has gone hungry for days in order to give her children something to eat, and then only stale bread and salt—that mother who passed through all these things to support her six children in a rear tenement is on the point of collapse. And when I think of other women suffering as she has suffered, working for less than she worked for, I do not need an American Federation of Labor Convention or any church resolution or anything else to commit me unqualifiedly to the battle of the common people of this country in an effort to secure a square deal for these downtrodden women, these suffering children and these oppressed workingmen of our land.

President Gompers introduced to the convention Rev. Peter E. Dietz, of Oberlin, Ohio, fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Catholic Societies.

Fraternal Delegate Father Dietz: Mr. President and Members of the Convention—I am very glad to be among you because of the personal satisfaction that it gives me. I was with you last year in Toronto in an unofficial capacity, and the impressions I received were strong and deep and lasting. I have not failed to give a good report whenever and wherever I have had the opportunity. I had not been a stranger to trades unionism before that. I will not go into details of the things I have been interested in; it is sufficient to say that at the present time I hold an honorary commission as organizer from the State Federation of Labor of Ohio. But my personal part, small as it is, could be of no particular interest to you were it not that I have been honored by representing an organization which in many respects resembles your own. In membership it is equal to your own organization, numbering over 3,000,000 thoroughly organized men. It is made up of many nationalities. While its primary object is a defense of the rights of the Catholic citizen it has also as an object the elevation of the standard of American citizenship, which it has in common with you of the American Federation of Labor.

I am proud that it is my privilege to be the first man to represent the American Federation of Catholic Societies in your body. It is not necessary to assure you that you enjoy the sympathy of the great organized body of the Catholic laity in the United States, for that sympathy has always been with you, and if proof were wanting it could be found in the fact that a very large part of the men who are in the service of the trades union movement owe spiritual allegiance to the Catholic faith,

and I dare say that their Catholic faith has never stood in the way of their trade unionism. You yourselves will attest that they have been as loyal to you as the most loyal among you; that they have stood shoulder to shoulder with you; that they have borne with you the brunt of every battle, and to-day they sit honorably with you in this convention.

Trades unionism has always been a part of the Catholic system of thought. It may not have been in that name, but the substance of it, according to the times and the modifications of circumstances, has always been a part of the Christian civilization of the past. I need not enter into details, for any fair student of economic history will satisfy himself that the Catholic Church has not stood in the way of the just aspirations of the people, but has ever been their champion.

But today I do not wish to speak of what is past. I wish to tell you what is our conviction today. It is our idea that society is built upon the unit, the family is built upon the unit, the State is built upon the unit. As we look out over the State we notice it is an industrial State. As an industrial State it rests upon industrial society and industrial society to a great extent rests upon trades unionism. In fact, we can say that trades unionism is the very backbone of industrial society, and therefore the great problem of social reform is largely the problem of trades unionism. We have witnessed in the nineteenth century a great democratic movement. We have noticed everywhere how the power of government or of forming the government has passed from the hands of the few into those of the great masses of the common people. It is not necessary to examine the causes, but it has forced the legislatures of every civilized land to give a larger share of its work to the social problems, to the adjustment of the relations of the workmen and the employers, of the rich and the poor. The poorer and weaker portion of the population is made up of working men. They form the greatest part of the population and it is meet and just and right in a democracy that they shall have the greatest share in making and in the administration of the law, and that they are entitled to the largest benefit of the law.

But we realize that the protection of the State can not be enduring unless it be sustained by labor organization. The very fact that the country gives continued evidence of social dissatisfaction and disaster is proof to any thinking man that society is not sufficiently organized. If every industry were organized, the parasitic industries that take and use up the life-blood of the successive relays of working men, casting the worn-out toiler on the scrap heap, to be taken care of by the community, would cease to exist or would have to be amended.

We maintain two great principles which we have never denied, and which

we do not deny now. We insist that it is wrong to tolerate the cut-throat competition among employers; and, on the other hand, the sham competition of individual bargaining between master and working man. It is right to regulate trading and to have collective bargaining. We are confronted sometimes with tales of trade union tyranny. In the words of Charles Staunton Devas, a Catholic political economist, it is our conviction that fifty per cent of these tales have their birth in the heated imagination of antagonists, that twenty-five per cent arise out of misunderstandings, and of the remaining twenty-five per cent a part may be justified, leaving a remainder to show that trades unionists, like other people, are subject to human infirmities. It is but common sense therefore to give encouragement to trades unionism which is not and can not be, if it is true to itself, a center of atheism and revolt. The American Federation of Labor has succeeded in elevating the standard of living, not only for the 3,000,000 men and their families who make up its membership, but also for untold millions, who ignorantly or ignobly profit by its work and its sacrifice. What was said by John Mitchell in 1903 at Wilkesbarre has always appealed to me. He said it was a pity that so many, failing to understand the fundamental principles and the lofty ideals of trades unionism, condemn without investigation the motives and the policies of those whose mission it is to relieve suffering, redress wrong and raise to a higher standard of life those who are as defenseless in their individual capacities as a rudderless ship in an ocean storm.

The Federation of Catholic Societies, therefore, holds out to the trade unionism the hand of fellowship and support. We realize and recognize that trades unionism is a primary element in the regulation of industrial society. We fail to see how within proper limits it can in any way prove injurious to the common welfare. Every business enterprise must be subject to the common welfare, and any business enterprise that to succeed rests upon a rate of wages and conditions detrimental to a decent livelihood and unworthy of manhood ought never to see the light of day.

We realize that the American Federation of Labor has been a most effective institution for the protection of the rights and liberty of the American working men. We believe that at heart it offers a safe, real, constructive, sane and Christian solution of many of our social problems. It has always been guided by conservation, and precisely because of this, the American Federation of Labor deserves the sympathy and active support of that larger portion of our American population which is the constituency of the American Federation of Catholic Societies.

President Gompers introduced to the convention Miss Anna Fitzgerald, fraternal delegate from the Women's International Union Label League.



**Fraternal Delegate Fitzgerald:** Mr. Chairman and Delegates—This affords me considerable pleasure, although it is unexpected. I am going to say a few words in regard to the organization I have the honor to represent. The Women's International Union Label League is an organization that is an absolute necessity to this great movement. For years the trades unionists have gone along paying very little attention to the way the money earned under union conditions has been spent. Our organization, realizing that 70 or 80 per cent of the money earned by trades unionists is spent by women, decided it was necessary to educate the women in the best way of spending that money in the interests of trades unionism. Necessarily the progress of our work is slow. We must appeal to the women in the homes. As you know, going from house to house is not like getting men and women in great halls to talk to them. We believe, however, that our work is second only to the great trade union movement itself. I believe if we could interest the wives, mothers and sisters of the trades unionists we could create a demand for the union label that would make some of our Perrys and Posts and Kirbys take notice, not only of the organized labor movement, but of the Women's International Union Label League.

I know you realize the full necessity of such an organization as ours, but I want to ask you to co-operate with us in imparting your knowledge to the women in your homes. By this means we will bring about a work that in less than five years will be so successful you will all wonder why it was not started twenty-five or thirty years ago. I realize many of you feel a woman's work is in the home. I agree with you, but in that home she can be of greater assistance to you than many of you seem to realize. It is to help make her of assistance to you that we have undertaken this work. I earnestly ask for your co-operation. It will mean but a little effort on the part of the trades unions throughout the country, but it will be a great help to the organization.

I often feel that if I had an opportunity to speak to the leaders of the trade union movement I would tell them a thing or two, but now that I have the opportunity I hesitate and wonder what will make the greatest impression in the least time. I will ask you, however, to give us all the assistance you can. It will mean more to the unions that have labels than possibly any other effort you have made.

**President Gompers:** To our fraternal delegates from across the ocean and across the border, as well as to the fraternal delegates from within the confines of our own country, I want to express a deep sense of gratification and appreciation for their splendid addresses. I do not think it would be doing justice to one to select an address and hold it up as conspicuous. I think

we are all agreed that the character of of the addresses is not only impressive but important.

While listening the thought came to me, as the names of a few of the opponents of labor were mentioned, "What, after all, do they imagine they can accomplish by their bitter, relentless hostility to organized labor? Can they have in mind that they are going to stifle the voice of discontent with wrong? Do they expect that the hearts and the hopes of the workers of our time can be crushed under their iron heel? Do they fancy, in their fool's paradise, that if they can succeed in killing our present labor movement they will then enjoy unchecked sway? The time is passed when the men of labor yield on bended knee and bent back. The men of labor of our time stand erect.

The declaration is made by the greatest scientists that to obtain the very best product of the human family we must begin with the grandparents. Thinking of that I am impelled to the expression of this thought, that the enemies of organized labor have allowed their chance to go by if they hope to enslave the masses, and that the wealth possessors should be the absolute masters of all they survey. They began too late, they allowed their opportunity to pass when they permitted our grandparents to learn the alphabet, the letters a, b and c, and all the way through; to learn the meaning of them and to conjure with them. They learned by the use of the letters that m-a-n meant man, that the letters w-o-m-a-n meant woman, that c-h-i-l-d meant child, and then by conjuring other letters they formed the words right and wrong, justice, liberty and humanity. And we have come to learn the meaning of these terms, and by the gods we propose to stand by them!

Sometimes I permit my mind to run riot in delving or soaring in trying to understand what could or would be met, or what could or would result if the enemies of our organized labor movement could be at all successful in crushing out our movement. I say in all sincerity, woe to the men of wealth in such an event! Their very possessions would prove a curse and their undoing. The trades union movement of our time is the best and the most rational expression of the discontent of the masses, with a clear understanding and a purpose to work on and on, day by day, in developing the best that is in us and the best possible conditions for all of us.

As I said, these opponents of labor began too late. The organizations of labor have done so much for us that they cannot be checked now. There are some things that are axiomatic, that need no demonstration. Water runs down hill. No one needs to prove that, in spite of the fact that by man's ingenuity water can sometimes be forced uphill. Rain falls and men are made wet despite umbrellas; lightning

strikes in spite of spires and electrical diverters. The labor organizations have taken the men and women of toll out of the deepest misery, have taken the children out of the factories and the workshops and given them the opportunity of the schoolroom, the playground and the home. Organizations of labor have made toll lighter, have made homes better, have given a ray of hope to the hearts and minds of the workers to struggle on and on for a higher and a better civilization, with no attempt or mental reservation to do a wrong to any individual in society.

And so these organizations that have written their history in the lives of the workers and have done so much for the uplift of the common people cannot be crushed out of existence. They live, and will live in spite of all antagonism. But there is so much for us to do. If our opponents, the enemies of organized labor, could have been here this morning to listen to the addresses and the messages that have come to us, would they think they could succeed in dismembering this labor movement of ours? For years we have had fraternal greetings from Great Britain and Canada. In recent years we have had messages of good-will from churches of different denominations and from organizations of women who are giving their earnest effort to upbuild the labor movement.

This very movement in our own Nation, and this movement of fraternal relations are in their infancy. The time will come as sure as the sun rises and sets that there will be an international federation of labor. The great forces making for the common good will be more closely cemented in the bonds of unity, fraternity and solidarity. Perhaps I am as impatient as any man whom I know, and yet as I look back upon the wonderful progress that has already been made within my own time, the progress in the material, the political, the moral and social welfare of our fellows, there is deep cause for gratification. And I believe the organized labor movement of the world will take on greater proportions. Increase in a greater impetus and gather in a still greater ratio, as the numbers have come to us in the past, compared with the numbers of our fellow workers who will flock to our banner and who will stand with it unfurled in the years to come.

To the fraternal delegates coming from far distances, and to the other fraternal delegates I want to express a sincere and hearty welcome. If I could only portray to you in words the real welcome these delegates would have me extend I am of the belief that you would know us better, take us for what we are, without pretense and without declaration, except that you are welcome to our midst, welcome to join with us in whatever struggles and disputes and contentions may develop

in this convention. We are fighting it out in the crucible of our contention and are resolved to attain the best results we can in the interests of our fellow workers. I would not have, if I could, a convention of the American Federation of Labor a mutual admiration society. I want to see, as I do see, strong men with strong convictions, and the courage as well as the ability to express them; and then after we have come to a conclusion upon any subject to stand as a whole in endeavoring to carry it into effect. In my own humble way I endeavor to express the concrete view and decisions of the American Federation of Labor.

I trust that the sojourn of yourselves and your good wives may be pleasant as well as interesting. We have learned much by your coming and we hope that there may be a grain of thought that may be helpful that you will carry back with you. This, however, we do ask you, to carry back with you the good wishes of this court of organized labor of America to the organized movement of Great Britain and Canada, to convey to your fellow workers our goodwill and our desire for their welfare, as well as our desire that we may make common cause in this great movement for the uplift of mankind and the establishment of the brotherhood of man.

President Gompers announced the following special committee:

**Special Committee on Electrical Workers' Question.**

George L. Berry, T. V. O'Connor, John Tobin, Frank M. Ryan, John J. Keegan, J. E. Bray, J. A. Tazelaar, D. J. Tobin, William J. McSorley, P. M. Draper, David Kirby, T. J. O'Donnell, T. J. Curtis, W. J. Dougherty, A. J. Kennedy.

President Gompers: All things come to those who wait, I have been told, and in the fullness of time there has come about a change in the management of a company with which we were for years in a contest. The new manager of the Bucks Stove and Range Company has always lived on terms of agreement with organized labor in any plant in which he was interested, and now when he is in control of the Bucks Stove and Range Company is in full agreement with organized labor. As an evidence of his respect for organized labor he desires through me to present to the visitors and delegates to this convention a souvenir, which I think we will agree is pretty and appropriate and of use. Mr. Frederick Gardiner in a letter I have received says, "I am sending you herewith souvenirs. Present one to each of your delegates with my compliment." The souvenir is in the form of a purse. What is your pleasure?

On motion the souvenirs were accepted, ordered distributed to the delegates and a vote of thanks tendered to Mr. Gardiner for his courtesy.

Secretary Morrison read communications from the President of the Chamber of Commerce, Rochester, New York, Mr. George Deitrich, and from the Mayor of Rochester, Mr. Hiram H. Edgerton urging that the next convention of the American Federation of Labor be held in that city.

Secretary Morrison also read a communication from the Printing Trades Club of St. Louis, Missouri, tendering to the delegates the hospitality of their club room, library and reading room.

An invitation from the St. Louis Young Men's Christian Association was read, in which the delegates were invited to attend a labor mass meeting for men to be held in the auditorium of the Y. M. C. A., Grand and Franklin Avenue, at 4 o'clock, Sunday, November 24th, at which addresses were to be made by President Gompers, Vice-President Mitchell and Rev. Charles Steizle.

An invitation was extended to all the cigar makers in the convention to meet in the lobby of the Planters Hotel, Friday evening, November 18th, at 7:15, to attend a meeting and banquet of the Cigar Makers' Union of St. Louis.

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

"Cincinnati, Ohio, November 17, 1910.

To the President of the American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall, St. Louis:

Accept fraternal greetings from D. C. No. 12, and best wishes for your success.

(Signed) HENRY HUNTER, Secretary."

"Indianapolis, Ind., November 16, 1910.

American Federation of Labor, St. Louis, Mo.

The American Society of Equity of North America, in convention assembled in the city of Indianapolis, extend to the American Federation of Labor assembled in their Thirtieth Annual Convention, at St. Louis, Mo., greeting: We renew our often expressed declaration for co-operation in all interests mutually affecting the workers of the farm, factory and mine.

S. D. KUMP, National Secretary.

President Gompers announced that a request has been made to refer the dispute of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners to the Special Committee appointed to consider the Electrical Workers' dispute. No objection being offered, President Gompers stated that the matter would be so referred.

Delegate Woil stated that he desired the unanimous consent of the convention to introduce two resolutions on Monday, November 21, and gave reasons why the resolutions could not be presented sooner. The request of Delegate Woil was complied with.

### Report of Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Kelley, for the committee, reported as follows:

November 16, 1910.

Your Committee on Credentials begs to report that we have received credentials from the following organizations, and recommend that their delegates be seated:

Kewanee, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Edward Hippert, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union 12,363—Guy T. White, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union 13,068—R. J. Hubbard, 1 vote.

We further report that the Tin Plate Workers' International Protective Association has liquidated its indebtedness, and recommend the seating of its delegate, Ben Teagarden, with 8 votes.

Also Fred Hudson, representing Bellingham Central Labor Council, 1 vote.

Also John O'Connor, in place of John Roach, representing the Essex Trades Council.

In reference to the credentials of the Brotherhood of Railroad Freight Handlers we desire to report that they have paid \$297.00 of their indebtedness, which pays them in full with the exception of the 2-cent hatters' assessment, and we have received the following pledge that this will be paid:

St. Louis, Mo., November 16, 1910.

This is to certify that the balance of indebtedness on an American Federation of Labor assessment will be forwarded immediately at the close of this convention.

(Signed) P. J. Flannery, International President.

We recommend that the delegates be seated, with 47 votes.

Protest of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers against the Des Moines Trades and Labor Assembly—Your committee has been furnished with evidence that the electrical workers are represented in the Des Moines Trades and Labor Assembly, but the following affidavit made by Delegate-elect A. S. Urlick is self-explanatory and the electrical workers withdraw their protest.

State of Missouri }  
City of St. Louis } ss.

On the 26th day of October, 1910, at the time of my election as delegate from the Des Moines Trades Labor Assembly, there were no electrical workers of the Reid Organization of Electrical Workers in affiliation with said central body, having withdrawn some time prior thereto.

I wish to make the further statement that they are not now and have not been since the date of my election, affiliated with said central body. A. L. Urlick.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 17th day of November, A. D. 1910.

My\* commission expires January 3, 1914. Mary E. Chenier, Notary Public.

Your committee recommend that this delegate be seated, with 1 vote.

MICHAEL J. HALLINAN, Chairman,  
WM. J. KELLY, Secretary.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted and the delegate seated.

Delegate Duffy (Frank) stated that he would be obliged to leave the convention Friday evening to attend to matters affecting his organization, and requested that he be allowed to make a statement as one member of the special committee appointed in the Toronto convention to consider the electrical workers dispute.

Delegate Furuseth: I desire to submit something, either in the shape of a resolution or a motion, to be acted upon by this convention at once.

Delegate Furuseth read the following:

Whereas, The existing hours of the convention are inconvenient and wasteful in this that it gives no real time for committee work, consultation or recreation, therefore be it

Resolved, That rules be amended so that we meet at 12 and adjourn at 6.

Delegate Furuseth spoke at some length in support of his motion, which was then adopted.

Delegate Gallagher stated that complete reports of the committee appointed by the California State Federation of Labor to investigate charges made that organized labor was responsible for the destruction of the building in which had been housed the Los Angeles Times, would be furnished to each delegate present.

Delegate Gallagher moved that Mr. Job Harriman, attorney for the strikers in Los Angeles, be given opportunity to address the convention. The motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. Job Harriman: Mr. President, I have been asked to tell the delegates to this convention the conditions that prevail in the city of Los Angeles. On the Pacific coast the boys are all aware of the fact that there is a battle going on in Los Angeles and they want you to know the bitterness of that fight and all its meaning.

Los Angeles is probably one of the most beautiful cities of our land, but for many years there have been but few great industries there. The great industries in Los Angeles are of recent date, and they know nothing of the greater needs of the working class. The large factory and foundry is a new

advent there, but they have come to stay, and the people who own them are lending every energy and all the money they have to hold wages down in order that they may take hold of the manufacturing interests of the coast. They are forcing the fight upon the trades union movement, not only in the city of Los Angeles, but in San Francisco and other coast cities.

I will describe one man we have in Los Angeles. You people have heard of C. P. Huntington. C. P. Huntington has a nephew, and that nephew had brains enough to inherit \$40,000,000 that the old man had stolen from the people of the Coast. It required the courts of that State and the courts of this Nation, yea, and an act of Congress, to force him to pay the taxes that were due the people of California. This man inherited \$40,000,000 in cash and as much more in property, came to the city of Los Angeles, and by means of his influence and his uncle's influence gathered unto himself all the franchises of a large number of streets of the city. He did not pay a dollar except the hand-out dollars that go to politicians who give away the rights of the people. He went to the Helman interests. You men know the Helman interests. He said to them: "If you will organize a corporation and bond it I will sell the corporation all these franchises for 51 per cent of the stock, and you can take 49 per cent. You can bond the company. We will sell the bonds and build the road with the money for which we sell the bonds." And they did. They built the roads through the city and are now operating them, and neither of them invested one dollar of their own cash, yet they own the stock, and the proceeds from those companies are paying off the debts.

Then they went out through those beautiful valleys, the San Gabriel, the Santa Anna and the Los Angeles Valley and determined the lines along which they would build roads. Huntington took the \$40,000,000 he had inherited and bought thousands of acres along the proposed lines, then went to the people and said, "Give us a right of way through here and so much cash and we will build a road to Monrovia, a road to Pomona, a road to Long Beach and a road to Pasadena. We will line all these valleys with roads out to your suburban towns. We will make this a great country and your land will be enhanced in value." The people gave the right of way everywhere and gave so much cash for each road. Then they bonded each road for itself, sold the bonds, took the cash and built the roads without a dollar of expense to themselves. Not a dollar from their own treasury went into them and the lands they bought for \$100 an acre are now worth \$1,000 an acre.

This man Huntington is Los Angeles' greatest benefactor, so they say. When his men in the car shop asked him for a raise of wages from \$1.75 to \$2.50 per day, saying the cost of living had

increased in the last few years so they could not meet it and educate and clothe their families, the thirty men who signed the petition were discharged. On the following morning there came a letter which stated "No conference with the men, no raise of wages. Discharge every man who signs the petition." And they were discharged. This man Huntington, this benefactor, the head of his corporation in the city of Los Angeles of the lines reaching out like the arms of a great octopus through the valleys, sucking its life's blood, would not give his men one cent of a raise, although he built a palace with \$3,000,000 of the money he wrung from the people. He has nine miles of driveways in his door yard. He believes in the open shop. When the strike came on he wrote a check for \$100,000 and gave it to the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association of Los Angeles to fight the metal workers and the molders. They raised \$350,000 to crush trades unionism.

About June 1 the iron workers wrote a letter to the Manufacturers' Association shortly after Huntington had discharged his men. The letter was couched in language that was honorable and manly, but determined. They asked the merchants and manufacturers of that town to grant a conference through which they might adjust their wages. They stated that their wages had been insufficient to take care of their families. On the following morning they received a letter, replying to all the labor organizations, in which this language was used: "We take pleasure in notifying you that your communication has been consigned to the waste basket." On the night that letter was dictated by Zehandelaar, Mr. Huntington, who has been the arch robber of the people of Los Angeles, wrote his check for \$100,000 to aid in preventing the working men from raising wages or bettering their conditions. Then the battle was on and the trades unions of Los Angeles, eight or nine thousand strong at that time, called a strike on June 1. Fifteen hundred men walked out.

In power in the county was our good staunch Republican friend, and in power in the city was the Good Government League. I will show you in a minute what good government means in Los Angeles. We continued that strike for a month; the boys walked up and down the streets and paraded, they picketed before their stores and factories. They maintained the picket for four weeks, and in that time there were only two disturbances. One disturbance was caused by two boys of about eighteen years of age, one of whom was working and scabbing while the other one was on strike. Both had gone out, but one had returned to work, and the fellow who had stayed out was talking to him and advising him to come out with the boys and be a man. They got into a little altercation, but there were no black eyes or bruises. There were four or five wit-

nesses on each side. When the case was brought before the court ten witnesses were heard, the court scratched his head and said, "Yes, true enough, the evidence is conflicting and it is difficult to say who is at fault, but this man has a right to work where he pleases. I will let him go. I will fine the other man \$50 or 50 days."

A policeman assaulted a picket without cause. Here there was no conflict of testimony. He had no right to assault him. He was convicted and fined \$1.00. Fifty dollars for a man who was fighting for his bread, \$1.00 for a man who was endeavoring to coerce the man fighting for his bread! That is the temper of the courts in the city of the Lost Angels. Everything was peaceable and quiet, but the boys were succeeding. They were catching all the men who came into town, and they were pulling the men out of the shop. Money was being sent from San Francisco to feed the men. Since the first day of June San Francisco has sent the men of Los Angeles \$100,000. We have millionaires in Los Angeles and we have churches galore. They have prayed for morality, but not one dollar has found its way from the coffers of the rich nor from the churches to help these men in their struggle for bread. Every dollar that has come has come from men who dig it out by the day and in giving it they have deprived their families of food and clothing they need.

At the end of a month they secured an injunction. I have a copy of it here—it covers everything. No man could picket in front of or in the vicinity of a factory or store—and "vicinity" in that case meant anywhere in the city. They were enjoined from following the men or riding on the cars with them to their homes, from going to their homes to speak to them concerning labor troubles in the city. In that four weeks not a man was arrested, not a man violated the injunction, not a man used force—but they got at the men. How they did it I don't know.

Then an ordinance was passed preventing peaceable picketing in the city of Los Angeles or in the vicinity, or loitering anywhere or speaking to the men on strike. It was drafted by the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association. We went to the City Council to argue the law of that ordinance. We thought we had shown the city fathers that it was unfair, but after it had been argued they adjourned, argued it over again, then came forward and cast it unanimously. The day following 200 trades union men were thrown in jail. These were Good Government Fathers, with old Father Alexandria at the head. He dresses up to look like Uncle Sam, combs his hair and trims his whiskers to look like the popular whiskers of Uncle Sam. He was in the Mayor's chair, and thirty minutes after the ordinance was passed "Uncle Sam" signed it and it became a law.

A few days later we went to Long Beach where the ordinance was to be presented. I said to the City Council, "You are about to pass an ordinance. By this you are about to make criminals. These very men to whom the ordinance applies have paved the street but they have gone without pavements in their own vicinity. They have woven your broadcloth, they wear overalls; they have built your palaces, they live in hovels; they dug the diamonds that bedeck the bosoms of your wives, while they have no decoration whatever; they feed you on porterhouse, while they live on bacon and onions. You men will pass an ordinance to prevent them from feeding their children better, from clothing their wives better. They are caught in the great economic vice and held there. They must fight. Your ordinance will not give clothing, it will not provide food, it will not relieve their necessity. They must fight tomorrow as well as today. Pass your ordinance. Do you think they will be criminals? No, not one of them. You will make martyrs, not criminals. They passed the ordinance unanimously in Long Beach."

The next day sixty men were arrested and thrown into jail. We tried one and the jury hung; we tried another and the jury let him loose; then they turned the whole sixty out and they are picketing today in Long Beach and being fed by the money that was sent from San Francisco and other parts of the State. In Los Angeles the jurors were hard to get. We have tried for days at a time to get a jury. As high as 140 men have been examined, and as many as fifty out of seventy-six have said they could not give a trades union man a fair and impartial trial. We got a jury and some radical man was on it and he hung the jury. They have convicted three men and we have hung all the other juries.

I was in San Francisco at a meeting of the Labor Council when they were having a strike of the barbers. One of the barbers rushed out and attacked a barber who was picketing. The barber had him arrested. When they got to court the other fellow had more witnesses than the barber. As a result the Court could not convict him and dismissed the case. The barber went on picketing. When he made his complaint before the Central Labor Council the news was carried to the judge. The judge wrote a letter which was read at the next meeting of the council. That letter would have created as much excitement in Los Angeles as a flaming sword in the streets, but they took it as a matter of course in San Francisco. The judge said he had always believed in trades unionism, and had always held that men had a right to picket. He cited decisions he had rendered. Five hundred miles south of there we were weak and would have been crushed but for the money sent from San Francisco. Those cities are in the same State, under the same statute,

under the same State decisions, but the judges in the south were holding that picketing was unlawful per se peaceable or otherwise, while in the north directly the opposite conclusion was being reached. Why? Because the trades union movement there is in power and the construction put upon the law is determined by the power behind the Court.

Since that ordinance was passed the energies of the trades unionists in Los Angeles have been spent fighting the courts. Men were arrested everywhere. They had their blooming old jails so full they could not go any further, the boys could not put up the ball so they turned them out upon their own recognizance, and every man without exception, although without bail, has gone back on the day of his trial to stand the test. These men feel they are right, and there are 1,500 strikers in Los Angeles all of that material.

They could not convict, they were failing, the injunction had failed, their ordinance had failed. About that time the bankers of the country, representing billions of dollars they had stolen from the very muscles of the working people, were meeting there to contrive means by which they might still reap larger harvests. A convention of the mine owners was there, representing millions of western capital. That night we had arranged for a parade of 20,000 men and had arranged for a great audience of over 10,000 people. While these momentous things were pending an explosion took place one night and the Times Building was burned to the ground. The parade was called off. Within three hours the Times printed its paper in its own subsidiary plant. The first paper charged the labor unions with blowing up the Times Building and murdering the twenty odd men, a crime heinous in the extreme, a crime the merchants and manufacturers had subscribed a million dollars to fasten upon the trades union movement of the coast. A grand jury is now in session; they are gathering the men at the head of the movement, and it is aimed to hang the best men on the Pacific slope.

I am telling you men that you have a fight there, a fight to save the only movement that stands between the sordid, insatiable greed of the capitalist class and the working class of the Pacific slope. The attorney employed by the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association is at this time standing before the Grand Jury presenting the evidence, sneering at what he dislikes, approving of what he likes, and endeavoring with all his might and all his money to get an indictment from the Grand Jury.

I think the evidence already in hand is ample to show that an explosion of gas wrecked the Times Building. Listen, you miners. A man escaped who was immediately below the point where

the explosion occurred. He was in the cellar, but nothing fell. All the walls around the place of the explosion stood intact. Not a wall was broken. Glass in the windows across the street remained unbroken. At the time of the explosion there was one deep roar, not a sharp crack, and with that roar there shot up through two floors and a roof a flame that passed the sixth story of the adjoining building instantly upon the explosion. An explosion accompanied by flame, and within ten seconds the flames were through the whole building. They had smelled gas for days, and it was especially strong that day in the building. What was it, you miners? Was it dynamite or was it gas? Every one of them knows that if the shot had been sufficient to shoot a hole up through three stories it would have shattered all the walls about it and driven a hole in the ground.

A month after the explosion took place the most interesting fact that happened was the turn of the public opinion. We all thought it would have driven the public mind away from the labor movement. We were afraid it would. This is a most important thing we have met. Of the first jury picked after the calamity eight men spoke out as they had never spoken out before. They said they were opposed to the ordinance. Never had that word been spoken in a jury room before that day. They said the ordinance was a bad thing to have in the city, that they would not convict under it any man for picketing if he did not resort to violence. Our juries are much easier to get than before the calamity. The reason is that Otis has been so aggressive and so bold that the public has been sickened by his assaults. Read his papers. There is scarcely a decent man on the Pacific Coast whose character that fiend has not deliberately stabbed. He has stabbed in the back whenever they crossed his pathway, mercilessly and without care. He has tried to torture every man who stood for anything that would benefit the community.

As a protest the trades unions concluded to hold a parade about four weeks after the calamity. They got all the trades unions out. One union with 1,600 members had 1,400 of them in line. That night 15,000 men marched in the streets of Los Angeles. They started on Wall street, marched five blocks west to Main, a mile north to Temple street, a mile and a quarter south to Ninth street, a mile west and south to Fleeta Park, and when the head band of the parade was marching into the park the end had not yet left Wall street, the place of formation. Labor had wrapped its arms in and about that great city, with power to crush it at its will, yet in walking through that city there was not a voice raised, not a cheer; nothing could be heard but the tramp, tramp, tramp of 15,000 determined men. Scarcely a banner was seen. Now and then a question mark. On and on they marched into that great park, to a great amphitheatre there, thirty feet from the level

to the top and a thousand feet across. When they came in there it ceased to be a cheer—it was an upheaval of human power. Then when the hour was over, the chairman said, "Be careful, do not hurt any one. Go out quietly as you came in." And they organized in line and marched out. Not a man was arrested, not a child was hurt, not a woman was hurt, and they dispersed as quietly as they gathered.

And these are the dangerous citizens of Los Angeles! These men have metal in them. The time for organizing that city has arrived. The men are there. The Frisco boys have put up \$100,000 and we come today to ask your support throughout the country. If we do not get it the movement in Los Angeles will go down, the Frisco unions will be crushed and the movement will be at an end on the Coast. You must make Los Angeles the battle ground where the victory of the Pacific Coast will be won.

A motion was made and seconded that a vote of thanks be extended Mr. Harriman for the able manner in which he had described the situation in Los Angeles.

It was moved as an amendment that the address be printed in the daily proceedings. The amendment was accepted by the mover of the motion. The original motion was adopted, as amended, by a unanimous rising vote.

Delegate Berger moved that a special committee of five be appointed to investigate the Los Angeles situation and report to the convention a way in which aid might be rendered the Los Angeles strikers.

The motion was withdrawn after a statement by Delegate Gallagher that a resolution dealing with that subject had been introduced.

Delegate Duffy (Frank): repeated his request that he be allowed to make a statement in regard to the Electrical Workers' case before leaving the convention.

Delegate McCullough (T. W.): I move that Mr. Duffy be granted the privilege of the floor as a special order at an hour to be agreed upon between himself and the chairman of the convention. (Seconded.)

Delegate Furuseth: I move as a substitute that the question of the Electrical Workers be made a special order for one o'clock tomorrow, and that we give everybody a chance. (Seconded.)

Delegate Lewis (T. L.): I move to amend the substitute by striking out

one o'clock and inserting 12 o'clock tomorrow.

The amendment was accepted by Delegate Furuseth.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.): Is it the intention of Delegate Furuseth that the special committee bring in a report at 12 o'clock tomorrow? If so, I desire to say it is impossible.

Delegate Keegan: I move to amend the motion that the case be taken from the special committee here tomorrow morning, and that it come before the convention in the form of the recommendation contained in the report of the Executive Council.

Delegate Lewis (T. L.): I want to know if the amendment offered by Brother Keegan does not nullify the intent of the substitute offered by Brother Furuseth?

President Gompers: The chair would answer that in the negative, but would hold that any matter presented to this convention upon the subject in controversy would be matter properly before the convention also.

Delegate Lewis: If the amendment offered by Delegate Keegan becomes the action of the convention, does it confine the entire matter to the report of the Executive Council?

President Gompers: It does not.

The question was discussed by Delegates Lewis, Tobin, Lennan, Keegan, Furuseth, Ryan, Frye, Walker (J. H.)

On motion, debate was closed.

Consent was given the chairman to make a statement after debate was closed.

President Gompers: I am of the opinion that it would be a most excellent thing if we were to have statements from the gentlemen who constituted the committee, that then the convention would informally discuss the entire controversy for say two, three or four hours tomorrow afternoon, then without taking any further action on the subject, let the whole subject matter be committed to the special committee having the matter in charge. It seems to me the committee would be in a better position, in view of that enlightenment, to put in definite, concrete form the recommendations of the convention as outlined in the discussion.

The amendment to the amendment offered by Delegate Keegan was lost.

The amendment offered by Delegate Furuseth was carried, and the original motion as amended was carried.

Vice-President O'Connell: I desire to make a reference from the Committee on Adjustment of a matter referred from the report of the Executive Council in regard to the wood, wire and metal lathers and the bridge and structural iron workers. We desire to refer it to the Committee on Building Trades.

In discussing the question Delegate Ryan said: The question was closed when the Executive Council reported to this convention, as it had been referred by this convention to the Building Trades Committee and by them to the Executive Council.

Vice-President Duncan: I think there is a solution of that subject here. The subject that has been brought to the attention of the convention by Delegate Ryan is an appeal that has been going the round of different parties for some time and was finally put up to the Executive Council, which gave a decision and rendered it to this convention. I hold as a general proposition that when a decision is given by the Executive Council and officially announced, unless there is objection entered by some of the interested parties to the dispute, the decision is final and binding without reference to any other committee. President Gompers was giving the different portions of the report of the Executive Council to committees and naturally slid that along with the others. If he had given it attention I think he would not have done so. I think both the parties interested have agreed to let the decision of the Executive Council remain, and therefore the subject announced by Vice-President O'Connell to be referred to the Building Trades Committee could be withdrawn and the decision of the Executive Council be considered final and binding on both parties.

Delegate McSorley: I had intended to ask for the withdrawal of the appeal, but did not know I had that right, inasmuch as the Executive Council has recommended to the convention that they gave this subject matter thorough consideration. So far as my organization is concerned, we are perfectly willing to withdraw the appeal.



**President Gompers:** The reference of that subject to the Building Trades Committee is withdrawn and it stands as reported by the Executive Council.

During the session the following resolutions were presented and referred by the Chairman to the various committees:

**Resolution No. 76—**By Delegate James Murray, State Federation of Labor of Texas.

Whereas, The influx of Mexican labor into the Southwestern States is assuming larger proportions each year, and, if not properly and promptly attended to by this Federation will in all probability result in the disaffection of many of the locals now affiliated with this Federation, and

Whereas, The belief is common with those who have given this subject the closest study and investigation that this Federation has not been pursuing a wise policy in the past in regard to this matter, thereby endangering the continued existence of the locals now organized and affiliated, and by this neglect weakening its own strength when it should be pursuing an entirely different policy, therefore be it

Resolved, That such delegates as may be now attending this convention from the Southern or Southwestern States be requested to go before the Committee on Organization and submit such information as they may possess in relation to this matter, and that the committee be instructed to report back to this convention with such recommendations as they may deem best for the interest of the Federation.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

**Resolution No. 77—**By the delegation representing the Cigar Makers' International Union:

Resolved, By the American Federation of Labor, in annual session assembled, that we neither seek nor desire special privileges, but do desire an equal opportunity with all classes.

That we believe and hereby declare that successful and permanent government must rest primarily upon the recognition of the rights of men and the absolute sovereignty of the people.

That no man has natural authority over his fellowman. The basis of his authority is mutual agreement. In society the individual surrender is not to a particular person, but to all. His compensation is the acquisition of an equivalent right over every other member of this community. The people as a whole are sovereign and each individual a participant in that sovereignty.

That the success and duration of representative government depends upon responsibility and accountability—the responsibility of the people for their laws and selection of their public serv-

ants and the accountability of the public servants directly to the people. Under popular government, meaning in its present evolution the initiative and referendum, an efficient direct primary, corrupt practices and recall laws, general welfare must be the basis of every law and goal of every public servant. The people are responsible for their laws, and the public servant is directly accountable to the people, the result being the necessitated development of both the electorate and the public servant.

That under delegated government, still in vogue in most of our States, the people have no voice in their legislation, thus restraining the development of the electorate, nor have they any voice in the selection of their public servants, thus debauching public service because of the direct accountability of the public servant to the political boss or special interest for his nomination.

That under the convention system every public servant knows the interest or the individual to whom he owes his nomination, hence his inclination to serve a selfish interest.

That under the direct primary law, the public servant is nominated, not by any known individual or interest, but by the composite electorate, hence his inclination must be to serve the general welfare.

That we therefore urge organized labor throughout the United States to make the adoption of the initiative and referendum the issue in every campaign without regard to party lines until such amendment has been adopted and that then a campaign be commenced for adoption of the direct primary, corrupt practices act and recall.

That we urge every council of the American Federation of Labor to study and discuss the Oregon system of Popular Government as explained by Honorable Jonathan Bourne, Jr., in the speech delivered by him in the United States Senate, May 5, 1910.

That we urge all citizens to question candidates for legislative offices as to their attitude upon these questions and refuse to support any candidate, regardless of party, who is not pledged to every voter in his State to work and vote for the initiative and referendum, direct primary, corrupt practices act and recall, substantially in the form of the Oregon laws which have been demonstrated by practical experience to be the best thus far evolved by the brains of man.

Referred to the Committee on President's Report.

**Resolution No. 78—**By Delegate H. A. Vurpia, of the International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees:

Whereas, During 1909, according to the Interstate Accident Bulletins Nos. 31, 32, 33 and 34, there were 135 passengers killed and 7,097 injured, and in the same period 431 employees were

killed and 4,251 injured; that 2,042 derailments were reported as caused by defective track; 353 caused by obstructed track, and 1,180 from miscellaneous causes, or a total for the year 1909 of 566 killed and 11,348 injured, and that out of a total of 5,449 derailments 3,575 were of a preventable nature; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention place itself on record as favoring the examination each year as to the competency of every roadmaster and foreman or any other who may be placed in charge of the work in the track, bridge and building and interlocking departments of American railways, whose duty it is to look after the roadbed and safeguard the lives and limbs of passengers using the same, and that it shall be illegal for any railway company to employ any man in either of the above positions in charge of any repairs unless the employee shall have passed an examination as to his competency before a skilled examiner or board appointed by the government and received a certificate which must be renewed yearly; further

Resolved, In the interest of public safety, that the government shall appoint skilled inspectors who shall be practical and certified men, and whose duty it shall be to inspect at least twice each year, at intervals of at least three months apart, by handcar or on foot, all tracks over which passenger trains are operated, who shall make a report in writing to the Railway Commissioners as to the physical condition of each separate road inspected by him, giving day and date of such inspection and of all defects in detail with exact mileage and location of same. Upon receipt of said report of defect, the Railway Commissioners shall be empowered to order the railway company to make proper repairs within a specified time; failing to do this, the commissioners shall be empowered to order the suspension of all passenger traffic over the defective track; and further

Resolved, That this convention is of the opinion that on all main and branch lines of railway operating passenger trains there shall be regularly employed during the whole year not less than one man to each mile of single track and a foreman to each section, which shall not exceed six miles in length of single track; and further

Resolved, On all lines where passenger trains are operated during the night, a competent track-walker shall be employed, whose duty it shall be to patrol each section of not more than six miles of single track on every night on which passenger trains are run. And if from any preventable cause the railway company shall neglect to make provision for carrying out any or all of these provisions and an accident occur in which life is lost or limb endangered or injured, then the company at fault shall be adjudged guilty of criminal negligence; and further

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor

shall take such steps as they may deem proper to secure the passage of legislation by Congress making these resolutions effective at the earliest possible moment.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 79—By Delegate Frank J. Weber, of Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wis.:**

Whereas, In almost every locality where there is a Local Building Trades Council there are some trades who refuse to join the local council; and

Whereas, Such action is at all times detrimental and not to the best interest of the trades union movement; therefore, be it

Resolved, That any international organization that fails to compel their locals to join local councils when notified by the secretary-treasurer or Executive Board of the Building Trades Department shall be suspended until they obey the instructions of the Building Trades Department.

Referred to the Committee on Building Trades.

**Resolution No. 80—By Delegates O. A. Tveitmo, Andrew J. Gallagher, Cyrus F. Grow, L. W. Butler, P. W. Buckley, Thomas Bone, representing California organizations:**

Whereas, The National Manufacturers' Association, through its subsidiary, the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association of Los Angeles, has started a war of extermination against the unions on the Pacific Coast; and

Whereas, The consequent result of this deep-laid and sinister plan of the employers forced the brewery workers on strike on the 18th day of May, and the entire Metal Trade Department of Los Angeles on strike on the 1st day of June, in addition to the members of the leather workers on horse goods, who were already on strike; and

Whereas, The aforesaid union men of Los Angeles so forced on strike, in order to maintain a living wage and humane conditions, have, supported by the trades unionists of California, put forth one of the most gallant and heroic struggles on record within the annals of the trades union movement; and

Whereas, At the early beginning of the aforesaid strike the city council of Los Angeles did pass a so-called anti-picketing ordinance prohibiting members of trades unions from walking along the streets, or talking to people whom they might meet; and

Whereas, Hundreds of union men have been arrested and persecuted under the provisions of this ordinance for alleged crimes, misdemeanors and felonies, all in violation of the rights of

free speech and free assemblage guaranteed by the provisions of the constitutions of the United States and of the State of California; and

Whereas, The Merchants and Manufacturers' Association of Los Angeles, through its attorney, who has been appointed special prosecutor, is endeavoring, through the refined torture of the grand jury room and the third degree, to fasten the crimes of arson, conspiracy and murder upon aggressive, loyal and staunch organizers and trade unionists—honored members of organized labor who are delegates to this convention—who have been shackled to private detectives, dragged into the morgue to gaze upon mutilated and charred bodies, taken back to the dark prison cell and threatened with violent demonstrations of lynching; and

Whereas, The Merchants and Manufacturers' Association of Los Angeles, through its private owned grand jury and PERSECUTING-attorney, is desperately trying to tie a rope of hemp around the necks of union men, organizers and labor leaders who have carried the brunt of the battle for the cause of organized labor in California; and

Whereas, Through the same infernal agency of the Los Angeles merchants and manufacturers, innocent widows and wives have been ruthlessly taken from their homes, charged with murder, or detained in gloomy corridors of the grand jury rooms for weeks, while their little children were suffering for want of care; all of which has been carried on in conformity with the deep-laid plots of the National Manufacturers' Association to annihilate the trades unions on the Pacific Coast; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the American Federation of Labor, that its Executive Council be and hereby is authorized and directed to issue an appeal immediately to all affiliated international and national unions, central labor bodies, State federations of labor and local unions, for contributions of funds necessary to support the union men on strike in Southern California, and for the further purpose of thoroughly unionizing the city of Los Angeles; and be it further

Resolved, That the executive officers of the international and national unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be requested by its president to issue similar appeals to their various affiliated local unions.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 81—By Delegates W. J. Dougherty and C. N. Glover, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers:

Whereas, The International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers, affili-

ated with the American Federation of Labor, engaged in trade organization with the object of the thorough organizing of the men of this craft under one head, thereby making the uplift of the men of this trade a certainty instead of an uncertainty, and,

Whereas, The International Association of Carriage and Wagon Workers claims jurisdiction over the Blacksmiths and Helpers engaged in the carriage, wagon and automobile industry, to the detriment of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers and the blacksmiths and helpers engaged in the industry, therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers is the only organization having jurisdiction over the blacksmiths and helpers engaged in the vehicle industry.

Referred to the Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 82—By Delegates of the International Molders' Union of North America:

Whereas, The Boston Convention of the American Federation of Labor gave jurisdiction over all brass molders to the International Molders' Union of North America, and

Whereas, This decision was reaffirmed by the Toronto Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and

Whereas, This decision has not been observed by the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers' International Union, who since the adjournment of the Toronto Convention of the American Federation of Labor, has continued to use the name "Brass Molders," in its official title on its literature, on its label, and to organize brass molders; be it

Resolved, That unless the decision of the Boston and Toronto Conventions giving jurisdiction over all brass molders to the International Molders' Union of North America, is observed and placed into effect within sixty days by the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, and Brass Workers' International Union, that its charter shall be revoked by the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to the Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates Wm. D. Huber, Frank Duffy, Wm. B. Macfarlane, W. J. Kelly, Carl Young, Thos. Flynn, A. M. Swartz, representing the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

Whereas, Since the 19th day of August, 1910, twenty carpenters of R. H.

Macy & Company's department store are on strike for the prevailing rate of wages and hours, and

Whereas, The above firm absolutely refuses to meet representatives of the organization of carpenters engaged in a strike against starvation wages and long hours, and

Whereas, The firm of R. H. Macy & Company is at present employing strike breakers under such conditions as are a menace to the union conditions prevailing in other department stores of the city of New York, be it

Resolved, That the undersigned organization pledge itself to give the organization of carpenters all the necessary support in their fight for a good cause, and furthermore, be it

Resolved, To notify all organizations affiliated with this central body, of the trouble pending between R. H. Macy & Company and the Carpenters' organization.

(Signed) United Board of Business Agents of the New York Building Trades Council, American Federation of Labor; Lawrence Storey, Chairman, Rosswell D. Tompkins, Secretary-Treasurer.

Central Federated Union of New York, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; A. Block, Chairman, Ernst Bohm, Secretary.

Women's Trade Union League; Mary E. Dreier, Chairman, Helen Marot, Secretary.

Endorsed by the Hudson County Central Labor Union.

Endorsed by the State Council of New York State, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

Referred to the Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 84—By Wm. J. Tracy, United Association Plumbers, etc.:

Whereas, The organizers of the American Federation of Labor are compelled to visit all sections of the country in the interest of our movement, and

Whereas, The organizers are continuously required to meet the constantly increasing expenses of hotel and other accommodations, the present allowance of \$2.50 per day being inadequate, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council is hereby instructed to allow the organizers not less than \$3.50 per day for hotel expenses.

Referred to the Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate O. A. Tveitmo, United Laborers 12992, of San Francisco, Cal.:

Whereas, A movement has been launched to hold a world's fair in San Francisco in the year 1915; and

Whereas, The precedent has been established by the world's fairs in Paris and in Chicago, at which time and places

representatives from the various industrial organizations throughout the world met and conferred; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the American Federation of Labor in Thirtieth Annual Convention assembled, that its Executive Council be, and is hereby authorized, directed and instructed to issue a call to the proper authorities and bodies for an International Labor Congress, to convene and be held in the city of San Francisco, California, at a convenient date, in the year 1915, in order that the workers of the world, who make a world's fair and exposition possible, may be afforded an opportunity of closer affiliation and a better understanding, with the consequent result that the various sections of the globe where these producers dwell, may be made a better place in which to labor and live.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate O. A. Tveitmo, United Laborers 12992, of San Francisco, Cal.:

Whereas, It is the duty of the organized artisans, mechanics and laborers to help in the uplift of all who toil for a living; and

Whereas, Steps have already been taken by organizations in various States to organize the migratory and unskilled laborers in accordance with a definite and systematic plan; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that all authorized organizers of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated International and National unions, be directed to use every effort within their power to organize the unskilled and migratory laborers of the various cities and counties wherein they may be employed; and, be it further

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and is hereby instructed to give particular attention and care to this great mass of unskilled labor, and endeavor to perfect an International organization in accordance with the principles of the trades union movement and the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 87—By Delegates Wm. E. Eckenrod, Tennessee Federation of Labor; Chas. P. Fahey, Trades and Labor Council, Nashville, Tenn.; S. H. Laws, Trades and Labor Council, Jackson, Tenn.; C. C. Zeigler, Trades and Labor Council, Oklahoma City, Okla.; G. L. Hunter, Okmulgee Central Labor Council; Mont R. Powell, Oklahoma

State Federation of Labor; Jerome Jones, Georgia Federation of Labor; Louis P. Marquardt, Atlanta Federation of Trades:

Whereas, There is an organization in the South known as the Southern Conference on Child and Women Labor, composed of representatives of organized labor, women's clubs, boards of trade, business men's clubs, firms or corporations employing women or children, labor commissioners, factory inspectors and five delegates appointed by the governor of each Southern State; three of them must be employers of women or children, for the purpose of recommending uniform legislation in the Southern States relating to the employment of women and children; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we endorse the organization known as the Southern Conference on Child and Women Labor, and its announced objects, and recommend to all labor organizations of the South that they send representatives to the next annual conference which will be held in Atlanta, Georgia, in April, 1911.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate Frank Grimshaw, of the Stove Mounters' International Union:

Whereas, The Favorite Stove and Range Company, of Piqua, Ohio, in January, 1908, imposed a change of conditions in the mounting department, embodying a reduction in day wages and piece prices, and an increase in the hours of labor from nine to ten, and because the Stove Mounters' Union No. 23, affiliated with Stove Mounters' International Union, would not accept these conditions the company declared that no more would a union of stove mounters be tolerated, and

Whereas, Stove Mounters' Union No. 23 was endorsed in its position by the Stove Mounters' International Union, by the Piqua Trades and Labor Council, and by the Ohio State Federation of Labor, and

Whereas, This strike was being prosecuted with apparent success until in June, 1909, a circular letter was issued by Local No. 94, International Molders' Union, of Piqua, Ohio, under seal and signed by five officers of said local, in which the action of our organization in prosecuting a strike against the Favorite Stove and Range Company is condemned, and untrue statements made regarding the standing of said company with organized labor, and

Whereas, Our efforts to bring about a settlement of this trouble are practically nullified by the circulation of

the aforesaid false statements, which are still being issued to the detriment of our cause, and

Whereas, This matter has been brought to the attention of the International Molders' Union and the Metal Trades Department without any relief as yet being received, be it, therefore

Resolved, By this the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that this matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, for the purpose of investigation, and if the statements herein made are found to be true that action be taken as the facts warrant, and that the position of the Stove Mounters' International Union in its controversy with the Favorite Stove and Range Company be endorsed; and that an effort be made by the Executive Council to bring about an adjustment of this long standing controversy.

Referred to the Committee on By-cotts.

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate Butterworth of the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance:

Whereas, The Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen and the Stationary Firemen's Union have, since the 13th day of April, been engaged in a struggle with the Purlington Paving Brick Company, of Galesburg, Ill., in defense of their right to organize; and

Whereas, The Purlington Paving Brick Company has placed itself on record that its chief objection to the above organizations is their affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, and positively refuses to meet representatives of the American Federation of Labor to discuss an honorable settlement; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled pledges the moral support of its affiliated unions to the unions affected and requests our officers to do all in their power to assist in securing to the striking men the right to be members of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

FRANK BUTTERWORTH,  
Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance.

T. J. DOLAN,  
International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.

JOS. W. MORTON,  
International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate John J. Flynn, of Brooklyn Central Trades Union:

Whereas, There is operated in the Borough of Brooklyn a factory for the

manufacturing of linotype machines, known as The Mergenthaler Linotype Company; and

Whereas, There are employed in that factory many hundreds of men, women, boys and girls, including craftsmen, such as electricians, machinists and tool and diemakers, metal polishers, carpenters, engineers, firemen, and others; and

Whereas, The employees in this factory are grossly underpaid and exploited, and the company is showing its distaste for organized labor, by repeatedly discharging members of unions who had the temerity to wear an emblem of their union, or when it came to the knowledge of the officials of the company that they were members; and

Whereas, The manufactured products of this company are used and operated by organized labor; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in its Thirtieth Annual Convention at St. Louis, Mo., November, 1910, direct the trades interested to concentrate their efforts in an endeavor to organize The Mergenthaler Linotype Company; and be it further

Resolved, That the International Typographical Union and the trades affiliated, directly and indirectly, give all necessary assistance in furthering the organizing of the craftsmen in the employ of that company, in keeping with the spirit of the American labor movement.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate R. A. McDewitt of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters:

Whereas, The credentials of Brother Jules Scarcerioux, a bona fide member of Local Union 45, National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, were rejected by the Central Labor Union of Trenton, N. J., in which jurisdiction said local union is situated, on the ground that Brother Scarcerioux had shown an active interest in the "Industrial Workers of the World;" and

Whereas, This action of Trenton's central body was appealed from to President Samuel Gompers, and said action by him sustained upon what, to Local Union 45, seem untenable grounds; therefore, it is

Resolved, That this convention is appealed to to hear the evidence in the case, and the question decided on its merits.

Referred to the Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate Chas. W. Fear of Joplin, Mo., Trades Assembly:

Whereas, The unorganized wage-workers of the Southwest Missouri district present an opportunity for the or-

ganization of a number of local unions, particularly in the city of Joplin, Mo., and vicinity; and

Whereas, The Joplin Trades Assembly is working to thoroughly organize the tollers of that vicinity under the trade union banner of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor call the attention of officers of affiliated international unions to the unorganized Southwest Missouri district, and again urge that international organizers be detailed to work in the Joplin district during the coming year with the purpose of more thoroughly organizing the workers of the different crafts into their unions; and be it further

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby authorized to render all assistance possible in organizing the tollers of Southwest Missouri.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 93—By Delegates Urban Fleming and John Golden, United Textile Workers of America:

Whereas, The textile industry in its many branches employs over 1,000,000 wage-workers scattered over the North American Continent, and

Whereas, The prevailing condition in many parts of the country in connection with the textile industry are long hours of labor, a low scale of wages, coupled with unhealthy and unsanitary conditions, mostly due to the non-enforcement of the factory laws in some States, and the absolute lack of humane laws in other States, especially those south of the Mason and Dixon line, be it therefore

Resolved, That the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby instruct the Executive Council to co-operate as far as possible with the officers of the United Textile Workers of America during the coming year in a joint effort to bring about a more thorough organization of textile workers and a consequent uplift of their conditions.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 94 — By Delegate Thomas Bone, Central Labor Council, Stockton, Cal.:

Whereas, The International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers' L. U. 73, of Stockton, Cal., is affiliated with the San Joaquin County Central Labor Council, also with the Stockton Building Trades Council, also with the State Building Trades Council, and all with the American Federation of Labor, and its members carry State Building Trades Council working cards, and

Whereas, Only four other local hod carriers' unions of the State will recognize B. T. C. cards (although there are many other hod carriers' unions in this State carrying the same B. T. C. cards) and said other unions require members of the local Hod Carriers' Union No. 73 to pay a new initiation fee and rejoin their union if they go into any other local jurisdiction, thus working a great injustice upon good and loyal union members, to the general detriment of all organized labor and particularly to the hod carriers, therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled hereby declares itself in favor of a universal and interchangeable working card for all hod carriers' unions, and further recommends to the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor that steps be taken at the earliest possible moment to have such laws enacted as will bring about the desired results, with fairness and justice to the hod carriers of this State.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate Edw. P. Baum, of the Belleville, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly:

Whereas, A good many of the crafts in the stove and range shops and the foundries in general all over this country are not organized, and it has been shown that in a good many shops where said crafts are not organized, other crafts are thoroughly organized and receive the recognition of the firms; in fact, in some of the shops some of the smaller crafts, such as the metal polishers, stove mounters, steel range workers, foundry employes and, in some instances, the iron molders, are out on strike and scabs are working in their places, the firms placed on the unfair list and such unfairness indorsed by the Trades and Labor Assembly of said respective districts, and still we find that other crafts organized under the American Federation of Labor and affiliated with the Metal Trades Department continue to work in said unfair shops with said scabs and strike-breakers, without rendering any assistance toward organizing these non-union men; and

Whereas, If said crafts who are organized in said unfair shops would speak to said non-union men they could bring pressure to prevail upon them to identify themselves with the unions under whose jurisdiction they work, where, as it is, they work with them for years and never ask them any questions relative to their becoming union men, and in most instances costs the unions under whose jurisdictions they work considerable time and money to get them organized; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in St. Louis, Mo., November, 1910, that the American Federation of Labor insist

that the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor make their prime issue the organizing of all crafts working in the said foundry industries, and that said crafts who are organized in any foundry do all in their power to organize the other metal trades crafts that are yet unorganized; and be it further

Resolved, That no international union grant or permit its affiliated locals to grant the use of their union label to any firm unless all crafts whose international unions are affiliated with the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor working in said firms' shops or foundry are organized.

Endorsed by the Eighth District, Stove Mounters and Steel Range Workers' Union Convention, Belleville, Ill., October 29, 1910.

Further recommended by Frank Grimshaw, Stove Mounters' International Union; George Bechtold, International Brotherhood of Foundry Employes; Thomas Rumsey, Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers' International.

Referred to Committee on Organization:

Resolution No. 96—By Delegates Edw. P. Baum, Belleville, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly; Thomas Rumsey, Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers' International; Frank Grimshaw, Stove Mounters' International Union:

Whereas, The Union Label of some of the trades working in the stove and foundry industry has been in a good many instances issued to companies who are unfair to other craft unions, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to confer with the International Officers of all the International Unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department, with a view of establishing an allied Metal Trades Union Label.

Referred to the Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate Thomas Bone, Central Labor Council, Stockton, Cal.:

Whereas, The first Monday in September of each year has been, and is now set aside as labor's own day, and is so observed throughout the entire country by the members of organized labor, and

Whereas, Organized labor in general observes that day as a holiday, by resting from labor and by fitting celebrations, and

Whereas, Nearly all the national and international unions and associations

affiliated with the American Federation of Labor make it compulsory for their members to refrain from work on said Labor Day, thereby causing them to lose a day's pay for that day; and

Whereas, The San Joaquin County Central Labor Council, representing some twenty-nine affiliated locals (and sixteen unaffiliated locals) has at all times been a willing and faithful observer of said Labor Day, its members, with the exception of one union, freely and strictly sacrificing the day's work and its accompanying wage and marching annually unpaid on the streets and otherwise faithfully and fittingly observing and celebrating the day, and

Whereas, It is our sincere belief that all unions should be required to parade on Labor Day without pay on an equal basis without exception, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the San Joaquin County Central Labor Council hereby urges the American Federation of Labor to use its best efforts to have the American Federation of Musicians so amend their constitution that their affiliated locals may be permitted to donate their services in parade on Labor Day, free of charge.

Referred to the Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate E. C. Morris, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646:

Whereas, Officers of international and national unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor hold commissions as organizers, and

Whereas, Many stenographers, bookkeepers and general office workers are employed in the offices of these international and national unions and there seems to be no opportunity for the American Federation of Labor to assign a special organizer to work among these employes, be it

Resolved, That the officers of international and national unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor use their best efforts as organizers commissioned by the A. F. of L., to secure the membership of their office workers in existing local unions of these crafts and to promote the formation of such local unions in cities wherein they do not now exist.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 99—By Delegates Chas. H. Lee, of Rhode Island State Federation, and John Golden, of United Textile Workers; Roderick McGarry, Providence Central Labor Union:

Whereas, In the State of Rhode Island a property qualification law prevails which deprives thousands of working

men, citizens of the United States, the privilege of equal franchise at the ballot box, and

Whereas, We believe that such an unjust and un-American law is retained for the sole purpose of reducing the vote of the men of labor to the lowest possible minimum, realizing full well that many workmen, on account of their economic conditions, can never hope to attain the necessary qualification as prescribed by this unjust law, thereby conferring the voting power to special interests, and

Whereas, The labor movement has at all times stood for equality and equal privileges at the ballot box, be it therefore

Resolved, That we, the delegates to the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, pledge ourselves to assist to the fullest extent our brothers in Rhode Island in securing the same rights at the ballot boxes as are enjoyed in all the other sovereign States by workmen, and be it further

Resolved, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to co-operate with the officers of the Rhode Island State Federation of Labor in an effort to secure the repeal of this law, which, under the present conditions, only serves to rob the laboring man of his right to vote.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate Thomas Bone, of Central Labor Council of Stockton, Cal.:

Whereas, The union label on union made products and the demand for goods bearing said label is one of the most potent, if not the most powerful, weapons within the hands of members of organized labor for the betterment of the conditions of the wage-earners of the land; and

Whereas, There are at this time so many and so varied union labels of the different trades and crafts that a great many members of organized labor do not know the labels of the other crafts, and those outside the ranks of labor (whose sympathies are with labor) must of necessity be confused by such numerous labels and the work of the Label Leagues is greatly hampered by so many and so different labels, and believing that this confusion could and should be eliminated; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled, take action at this time to arrange for a joint committee with representatives from all national unions having emblems, labels or union signs, that some form of universal union label may be adopted for the use of all unions affiliated with said American Federation of Labor, and that this convention does now declare itself in favor of such a universal union label.

Referred to the Committee on Labels.



Resolution No. 101—By Delegate Geo. F. Golden, Illinois State Federation of Labor, Rock Island, Ill.:

President and delegates of the American Federation of Labor, St. Louis, Mo., asking the bricklayers to join the American Federation of Labor, at the meeting of the Galesburg Trades Assembly, on September 8, 1910; the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, and are presented to this body for your consideration and concurrence. Trusting they will meet with your favorable action, we remain fraternally,  
Executive Committee, Galesburg Trades Assembly.

Galesburg, Ill., September 8, 1910.—To the Galesburg Trades Assembly: Inasmuch as the Bricklayers' and the Masons' Union have repeatedly refused to become affiliated with the Building Trades Council, thereby preventing the formation of such an organization and causing many nonunion jobs which otherwise would have been fair, and inasmuch as the said Bricklayers' and Masons' Union have been scabbing on the Brick Makers' Union, thereby prolonging the strike of the brick makers, stationary firemen, the steam shovel and dredgemen at the Purington Brick Yards, and, inasmuch as the brick makers, steam shovel and dredgemen and stationary firemen are all affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and the bricklayers and masons are not, and have several times refused so to affiliate themselves, therefore, be it

Resolved, That these matters be presented to the meeting of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in suitable resolutions, with a request that they take the matter up at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the bricklayers and masons be again asked to join hands with other organized workers under the American Federation of Labor; shall take steps toward the formation of a bricklayers' union, which shall be so affiliated, to the end that the stumbling block in the way of the progress of the organized workers be removed.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate Chas. D. Wheeler of Chicago Federation of Labor:

Whereas, The convention of the American Federation of Labor in regular session at Toronto, Canada, disposed of the proposition dealing with the controversy existing between the Printer Roller Makers' Union 10638, A. F. of L., and the Samuel Bingham Sons Manufacturing Company, both of Chicago, Ill., by referring same to the Executive Board; and

Whereas, The Samuel Bingham Sons Manufacturing Company has, through its agents, taken advantage of the lack of definite expression and action by the American Federation of Labor to spread a distorted version of the actual facts in the case best suited to serve their interests; and

Whereas, Every effort on the part of the Chicago Printer Roller Makers' Union 10638, aided by the Chicago representatives of the American Federation of Labor, to secure an amicable adjustment of the situation, has been met by a defiant attitude on the part of the representatives of the Samuel Bingham Sons Manufacturing Company; and

Whereas, It is the aim and object of Chicago Printer Roller Makers' Union 10638, in its plea for equity and justice, to acquaint the delegates to this convention in brief form with the exact status of the controversy through the medium of the attached pamphlet; and

Whereas, The facts as therein stated undoubtedly warrant compliance by the convention to the request of its affiliated local, the Chicago Printer Roller Makers' Union 10638, to place the firm of Samuel Bingham Sons Manufacturing Company on the unfair list; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor in regular session assembled in condemnation of the methods employed by the Samuel Bingham Sons Manufacturing Company to justify their maintenance of non-union conditions in their printer roller making establishments and that the firm's persistent and arrogant declination to settle the controversy on a basis consistent with honor and equity demands that the firm of Samuel Bingham Sons Manufacturing Company be placed upon the unfair list and all affiliated unions be officially notified of such action.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate Ben Commons, International Street Railway Employees:

Whereas, The officials and engineers in charge of the construction of the Panama Canal have announced that it will be completed and open for commerce in 1915, and

Whereas, Practically the unanimous sentiment of the President of the United States and other officials, the members of Congress and the American people generally is that no celebration of the canal can produce such immediate and beneficial results as the holding of an exposition where the people of the world will be brought closer together through this union of the Atlantic and Pacific. The East and West will meet and confer with each other and exhibit the resources and products of their several countries, be it

Resolved, That we see in New Orleans the logical point for such exposition,

by reason of its proximity to the canal and because it is the gateway for a large part of the import and export commerce of these United States with the countries south of us and with the world, easily reached from all points in this Continent, North, Central and South America, and in all respects suited to hold a great world's exposition, and we therefore indorse New Orleans as the best point at which to hold the world's Panama exposition in honor of the completion of the canal.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 104—By Delegate Geo. F. Golden, Illinois State Federation, Rock Island, Ill.:

Whereas, The introduction of metal and combination trim is taking the place of wood in the construction of all modern buildings, and

Whereas, The introduction of this trim is causing jurisdictional fights in the building trades and all such fights are detrimental to the organized labor movement; and

Whereas, The placing in proper position in the building, or in other words, the erecting thereof is done by the sole use of carpenters' tools, therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Twenty-eighth Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor in regular session assembled, that the erection of the above mentioned trim of right belongs to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and, be it further

Resolved, That the delegate elected to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to be held at St. Louis, in November, be, and is hereby instructed to use his influence and vote to this end.

Referred to the Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 105—By Delegate Thomas Bone, Central Labor Council, Stockton, Cal.:

Whereas, It is absolutely necessary for the best interests of organized labor, that local unions shall have the right to complete autonomy and self-government in all local affairs, to the end that they may be in a position to meet and successfully combat any and all attacks that may be made upon local organized labor, and

Whereas, Local unions are at all times the best judges of their own local interests in the places where they exist, especially so in matters demanding their immediate attention and decisive action, and

Whereas, It is often the case that the very life of a local union depends upon the prompt and instant moral and

financial support and assistance of the other local unions in that locality, and

Whereas, Said prompt and instant moral and financial support and aid is often times denied and prohibited to local unions, which are forced by circumstances not of their own creation, to demand said local support in order to preserve their very existence, and

Whereas, The denial and prohibition of prompt and instant moral and financial aid and support to local unions in need of such help, is caused solely by certain unreasonable laws and restrictions of the national and international unions and associations with which the various locals are affiliated, to-wit:

First—The law refusing a local the right to declare a sympathetic strike (locally) without the consent of the national or international, with which it is affiliated.

Second—The law refusing the local the right to assess its members in time of local trouble, without the consent of the national or international with which they may be affiliated.

Third—The law refusing the local the right to place a special initiation fee on "rats" and "scabs" who have worked as strike-breakers; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the San Joaquin County Central Labor Council, representing some twenty-nine affiliated local unions does hereby respectfully and earnestly urge that the American Federation of Labor (with which this body is affiliated) in regular annual convention assembled in St. Louis, Mo., take decided and prompt action, recommending and instructing the various national and international unions and associations affiliated with said American Federation of Labor, to amend or strike from their respective constitutions and by-laws the above mentioned laws, to the end that locals may be in a position to successfully combat all sudden attacks of any kind that may be made upon them, and, be it further

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor be apprised of the fact that the San Joaquin County Building Trades Council (affiliated with the California State Building Trades Council, and the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor) and representing some twenty-six local unions, has by official action endorsed the above set of resolutions and concurred in this joint request to the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to the Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate George F. Golden, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

Whereas, This white plague is a disease known and become general to the present jurisdiction; and

Whereas, The medical fraternity of the United States sees the necessity of devising ways and means to stay the ravages of this dreadful disease and have applied to the assistance of organized labor; and

Whereas, The Pittsburg American Federation of Labor Convention recommended that all the affiliated trades take up this sympathetic work along the line set forth by the printers of Colorado Springs; and

Whereas, It has been proven that relief can be accomplished at home as well as elsewhere; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this the Twenty-Eighth Annual Convention of the State Federation of Labor take up the work of establishing a State sanitarium in some healthful locality in the State of Illinois, and that the president of the I. S. F. of L. will use his office and appoint a committee to introduce a bill in the State legislature for an appropriation to nominate a sanitarium in the State for the care and treatment of those afflicted with dreaded diseases, and that the trades unions of the State of Illinois give their moral and financial support to this sympathetic work.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 107—By Delegate J. C. Skemp, Delegate Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, by request of Local Union 201, Albany, N. Y.:**

Whereas, The private trademarks placed upon goods by manufacturers are calculated to confuse or mislead those who desire to buy union goods, in some instances are designed for that purpose, and

Whereas, The increasing number of genuine union labels and devices to distinguish union made products and union establishments are themselves confusing to union men and their friends who desire to patronize union labor, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Label Department of the American Federation of Labor devise and copyright a union label for general and universal use by all crafts affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and that upon the special label be provided a space for the insertion of the title of the organization issuing it and of the individual firm or corporation manufacturing the goods upon which it is placed, so that the intending customer may be fully informed as to the conditions under which the goods are produced.

Referred to the Committee on Labels.

**Resolution No. 108—By Delegate Geo. F. Golden.**

Whereas, Lodge No. 195 of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers

and Iron Ship Builders of America, of Kewanee, Ill., is on a strike at the plant of the Kewanee Boiler Company, manufacturers of heating and power boilers, at Kewanee, Ill.; and

Whereas, The terms submitted and the position taken by the said Lodge No. 195 have been sanctioned by the Executive Council of the said International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders; and

Whereas, The said Kewanee Boiler Company refuses to come to any reasonable agreement with the said Lodge No. 195 and are unfair to said members of Lodge No. 195, and are seeking to destroy and disrupt the said Lodge No. 195 by making the plant of the Kewanee Boiler Company an open shop; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and especially the members of the Steamfitters, Boilermakers and Teamsters' Union, to use every lawful means to compel the said Kewanee Boiler Company to recognize the said Lodge No. 195 and to come to fair terms with the members of said lodge; and we urge upon all men who favor fair play to encourage and uphold the members of Lodge No. 195 in their long and manly struggle for reasonable working conditions.

The above is fully indorsed by the Kewanee Trades and Labor Assembly.

Referred to the Committee on Adjustment.

**Resolution No. 109—By Delegate J. C. Skemp, of Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers:**

Whereas, We believe that the cost of compensation for accidents, loss of health, and loss of life occurring during employment or resulting from an occupation, should be charged to the industry, that such compensation should be fixed by law, and its prompt payment, without cost to the injured or to the dependents of the killed, be assured by the State; and

Whereas, This principle is recognized and embodied in the law enacted at the last session of the legislature of the State of New York, providing fixed compensation for the injury or death of men engaged in certain specified hazardous occupations and permitting employers and employees in other occupations to voluntarily place themselves under the law without surrendering their right to enter suit under the Employers' Liability Law, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention recommends that all affiliated national and international unions advise and urge their local unions situated in the State of New York to include in all future agreements with their employers a provision requiring them to place themselves under the Workmen's Compensation Law, and, be it further

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, through the Executive Council, and all its affiliated organizations, endeavor to secure the extension and broadening of the Workmen's Compensation Act in the State of New York, so that it will apply compulsorily to all wage-earners regardless of occupation or sex, and so that compensation may be provided not only for injury through accident, and for death, but for loss of health and earning capacity due to disease resulting from the occupation; and, be it further

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations use their utmost endeavors to secure the enactment of a comprehensive and liberal workmen's compensation law in every State of the Union and in each province of Canada.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 110—By Delegate J. E. Hartvigsen, Michigan Federation of Labor:**

The following resolution was presented at the twenty-first annual convention of the Michigan Federation of Labor, held at Muskegon, September 22 to 24, 1910:

Whereas, The Michigan Federation of Labor annually sends a delegate to the American Federation of Labor, therefore be it

Resolved, That the delegate elected at this convention to represent the Michigan Federation of Labor at the American Federation of Labor, to be held at St. Louis, Mo., be instructed to request the American Federation of Labor to send or appoint an organizer for a specified time to thoroughly organize the State of Michigan.

This resolution was unanimously adopted by the Michigan State Federation after having been referred to Resolutions Committee and reported favorably by said committee to convention.

Whereas, The State of Michigan holds the residence of C. W. Post, at Battle Creek, from which place emanate the most vicious tirades against organized labor, printed in publications of various sorts as paid matter, and being inimical to the union movement at large, therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled applaud the action of the Michigan State Federation of Labor in the decision to hold the 1911 State convention in Battle Creek, thus invading the enemy's home territory, and be it further

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor Executive Board assist in every manner possible, by sending or appointing organizers and in other ways, the coming year, to thoroughly

organize the State of Michigan, from which the pernicious non-union propaganda of C. W. Post is disseminated.

Referred to the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

**Resolution No. 111—By Delegate Geo. F. Golden:**

Whereas, Organized labor has ever jealously guarded the ethics and principles of the cause that has proven so decided a factor in the development of modern civilization, and

Whereas, The aforesaid ethics have invariably found expression in the religious observance of contractual provisions in existence between employer and employee, and

Whereas, In many instances the employer has flagrantly ignored similar duties incumbent upon him by a deliberate disregard of all contract requirements, thereby meriting the rebuke of all honest minded people, and

Whereas, The Inter-Ocean, a daily newspaper of the city of Chicago, has been guilty of breaking faith with the Chicago Allied Printing Industry in that city, by discharging its web pressmen and operating that department with nonunion help, and

Whereas, The Inter-Ocean management insolently declined to recede from its arrogant position upon the solicitation of committees from both the Chicago Federation of Labor and the Chicago Allied Printing Trades Council, necessitating the withdrawal of the union label privileges heretofore enjoyed by the publication and placing the same on the unfair list, and

Whereas, The above recited action logically demands similar action by the central body representing the toilers of the State of Illinois to the end that they may not unconsciously render aid to an admitted enemy of organized labor, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the delegates of the Illinois State Federation, in regular session assembled, denounce the perfidy of the Chicago Inter-Ocean in its deliberate violation of contract provisions and declare it unfair to organized labor because of such action, and, be it still further

Resolved, That the Chicago Inter-Ocean be placed on the "We don't patronize list," of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and the secretary be instructed to acquaint every affiliated union and central body with the action taken.

Referred to the Committee on Boycotts.

**Resolution No. 112—By delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:**

Whereas, The American Federation of Labor recognizes that the Brother-

hood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America has jurisdiction over all painters and decorators, including those employed in the painting and decorating of railroad cars, engines and other equipment, and

Whereas, In order to secure proper consideration for the demands of its members employed by railroad companies it is necessary that the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America have direct representation upon committees to confer with the railroad officials regarding wages, hours and conditions of labor, and

Whereas, Such representation can be properly and effectively secured only through the affiliation of the said brotherhood with the Railway Employees Department of the American Federation of Labor, and

Whereas, Said brotherhood has made application for admission, accompanied by the initiation fee, and no action has as yet been taken upon its application, therefore be it

Resolved, That the Railway Department of the American Federation of Labor be advised that the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America is eligible to admission to membership and requested to seat its delegates at its coming convention.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 113—By Delegate P. D. Drain, Central Labor Union:

Evansville Building Trades Council are asking the adoption of the resolution herein and a copy be given to the delegates who will attend the American Federation of Labor Convention, which will be held in St. Louis, November 14:

Whereas, In every locality where there is a local Building Trades Council there are some trades who refuse to join the local council, therefore, be it

Resolved, That Section 33 of the Building Trades Department by-laws, which states that all local unions shall be compelled to join the local Building Trades Council, be strictly enforced, and, be it further

Resolved, That any international organization that fails to compel their locals to join their local councils when notified by the secretary-treasurer or Executive Board of the Building Trades Council, shall be suspended till they obey the instructions of the Building Trades Council Department.

Referred to the Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate John Mitchell, United Mine Workers of America:

Whereas, Recent investigations in Europe and America indicate that the suffering and economic loss occasioned by occupational poisons and diseases can be greatly minimized and in some cases absolutely eliminated through labor legislation requiring strict regard for the health of the workers, and

Whereas, The American Association for Labor Legislation has attacked the problem in a scientific way, and with a presentation of facts and figures is demanding national and State action; and, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor urges such investigation of conditions, such labor legislation, such thorough factory and mine inspection, such provision for the health of the workers, such enforcement of labor laws as shall place America on a level with the most progressive of nations; and it endorses and commends the American Association for Labor Legislation for the work it is doing in this direction.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate A. J. Sanarens, Trades Council, Macomb, Miss.:

Believing that the work of organizing the workers of the South, especially the States of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, and believing that by an effort on the part of the American Federation of Labor, through its organizers, results can be obtained, therefore be it further

Resolved, that the American Federation of Labor be instructed to place as many organizers in the States mentioned as possible to the end that the interests of the cause may be benefited.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 116—By Delegates Matthew Woll, International Photo-Engravers Union, Andrew J. Gallagher, San Francisco Labor Council:

Whereas, President Gompers, in his report to convention, has ably expressed the advisability and necessity for legislation to protect the children of our country against exploitation, and to advance their physical, moral and educational welfare, and that of society, and

Whereas, The president's report and that of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor contain no reference to legislation now pend-

ing before congress bearing upon this humane and important subject matter, other than the enactment into law of a bill intended for the better enforcement of the Child Labor Law of the District of Columbia, and

Whereas, (Quoting the language of President Gompers used in his report to convention) "The period has now arrived when the average member of a legislature is proud if he can make a good record on Child Labor Legislation." Be it therefore

Resolved, By this Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the American Federation of Labor take cognizance of and give approval to the intent and purpose of a bill now pending before congress, "To establish in the Department of the Interior a bureau to be known as the Children's Bureau," of which the following is an exact copy:

Sixty-first Congress, second session, Calendar No. 411, section 423, report No. 417, in the Senate of the United States, March 22, 1909—Mr. Flint introduced the following bill, which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, March 18, 1910, reported by Mr. Flint, with amendments: A bill to establish in the Department of the Interior, a bureau to be known as the Children's Bureau. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled; that there shall be established in the Department of Commerce and Labor a bureau to be known as the Children's Bureau. Section 2. That the said bureau shall be under the direction of a chief, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and who shall receive an annual compensation of four thousand dollars. The said bureau shall investigate and report upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life, and shall especially investigate the questions of infant mortality, the birth rate, physical degeneracy, orphanage, juvenile delinquency and juvenile courts, desertion, dangerous occupation, accidents and diseases of children, employment, legislation affecting children in the several States and territories, and such other facts as have a bearing upon the health, efficiency, character and training of children. The chief of said bureau may from time to time publish the results of these investigations. Section 3. That there shall be in said bureau, until otherwise provided for by law, an assistant chief, to be appointed by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, who shall receive an annual compensation of two thousand four hundred dollars; one private secretary to the chief of the bureau, who shall receive an annual compensation of one thousand five hundred dollars; one statistical expert, at two thousand dollars; two clerks of class four; two clerks of class three; one clerk of class two; one clerk of class one; one clerk at one thousand dollars; one

copyist at nine hundred dollars; one special agent at one thousand four hundred dollars; and one special agent at one thousand two hundred dollars. Section 4. That the Secretary of Commerce and Labor is hereby directed to furnish sufficient quarters for the work of this bureau at an annual rental not to exceed two thousand dollars. Section 5. That this act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

Amend the title so as to read: "A bill to establish in the Department of Commerce and Labor, a bureau to be known as the Children's Bureau," and be it further

Resolved, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor are hereby authorized and instructed to exert their best efforts and use every possible influence for the adoption and enactment into law of this or legislation of similar character and purport.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate Walter Gazzolo, I. A. B. P. and B. of A. Labels:

Greeting: The International Alliance of Bill Posters and Billers, being a young organization, and desirous of bringing their labor in more common use amongst the various crafts who should use it; therefore, be it further

Resolved, That the A. F. of L., through which delegates at this convention instruct the affiliated local, both national, and federal, and city central body, to see that the label of the International Bill Posters is placed on all advertising matter, such as cards and posters.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 118—By Delegate Geo. F. Golden, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

Whereas, It is universally conceded by the trades unionists that the State branches of the American Federation of Labor are important factors in advancing the welfare of organized labor, both in the industrial field and in securing legislation favorable to the workers; and,

Whereas, It is extremely difficult, without the active co-operation of the American Federation of Labor, to secure affiliation of all local branches of the national and international organizations, thereby throwing the burden of financing the State Federations upon a portion of the union men and women of the several jurisdictions. With a united membership much more effective organizations would be placed in the field at a smaller individual cost than at present and the work of the State Federations be more nearly in accord with the theory advanced for the formation of such bodies; therefore, be it

Resolved, That Article X, Section 1, of the Constitution be amended to empower the secretary of the American Federation of Labor to collect one-half cent per capita per

month, on the full membership of all trades affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the same to be forwarded to the secretaries of the various State Federations on a pro rata basis of the union men in their jurisdiction.

Referred to Local and Federated Unions.

**Resolution No. 119—**By Delegates E. Frank Moorhouse, Samuel Kelly, Daniel J. Evans, J. Tazelaar, J. C. Skemp, Delegates to the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America :

Whereas, The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America has jurisdiction over all men employed in the painting industry, including those engaged in painting, lettering and decorating cars, locomotives and other railroad equipment, stations and other buildings; and

Whereas, The Pittsburg Convention of the American Federation of Labor instructed the International Association of Car Workers to cease to admit painters and decorators to membership, and to transfer to the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, all members of said International Association of Car Workers engaged in any branch of the painting industry; and,

Whereas, A charter has been granted by the American Federation of Labor to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, an organization similar in structure, methods and objects to the International Association of Car Workers, both having jurisdiction over men employed in the building, repairing and inspection of railroad cars; therefore be it

Resolved, That this convention hereby instructs the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen to cease admitting to membership men engaged in the different branches of the painting business, and further instructs said organization to transfer within a reasonable time all of its members so engaged to the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, they to be accepted by that organization without being required to pay any initiation fee.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

**Resolution No. 120—**By Delegates Matthew Woll, International Photo-Engravers' Union; Andrew J. Gallagher, San Francisco Labor Council :

Whereas, The American Federation of Labor has commendably interested itself in the righting of a wrong perpetrated upon the right of organized labor to advance the social and economic interest and welfare of its members through the unwarrantable exercise of the equitable power of the federal judiciary, intensified by and through the operation and judicial interpretation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, by approving and seeking the enactment into law of a bill introduced by Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania, intended to regulate the issuance of restraining orders and injunctions and procedure thereon, and to limit the meaning of "conspiracy" in certain cases; and

Whereas, A similar violation of the right of organized labor to better the conditions of its members, right the wrongs and amend the grievances realized by them under the present industrial arrangement, is experienced and intensified by a similar unwarranted exercise of the equitable power of the State judiciary; and

Whereas, A united agitation and concentration of effort and energy by all organized labor for the enactment of legislation in all States of the Union, similar to that contemplated in the said Wilson bill, will arouse an increasing public interest, attract greater sympathy and support for organized labor in the amending of the deplorable conditions now existing, and serve to limit the equitable powers of both State and federal courts in the issuance of injunctions; and,

Whereas, The American Federation of Labor is well fitted, by reason of its Central and Federated Bodies, its affiliated international and local unions to undertake and intelligently direct this agitation and concentration of effort and energy; be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor include in its legislative policy the enactment of laws in all States of the Union, similar in purport to the said Wilson bill, and to this end instruct its president and Executive Council to prepare or cause to be prepared, bills of a similar character to be introduced into the several State legislatures through and by the means of the Central and Federated Bodies to the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

Resolved, That every affiliated Central and Federated Labor Body, each and every international and local union is hereby instructed to exert every effort possible, and use whatever influence is in their power to secure the enactment of laws herein contemplated, this agitation, effort and energy to be under the direct supervision of the officers of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to the Committee on President's Report.

**Resolution No. 121—**By Delegate M. A. Murphy, Boston Central Labor Union :

Whereas, The unorganized women workers form the most helpless class in the competition that fixes hours, wages and conditions of work; and,

Whereas, The Woman's Trade Union League has given signal service in promoting trade union organization of woman workers, and has proven of strong and wise assistance in the time of strife; be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, recommend that in cities where there is a branch of the Woman's Trade Union League, that the central body of said cities give the League their co-operation and support to the end that the women workers of the country may be organized.

Referred to the Committee of Local and Federated Bodies.

**Resolution No. 122—**By Delegates Andrew J. Gallagher, San Francisco Labor Council : also introduced by the following delegates

from California: Thomas Bone, Stockton; L. W. Butler, Los Angeles; Cyrus F. Grow, Los Angeles; P. W. Buckley, Oakland; O. A. Tveitmo, San Francisco; Frank A. Monaghan, San Francisco, Cal.; Andrew Fureth, San Francisco, Cal.; Geo. W. Bell, Gas Workers, No. 9840; Fred J. Grahame, San Francisco, Cal.:

Whereas, The citizens of San Francisco and the people of California have guaranteed by voluntary subscriptions and public appropriation, sufficient funds to make a world's fair, in commemoration of the completion of the Panama Canal, a success; and

Whereas, San Francisco has been approved and endorsed by a large number of commercial bodies, fraternal organizations and the chief executives of many States as the most fitting and proper place for such an exposition; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the American Federation of Labor that the City of San Francisco is hereby endorsed as the logical place for a world's fair, to be held in the year 1915, for the purpose of properly celebrating and commemorating one of the great achievements in human history—the completion of the Panama Canal; and be it further

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and is hereby authorized and directed to use all honorable means with the members of the House of Representatives and the United States Senate in order that they may, by the powers vested in them, officially select San Francisco as the place for a world's fair or exposition, to be held in the year 1915, in commemoration of the completion of the Panama Canal.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 123—By Delegate T. V. O'Connor, International Longshoremen's Association:

Whereas, The School Teachers' Association of Buffalo, N. Y., whose members are striving to better their conditions and to secure a fair compensation for their labor, which is of an arduous nature, both physically and mentally; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the representatives of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, declare in favor of a higher standard of wages and salaries to be paid to the school teachers of our country, and we now go on record as indorsing the efforts of the school teachers of Buffalo to improve their conditions of employment, and pledge our support to the members of that organization.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate Victor L. Berger, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor. Affiliation of Locals with Central Bodies:

Whereas, It is now universally acknowledged by the trade unionists throughout the United States that the State Federations of Labor are an important factor to obtain

favorable legislation and other benefits for the toilers; and

Whereas, Under the present law of the American Federation of Labor it is found to be impossible for the international unions to compel their local unions to join State Federations, thereby failing to contribute their share of the labor and expense required in the enactment of protective laws for the toilers; therefore, be it

Resolved, That Section 2 of Article XI, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be abolished, and the following section substituted:

"The national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall, on or before the first day of May, 1911, notify their local unions that they must, within sixty days after notification, join the chartered central labor bodies and departments in their vicinity, also join the chartered State Federation of Labor in their respective States. Any local union failing to carry out said instructions within sixty days after said instructions are received, shall have its charter revoked by the national or international union with which said local is affiliated."

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 125—By the Delegates of the International Longshoremen's Association, T. V. O'Connor, M. W. Kelleher, J. H. Sanderson, T. J. Dolan:

Whereas, The United Steel Corporation and Subsidiary Corporations are alleged to maintain agents in Europe to export labor corporation labor agents; further, be it

Resolved, That the General Executive Council investigate this matter and ascertain if it is not true that the worst criminals of continental countries are brought to this country through the efforts of these corporation labor agents; further be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council report the result of its investigation to the entire labor world, and publish same at large.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 126—By Delegates E. Frank Moorhouse, Dan J. Evans, Sam Kelly, Jacob Tazelaar, J. C. Skemp, Delegates of Brotherhood of Painters, and Decorators, and Paper Hangers of America:

To the President and Delegates of the A. F. of L., St. Louis, Mo.:

International or national organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and in good standing, shall not be discriminated against when applying for membership in any of the departments of such trades or organizations has been granted jurisdiction over the work which the department controls.

On applications for admission the department shall issue a certificate of application without delay.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.



Resolution No. 127—By Delegate T. J. Dolan, International Longshoremen's Association :

Whereas, The construction of deep waterways will provide a great deal of public work for workingmen ; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the A. F. of L. is in favor of the active work on the deep waterway from the lakes to the gulf being started at once by the government.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 128—By Delegate Wm. O'Brien, of the Silver Bow Trades Council :

I, Wm. O'Brien, delegate from Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council, Silver Bow County, Montana, representing forty local unions or more, wish to enter a protest against the granting of a charter to the Western Federation of Miners, by the A. F. of L., under the conditions recommended by the Executive Council. My reasons for doing so are that it would work a hardship on, and be a detriment to every international mechanic working in and around mines, mills or smelters where quartz mining is carried on. In Silver Bow County alone the following unions would be affected :

Carpenters, with a membership of 350 ; 200 would be affected. Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, membership 120 ; affected 100. Blacksmiths and Helpers, 274 ; 250 affected. Electricians, 100 ; 40 affected. Machinists, 375 ; 360 affected. Boilermakers 60 ; 50 affected. Painters, 150 ; 30 affected. Total, 1500 ; 1030 affected.

The results would be similar in Great Falls or Anaconda, where the large smelting operations are carried on.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 129—By Delegate Albert Abrahams, Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity :

Whereas. In almost every locality where there is a central body, a number of unions chartered directly by the American Federation of Labor, or by national or international unions, such unions do not affiliate with the central body in such locality ; be it

Resolved, That Article XI. Section 2, of the A. F. of L., which instructs all chartered unions, national and international unions to have the local unions affiliate with such central body, be immediately enforced, and that the incoming Executive Council be and is hereby directed to issue a notice to these bodies to that effect.

Resolved, That any of these bodies refusing to comply within sixty days after the adjournment of this convention with this instruction, shall stand suspended until they do comply.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 130—By Delegates representing Cigar Makers' International Union :

Whereas, For some time past there has been displayed in various localities moving pictures that pretend to represent instances that occur in so-called strikes, that are not only unwarranted, but are base misrepresentations ; and,

Whereas, It is self-evident that the scenes produced have emanated from those who are unfriendly to the cause of labor, and their purpose is to prejudice the minds of the general public against our movement by falsely and maliciously misrepresenting it by these pictures ; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor places itself on record as condemning such pictures as being untruthful representations of labor's cause, and declaring that those who are interested in providing them have this object in view ; and be it further

Resolved, That we urge our members and friends to use all legitimate means in their power to discourage the exhibition of such moving pictures that falsely pretend to represent instances in connection with our movement.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 131—By Delegate James Murray, Texas State Federation of Labor :

Be it Resolved, That it is the sense of this convention that the best interest of this federation can be best served by this convention by instructing the president and secretary to supply copies of the different laws now in existence and in force, relative to the employer's liability and employees' compensation, as well as copies of such bills as may be proposed dealing with this subject, to the various secretaries of the State Federations of Labor where such laws do not exist, and where it is intended to try to have such laws enacted, to the end that the best information may be at their command for their guidance in the presentation of bills before such legislative bodies as may have to deal with this subject.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 132—By Delegate Emmett L. Adams, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C. :

Whereas, The people of the District of Columbia have been deprived of the right of local self-government, and a form of government under which an immense majority have neither voice nor influence has been forced upon them by Congress without their consent ; and,

Whereas, The present form of government in the capital of the republic—the political heart of the nation—is contrary to the fundamental principles of American liberty to establish which our revolutionary forefathers pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor ; and,

Whereas, The ballot is the workers' most effective weapon, deprived of which they are powerless to redress many of their grievances or to prevent the few men despoiling the many ; and,

Whereas, The Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C., have a number of times petitioned the Congress of the United States for the restoration of a republican form of government in the national capital, and have presented a plan for such a form of government; and,

Whereas, The people in no other city in this country are deprived of the right and opportunity to express their views and register their will through the ballot box; therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the American Federation of Labor that Congress re-establish in the District of Columbia a government of the people and by the people under which it would be more responsive to the needs of the masses; and be it further

Resolved, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to lend such aid, as they may deem wise and helpful to secure for the citizens of Washington such a change in the form of government.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 133—By Delegates T. Healy, C. L. Shamp, Jos. W. Morton:

Whereas, the Twenty-ninth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., held in Toronto, Canada, November, 1909, several conferences were held between the delegates representing the I. U. of S. E. and the I. D. of S. F. for the purpose of arriving at a satisfactory working agreement; and,

Whereas, These conferences have failed to bring about the desired result, and no settlement has been arrived at since that time; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the president of the A. F. of L. request the delegates of the I. U. of S. E. to confer with delegates from the I. D. of S. F. in conference, and that he appoint a member of the Executive Council to act as referee for the purpose of bringing about a mutual agreement by and between the above-named organizations, and make a report of his findings to this convention.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 134—By Delegate Mont. R. Powell, of Oklahoma State Federation of Labor:

Whereas, The voting power of the American Federation of Labor, delegated to the National and International unions through its constitution is not in keeping with the democratic government of the American Federation of Labor, thereby making it possible for three or four crafts to control the destinies of the American labor movement to the possible detriment of other crafts or State Federations and city central bodies, and the time having arrived in the progress of the labor movement for the American Federation of Labor to readjust the system of representation, and believing the voting strength of the State Federation and city central bodies combined should equal that of the National and International unions; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the delegates to the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in regular session as-

sembled, that a committee of five members be appointed by the president to take up the matter of readjustment of representation and report at the next annual convention; said committee to be composed of at least one member from a State Federation and one member from a city central body; and, be it further

Resolved, That the expenses accruing from the deliberations of said committee at the next American Federation of Labor Convention be paid by the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 135—By the Delegation of the Seamen's International Union:

Whereas, We believe it to be of interest to the licensed officers on merchant vessels and to licensed marine engineers, as well as to the labor movement, that they, through their organization, should be affiliated to the labor movement, in the American Federation of Labor; therefore,

Resolved, That these two organizations be invited to join the American Federation of Labor, and that the president be instructed to so inform them.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 136—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, William Neer, Anton J. Hermann, Lawrence A. Grace of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters:

Whereas, The International Brotherhood of Teamsters find, in many sections of the country, that the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union have in their membership men who distinctly drive wagons; and,

Whereas, We believe they are entirely outside the bakery shop, and not bakers; and,

Whereas, Our charter grants us jurisdiction over all classes of drivers on all kinds of wagons; and,

Whereas, We have at the present time several local unions of bakery wagon drivers organized and chartered under our jurisdiction; be it

Resolved, That this convention instruct the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union of America to turn over to the International Organization of Teamsters, all drivers who are now members of their organization.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 137—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, William Neer, Anton J. Hermann, Lawrence A. Grace of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters:

Whereas, The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, by a unanimous vote of their Convention, decided to change their name from International Brotherhood of Teamsters to International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers; and,

Whereas, At the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Toronto, Resolution No. 155, making this same request of the Federation, was referred to the Adjustment Committee, who, in turn, referred same to the Executive Council; and,

Whereas, The Executive Council have not given any decision on this matter, and as we believe we are entitled to immediate action, inasmuch as a large percentage of our membership are now engaged in operating automobiles in every branch of our trade, from passenger service to freight and building material service; and,

Whereas, We have already chartered from our international over thirty local unions of chauffeurs and several locals of stablemen; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention grant us the desired request of changing our title and giving us the jurisdiction requested herein.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 138—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, William Neer, Anton J. Hermann, Lawrence A. Grace of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters:

Whereas, The charter of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters gives them the sole right and jurisdiction to have in their organization all men driving wagons of all classes; and,

Whereas, There exists in the City of New York, Federal Union No. 9463, titled, Newspaper and Mail Deliverers; and,

Whereas, This Federal Union has in its membership from three to five hundred newspaper wagon drivers; be it

Resolved, By this convention, that the Executive Council stand instructed to notify this Federal Union No. 9463, and any other Federal Union, in any part of the country, that they be compelled, and are ordered, to turn all drivers over to the International Organization of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 139—By Delegate B. A. Larger:

Whereas, In nearly every State penal institution and reformatory the labor of the inmates is contracted for by unscrupulous manufacturers, who place the product of said convict labor in competition with that of free labor; and

Whereas, Such competition is unfair and unjust inasmuch as the product of convict contract labor is sold below the regular market price of the product of free labor, thereby throwing many wage earners out of employment; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the various State branches and central bodies be advised to begin a campaign of publicity to arouse the trade unionists and the general public to the end that convicts be employed at such labor that will not place their product in competition with that of free labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 140—By Delegates from the United Garment Workers of America:

Whereas, Forty-five thousand unorganized workers in the clothing industry are out on strike in the City of Chicago during the past eight weeks we, the delegates representing the United Garment Workers of America, who have been and are continuing to assist these people, feel it incumbent upon us to place the facts of this strike and matters pertaining to it before the delegates attending the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at St. Louis, Mo., November, 1910.

These workers were in the employ of the wholesale clothing firms of Hart Schaffner & Marx, B. Kuppenheimer and about one hundred other ready-made and made-to-measure houses. The strike began in one of the pant shops of the firm of Hart Schaffner & Marx as the result of a reduction of wages, said reduction was but one of previous reductions.

When the workers refused to submit to such cut in wages, and went out on strike, all of the other shops of the firm of Hart Schaffner & Marx followed, and soon most of the workers in the entire clothing industry of Chicago left their shops, claiming that there were other matters that needed remedying that were of greater importance than wages. The complaints made were investigated by an impartial tribunal of citizens and publicists known as the Citizens' Committee, who has issued a public statement as to the correctness of these complaints. Some of the more flagrant are as follows:

1. Discrimination against and dismissals for belonging to a trade union.

2. Having to secure a pass from a foreman to get a drink of water, or go to the lavatory.

3. An unfair system of fines and charges for the use of soap in the wash rooms, needles, bobbins, etc.; a charge of 25 cents for oil cans which can be secured at wholesale for 5 cents; a charge of 60 cents for the loss of a silk spool, full or empty. When a spot is found on a garment the one in whose hands the garment is found is subject to a fine of a small or large amount to the extent of the compulsory purchase of the garment at retail prices. This, in spite of the fact that the garment in the course of section work may have passed through a dozen different hands.

4. In the cutting rooms "suit lengths," instead of bolts of cloth are furnished the cutters, out of which a full size suit is expected; the amount of goods furnished is in many instances, insufficient to get the suit out properly, and should the stripes not match with perfectness, or the cutter be short the smallest or shortest piece of goods, and have to apply to the foreman for the same, he is fined or charged for the same.

5. The clothing manufacturers of Chicago have what is known as the Clothiers' Board of Trade or Association, and in order

to secure employment in one of these houses an employe must first secure a pass or permission to work from said association, and must submit to a minute cross-examination of pedigree and pledge not to join a union.

6. Latterly, the entire system has been changed from week to piece work, and the prices paid are so low that the greatest speed is necessary to earn enough to keep body and soul together. The same class and amount of work is now required at piece work that was required formerly at week work, while the average week's earnings is greatly reduced. Again, all piece work employes are compelled to remain in the shop the full time, whether there is work for them to do or not.

7. Time clocks are subjects of grievance inasmuch as workers through a little oversight are deprived of wages actually earned. All workers are compelled to register both on entering or leaving employment, but should a worker neglect to register on leaving employment, in spite of the fact that his work slips and foreman of his department can prove he had done his work, yet he is deprived of his wages.

These are but some of the grievances and tyrannies these people out on strike were subject to, and from which they seek redress.

An offer has been made for a partial remedy and adjustment of the controversy, and the ending of the strike; but those involved are standing out for a strictly union shop, and the reinstatement of all who went out. They are still standing firm, and are determined to win.

The United Garment Workers of America has had its entire force of organizers in the City of Chicago to organize, advise and assist the strikers to bring the strike to a successful issue.

Our organized members in Chicago are assisting the strike financially, by a weekly membership assessment. We have also sent out an appeal for financial aid to all of our affiliated unions in the United States and Canada, and we desire such moral or financial aid as lies in the power of the trade union movement in America, and to this end be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, endorse an appeal for funds which will be sent to all local unions for aid to win this strike, and that all delegates present give said appeal their hearty support when such reaches the union or central body with which they are affiliated.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 141—By Delegates T. L. Lewis, J. H. Walker, Frank J. Hayes, John Mitchell, E. S. McCullough, Edwin Perry, W. E. Wilson of the United Mine Workers of America:

Whereas, The Western Federation of Miners have applied for a charter of affiliation to the American Federation of Labor, with similar jurisdiction to be accorded to them that is now accorded to the United Mine Workers of America.

Whereas, We believe that the Western Federation of Miners should be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and accorded the same rights and privileges as the United Mine Workers of America in their jurisdiction of men working in and around the mines, to be organized under the Western Federation of Miners.

Resolved, That it is the sense of the delegates representing the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Western Federation of Miners should be granted a charter of affiliation, with jurisdiction of employes working in and around the mines metalliferous under their present organization, and that the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to issue to the Western Federation of Miners a charter of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor on that basis. On behalf of United Mine Workers of America.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 142—By Delegate John H. Riley, Danbury, Conn., Central Labor Union:

Whereas, In the State of Connecticut, less than 50 per cent of the local unions of that State are affiliated with the State Branch of the American Federation of Labor of Connecticut; and,

Whereas, The same conditions exist in many of the other States, compelling the few to carry on the work of many; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the same law of the American Federation of Labor compelling local unions to affiliate with central labor unions in these respective cities apply to local unions compelling them to affiliate with the State branches of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

At 4:45 the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 12 m., Friday, November 18.

## Fifth Day's Proceedings—Friday, November 18, 1910.

The convention was called to order at 12 o'clock noon, Friday, November 18th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Kline, Dolan (C. T.), Young (Carl), Richardson, Humphrey, Barnes, Licht, Landers, Bloch, Nestor, Lowe, Daly, Perry, Weber (J. N.), McGivern, Donlin, Smyth, Roth, Paquin, Commons, Evans (Jo.), Grimshaw, Casey, Teagarden, Skaggs, Lee, Joyner, Cathon, Jennings, Sears, Sheehan, Kiefer, Britt, Bratton, Christiansen, Wentz, Kleyhauer, Woodman, Tate, Wilson, (G. F.), Ford, Smith (J. U. P.), Robben, Koepf, Smith (O. P.), Howley, Bell (John), McDonald, Cotter, Woodmansee, Rizzle, Stafford, Gaede, Siebert, Gonzales, Swenson, Carter (C. A.), Miller (Abraham), Mawman, Lippert, Harris, Hudson, East, McShea.

**Delegate Furuseth:** I ask permission to make a reference. I request that the last paragraph of that portion of the President's report under the sub-head "Organization and Growth," on page 3, be referred to the Committee on Law.

No objection being offered, the matter was so referred.

**Delegate Furuseth:** On page 5, of the President's Report, under the sub-head "Canada," I move that everything be referred to the Special Committee on Canadian Relations.

No objection being offered, the matter was so referred.

Secretary Morrison read a communication from the pastor of St. Lawrence O'Toole's Church, in which the delegates were invited to attend a special service at the Church at 11 o'clock, Sunday, November 20th, at which Archbishop Glennon will preach the sermon. The communication stated that seats would be reserved for the attending delegates.

Secretary Morrison read a communication from the Lecture Committee of the local Socialist party, in which an invitation was extended to the delegates to attend a mass meeting at which the following delegates of the American Federation of Labor Convention would speak: Victor L. Berger, Charles Moyer,

President of the Western Federation of Miners, Miss Maud Younger, Ben Turner, Fraternal Delegate from Great Britain, Max Hayes and J. M. Barnes.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

Los Angeles, Cal., November 16, 1910.  
Samuel Gompers, Convention Hall, St. Louis, greetings:

Whereas, The Metal Trades Craft and Structural Iron Workers of Los Angeles are on strike, and

Whereas, Other Building Trades Craft remained at work on struck jobs, and in some cases handled struck work; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the strikers in mass meeting assembled, that we ask the convention to demand that all departments of American Federation of Labor see that all union men cease work on struck jobs, and, be it

Resolved, That Los Angeles strikers do declare our intention to continue our fight for eight-hour day on the Pacific Coast.

E. H. MISNER, Chairman.

The chairman of the Committee on Adjustment asked that Resolution No. 7 be referred to the Committee on Organization; Resolutions Nos. 17 and 18 to the Building Trades Committee, and Resolution No. 75 to the Building Trades Committee. No objection being offered, in each case the reference was made as requested.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

Portland, Oregon, November 13, 1910.

D. W. Robinson, Planters Hotel, Care Secretary Morrison, St. Louis, Mo.:

To the American Federation of Labor, greetings:

Organized labor of the city of Portland and State of Oregon call on your convention now in session to use every endeavor to adjust the differences between the two factions of the I. B. E. W., that this great organization of union men may be brought together that thereby this blot on the escutcheon of trades unionism may be removed.

Central Labor Council of Portland and vicinity.

M. OLNEY, Secretary.

Los Angeles, Cal., November 17, 1910.  
 Andrew J. Gallagher, care Planters Hotel,  
 St. Louis, Mo.:

Get first-class Italian organizer; will have great results here. Unskilled organizations developing splendidly. Everything in fine shape; fever of agitation in the city. Now is the time for fruitful efforts; Mexicans all right, Russians coming along. Italian speaker and organizer sadly needed.

AUSTIN LEWIS.

San Antonio, Texas, November 17, 1910.  
 Samuel Gompers, Planters Hotel, St. Louis, Mo:

While not present in corporal form my spirit is with you and hope that the A. F. of L. will never succumb to any "isms" that will rend it asunder.

WM. L. HOEFGUR,

President Texas State Federation of Labor.

City Island, New York, Nov. 13, 1910.  
 The Officers and Delegates of the Thirtieth Annual Convention A. F. of L.:

Greeting: May convention crown thirty years' achievement of labor legislation by American Federation of Labor with demanding a labor amendment to the United States Constitution abolishing master and servant wage slavery and voluntary servitude, injunctions and usurpation, and ordering industrial emancipation.

Fraternally,

American Anti-Wage Slavery Society.

RUDOLPH MODEST, President,  
 AMBROSE HAAS, Vice-president,  
 HERMAN WALTHER, Treasurer,  
 ALEXANDER SCHLESSINGER, Sec'y.

President Gompers announced that the hour for the special order of business had arrived, and the question of the Electrical Workers' dispute was before the convention.

Delegate Duffy (Frank) made an extended statement of his work on the special committee appointed in the Toronto Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and during the course of his discussion read a number of letters and documents in regard to the case.

Delegate Frey, a member of the special committee appointed in the Toronto convention, discussed the question at some length, and explained the work of the committee at the different meetings held during the year.

Delegate Gallagher: I understand there are several resolutions dealing with the adjustment of this Electrical

Workers' dispute now the property of the convention. What has become of them?

President Gompers: They were referred to the Committee on Adjustment, together with the report of the Executive Council on that subject.

Delegate Gallagher: I understand the entire matter is now out of the hands of all committees and the property of the convention itself.

President Gompers: That is not the understanding of the chair.

Delegate Gallagher discussed the question at some length, and urged that a plan be adopted to settle the troubles existing in Electrical Workers' organizations.

Delegate Kelly (W. J.) discussed the matter at some length, and during the course of his remarks asked: "Is it not a fact that this question was referred to a special committee after being taken from the hands of the Adjustment Committee, and last night taken from the hands of the Special Committee to which it had been referred and brought before this convention?"

President Gompers: If the chair remembers correctly, the matter was not taken from the hands of the special committee. I have not looked over the minutes, but the secretary will read the minutes he has upon that subject.

The minutes were read by Secretary Morrison.

President Gompers: In that form the matter is before the convention.

The question was discussed by Delegate Lynch (James), by Delegate Walker, (J. H.), Delegate Furuseth, Delegate Hayes, (F. J.), Delegate Berry, Delegate Tobin (John) and Delegate Mahon.

Prior to offering an amendment to the motion before the house Delegate Mahon said: The Executive Council has said in its recommendations, "In our opinion, if the entire matter is referred to the Executive Council for the exercise of their good offices, and without any instructions binding them to any specific course to this convention, our Federation may in the course of time bring about amalgamation." They believe if the entire matter is left in the hands of the Council they can work out a satisfactory settlement in time to come. I believe they can.

I believe they should try. I believe it is the course they should pursue. I therefore move as a substitute that the entire matter be referred to the incoming Executive Council.

Later, Delegate Mahon restated his motion, as follows: I move to carry out the recommendation of the Executive Council which reads: "It is our opinion that if the entire matter is referred to the Executive Council for the exercise of their good offices, and without instructions binding them to any specific course by this convention, our Federation may, in the course of time, bring about amalgamation," and that the entire matter be referred to the incoming Executive Council. (Seconded.)

Delegate Lynch (James M.) offered the following amendment:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this convention that the Special Committee on Arbitration as provided for by the Toronto Convention in the case of the Electrical Workers be continued, and that the special committee chosen to adjust the differences be increased by the appointment of two delegates by this convention. (Seconded.)

The question was further discussed by Delegate Mahon.

Delegate Lewis (T. L.) offered the following substitute:

Whereas, The Toronto Convention of the American Federation of Labor provided a method for the settlement of the factional strife among the organized Electrical Workers of the country.

Whereas, The method provided by the Toronto Convention of the American Federation of Labor was the appointment of a committee of three representing the opposing factions of the American Federation of Labor.

Whereas, The work of that committee is not completed for the reason that one member of the committee resigned.

Resolved, That it is the sense of this convention that the action of the Toronto Convention be reaffirmed, and that the committee appointed at the Toronto Convention, or in the event of their failure or refusal to serve, such other members as may be appointed to fill vacancies on the committee, be instructed to complete its work.

The authority is hereby conferred on the committee authorized by the American Federation of Labor to

1. Demand the release of all funds tied up by litigation.

2. That the services of all attorneys employed by either or both factions of the Electrical Workers be promptly discontinued.

3. That the committee endeavor to bring the factions of organized Electrical Workers together, failing to do so, the Arbitration Committee will endorse a call for a joint convention of the two factions of Electrical Workers, such convention to be called within ninety days.

4. That when a special convention of the two factions of the Electrical Workers is called, the committee of three selected by the authority of the American Federation of Labor Convention shall take charge of the special convention of Electrical Workers.

5. That the faction of the Electrical Workers that complies with all the provisions of these instructions shall be recognized as the regular organization and chartered as an affiliated body with the American Federation of Labor.

6. The result of the work of the special convention of the Electrical Workers, in the judgment of this convention of the American Federation of Labor should be final and binding on all factions of the Electrical Workers.

The substitute offered by Delegate Lewis was seconded by Delegate Berry.

The question was discussed by Delegate Lewis, (T. L.), Delegate Collins, of the Electrical Workers, Delegate Furuseth, Vice-president Duncan, Delegate Wilson (W. B.), and Delegate Mitchell (John).

Delegate Mitchell moved, That the entire subject matter of the dispute between the Electrical Workers be referred for adjustment to the Executive Council without instructions binding them to any specific course. (Seconded by Delegate Tobin.)

The motion was withdrawn after the amendment offered by Delegate Mahon had been stated.

The question was further discussed by Delegate Urlick, a member of the special committee appointed in the Toronto convention to consider the question of the Electrical Workers.

A number of delegates asked for the previous question. President Gompers asked for a show of hands to determine if a sufficient number desired the previous question put to warrant closing debate.

President Gompers: A sufficient number has asked that the main question be put to a vote. The chair desires to state that Mr. Reid, President of the Electrical Workers unaffiliated, has arisen and asked recognition. The chair cannot, of course, upon his own authority recognize Mr. Reid.

Delegate Walker (J. H.): I move that Mr. Reid be given the privilege of the floor before a vote is taken. (Seconded.)

Delegate Gallagher desired to know if Mr. Reid, if given the privilege of the floor would go into the merits of the controversy or confine himself to the question of reference to a committee.

Mr. Reid stated it was not his desire to indulge in criminations or recriminations, but as a party to a contract with the A. F. of L. he thought it was his right to defend his position.

Delegate Gallagher: I desire to get the idea of what is known as the seceding faction as to the method of settling the dispute. I would like to know if Mr. Reid is given the floor will he address himself strictly to the motion before the house.

Mr. Reid: Absolutely.

The motion offered by Delegate Walker was carried. Mr. Reid was given the privilege of the floor, and discussed the question before the house at some length.

Delegate Sanderson: I would like to ask Mr. Reid a question. He stated he was willing to let the committee that handled this proposition call a convention. Is he aware of the contents of the resolution offered on this question by Delegate Mahon?

Mr. Reid: I am fully aware of it.

Delegate Sanderson: Are you prepared, if that prevails, to let that be the procedure, that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. use its best offices to deal with this question?

Mr. Reid: I believe in sticking to a contract. We made the contract and our membership would not want us to abrogate it.

A motion was made that Delegate McNulty be allowed the privilege of the floor.

Delegate McNulty: I do not desire to speak long, merely to say that the last answer of Mr. Reid satisfies me the delegates know his position very clearly.

The motion to close the debate was carried.

President Gompers: The motion of Delegate Furuseth proposes to cancel the charter. The motion of Delegate Mahon proposes that the entire matter

be referred to the Executive Council, as they propose to this convention. Delegate Lynch moved that the committee be continued and enlarged. The proposition of Delegate Lewis as a substitute to the whole gives specific instructions and calls for the revocation of a charter. The constitution of the American Federation of Labor provides that when any such question is before the convention it will be settled by roll call. The secretary will call the roll.

Delegate Lewis: I want to correct the statement of the Chair with reference to the substitute offered by Delegate Lewis.

In response to a request from the chairman Secretary Morrison read the substitute offered by Delegate Lewis.

Delegate DeVeaux: Is there not a provision for the revocation of a charter in one of those sections?

President Gompers: This proposition has been read three times, once by Delegate Lewis and twice by Secretary Morrison.

Delegate Walker (J. H.): If Brother Mahon's motion is adopted, in the interim between now and the time the Executive Council takes action will all hostilities cease and neither organization be discriminated against in the field?

President Gompers: That is not a point of information. The secretary will call the roll. The substitute offered by Delegate Lewis as just read will be voted on.

Delegate Lavin asked if one delegate had a right to cast the entire vote of his organization if none of his co-delegates were present.

President Gompers: In the Birmingham convention of the American Federation of Labor it was held that if an organization is entitled to three delegates and but one is present, that delegate may cast the vote to which the organization is entitled.

At 4:45 p. m. the secretary proceeded to call the roll on the substitute offered by Delegate Lewis. Following is the roll call:

Ayes—Kerker, Koch, Kemper, Proebstle, Sullivan (John), Ward, Kugler, Barnes, Bechtold, Sullivan (J. L.), Hesketh, Buckley, Handley, Lewis, Hayes (Frank J.), McCullough (E. S.), Schwab,



Skemp, Moorehouse, Kelley (S.), Willson (James), Gernon, McDevitt, Berry, Murphy (E. P.), Marsh, Brais, Lindola, Flemming, Hayes (Max), Mikel, Faulkner, Donoghue, Kummer, Lavin, Case, Berger, Sears, Hudson, Knies, Zepp, Urlick, Drain, Bramlette, Anderson (J. H.), Skemp (Mrs.), Murphy (Frank), Grow, Smith (V. E.), Weber, Huplits, Robinson, Holt, Russi, McDonald, Niven, Goodwin, Midgeley, Troester, Eckert, White, Partelow, representing 2,954 votes.

Nays—DeVeaux, Kennedy, Noschang, Fischer, Klapetzky, Anderson (Ed), Gazzolo, Kline, Glover, Dougherty, Franklin, Flynn (Joseph), Flynn (T. H.), Glockling, Tobin (J. F.), Hallinan, Higgins, Chatterton, Kelly (Margaret), Butterworth, Ryan, Butler (J. T.), Kelly (J. P.), Huber, Duffy (Frank), MacFarlane, Young, Flynn (Thomas), Kelly (Wm. J.), Swartz, Young (W. W.), Kelso, Maire, Gulnitz, Gengenback, Gompers, Tracy (T. F.), Smith (J. T.), Licht, Conway, Manning, Hinder, Koenkamp, Braum, Scooby, McNulty, Collins, Fay, Monaghan, Feeney, Comerford, Hannihan, Glass, McNamara, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Walsh, Mangan, Flannery, Smith (Fred), Rickert, Larger, Altman, Landers, Meyer, Rosenberg, Dyche, Bloch, Hayes (D. A.), Crist, Thorp, Rettengel, Duncan, Smith (A. M.), Bianchi, Moffitt, Lawlor, Maher, D'Alessandro, Kirby, Cordell, Marshall, Kenehan, Sullivan (T. J.), Griffin, Farrell, McArdle, O'Neal, Leyshon, McSorley, Stevenson, Gehring, Coakley, O'Connor, Kelleher, Dolan (T. J.), Sanderson, O'Connell, Fry, Keegan, Pegg, Vurpla, O'Donnell, Price, Call, Daly, Rumsey, O'Sullivan, Butler (T. J.), Bray, Perry, Mitchell (John), Walker (J. H.), Wilson (W. B.), Valentine, Frey, O'Neill, Dunachie, Weber (J. N.), Miller (Owen), Winkler, Carey (D. A.), Tazelaar, Evans (D. J.), Carey (J. T.), Hannah, Sheret, Woll, Dold, Foster, McGivern, Donlin, Smyth, Alpine, Murphy (P.), Tracy (W. J.), Malley, Nelson, Duffy (T. J.), Taylor, Carr, Malin, Sultor, Feyler, Perham, Quick, Ramsay, Tanquary, Ryan (M. F.), Adames, Gallagher (J. J.), Paquin, Carrigan, Riley, Mahon, Commons, Pratt, Hurley, Furuseth, Olander, Gavlok, Hart, Barry, Higgins, McHugh, Mitchell (M.), Evans (Jo), Lennon, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Hermann, Neer, Grace, Golden, Williams, Teagarden, Carolan, McAndrew, Evans (E. L.), Curtis, Lynch, Morrison, Stevenson (Hugh), McCullough (T. W.), Mulcahy (D. D.), Butler (L. W.), Golden (G. F.), Pfeiffer, Cullen, Hartvigsen, Hertenstein, Chrisman, Leary, Powell, Murray, Creamer, Buckley (James), Maddox, Hirsh, Wheeler, Riley (J. H.), Benson, Burke, Smith (J. U. P.), Silger, Frederichs, Laws, Fear, Hippert, Dingersen, Fahey, O'Connor (John), McGill, Abrahams, Ziegler, Guye, Jerling, Peters, Gallagher (A. J.), Leonard, Dumaw, White (Norval),

Bone, Shanessy (James), Kennedy (J. H.), Adams, Voll, Morris, McAndrews, Skelley, Downey, Neuman, Grassell, Bartholemew, Bell, Wykes, Tveitmo, Zerbarini, Leibowitz, Greenbaum, Miller (Abraham), Dunne, Collins (P. J.), Brice, Goldstein, Davis, Lawine, Lorenzen, representing 12,163 votes.

Not voting—Dolan (C. T.), Richardson, Humphrey, Nestor, Grahame, Roth, Boecke, Grimsshaw, Hawley, Hatch, Drake, Skaggs, Jones, Taylor (Miss Z. J.), DeNedrey, Whalen, Lee, Eckenrod, Joyner, Cathon, Marquadt, Jennings, Baum, Courtenay, Murphy (M. A.), Sheehan, Flynn (J. J.), Grant, O'Brien (Wm.), Kiefer, Andrick, Britt, Bratton, Christiansen, O'Flaherty, Wentz, Kleyhauer, Mueller, Carter, Wilson (G. F.), Ford, Robben, Coffey, Smith (O. P.), Sanarens, Howley, Hunter, Draper, Bell (J.), McGeary, Keough, Anderson (A. C.), Cotter, Woodmansee, Rizzle, Stafford, Gaede, Siebert, Swenson, Carter (C. A.), Hubbard, Bohm, Mawman, Lippert, Harris, Hudson, East, Nihil, McShea, Brace, Turner, Pettipiece, representing 318 votes.

President Gompers: The substitute is lost. The chair desires to call attention to the subjects as they are now and have been presented, the motion of Delegate Furuseth to revoke or annul the charter of the Electrical Workers, the motion of Delegate Mahon to refer to the Executive Council as explained, and the amendment of Delegate Lynch.

The amendment offered by Delegate Lynch was lost on a viva voce vote.

The amendment offered by Delegate Mahon was carried on a viva voce vote.

President Gompers: It is carried and that carries with it the motion of Delegate Furuseth.

Vice-President O'Connell stated it had been very difficult to get committees together to work, and in order to give the committees an opportunity to meet and prepare reports, moved that when the convention adjourned it be to reconvene at the regular time on Monday. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Berry: I would like to inquire if the special committee appointed yesterday to handle the Electrical Workers' matter is done away with by the action of the convention.

The statement was made that the case of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and the Amalgamated Carpenters was still before the special committee.

Vice-President O'Connell: I desire to make two references. Resolution No. 204 being a building trades matter, the Committee on Adjustment desires to refer to the Building Trades Committee.

No objection being offered, the matter was so referred.

The Committee on Adjustment also received permission to refer No. 108 to the Committee on Resolutions.

Secretary Morrison: A resolution was left at the wrong room last evening. Other resolutions needed change. For that reason they were not printed with the others. I desire permission to print them in today's proceedings.

The request was granted.

Delegate Duffy (Frank): I would ask the chairman to place somebody on the Committee on President's Report in my place, as I am leaving the convention tonight.

President Gompers: To fill the vacancy caused by the necessity of Delegate Duffy leaving the convention, the chair will appoint J. W. Morton, of the Firemen.

Delegate Wheeler asked for and received the unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

President Gompers: Last evening I attended a banquet tendered to the delegates by the St. Louis Trades and Labor Council. One of the morning papers published a statement that does me a very grave injustice and this labor movement a great wrong. The statement read that I had "read the negro out of the labor movement." No greater misstatement could be made. First, I have no power to do it, and if I had the power I would not do it. In reviewing the organized labor movement abroad and in the United States I called attention to the conditions confronting the working people of our time and incidentally among several things to which I referred I called attention to the fact that we had with us a population of eight million negroes, and that they are but a little more than half a century from a condition of slavery, and as a consequence it could not be expected that, as a rule, they would have the same conception of their rights and duties as other men of labor have in America.

Instead of "reading the negro out of the labor movement" my contention and the contention of the American Federation of Labor is to try to bring them into the organized labor movement of our country. We are trying our level best, and will continue to do so, to organize the men and women of toil without regard to their religion, their politics, their nationality, their sex or their race. I could not permit this entire day to pass by without thus publicly, in this convention and in the presence of our visitors and the representatives of the press, making this correction.

The Committee on Credentials made the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials beg to report that they have received the following credential and recommend the seating of the delegate:

Sedalia, Mo. Federation of Labor, R. T. Wood, 1 vote.

We have a communication from the Galesburg, Illinois Trades and Labor Assembly, stating that their delegate Edward A. Tate could not attend the convention, and they have sent the alternate, Conrad Nystrom, with request that he be seated. We recommend that Mr. Nystrom be seated, as requested, with 1 vote.

MICHAEL J. HALLINAN, Chairman,  
A. J. KUGLER,  
WM. J. KELLY, Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

During the session the following resolutions were presented and referred by the Chairman to the various committees:

Resolution No. 143—By the delegation representing the Cigar Makers' International Union:

Whereas, For a period of more than four months 9,000 members of the Cigar Makers' International Union in the city of Tampa, Florida, have been forced out of employment by the members of the Cigar Manufacturers' Association, the efforts of this association being to disrupt the organization of the Cigar Makers as well as that of every other organization of labor in that city, particularly the organizations of the building trades, the purpose being to establish in Tampa the "open shop;" and,

Whereas, In the efforts made in this direction by the Cigar Manufacturers' Association there has been organized

what is known as the Citizens' Association, this latter Association having transgressed all law and order by constituting itself as an armed authority, having not only attempted to force the members of the Cigar Makers' International Union to return to work against their will, but having also threatened the lives of many of the members for refusing to return to work; and,

Whereas, This self-constituted Citizens' Association has by force of arms closed the offices of the labor organizations of Tampa, has refused to permit the officers of the various local unions of Cigar Makers to transact their business in a peaceful and lawful manner, and has had several officers of these local unions arrested and imprisoned on charges that are unwarranted and false, the authorities refusing to accept a bail bond, and denying the plea for a speedy trial; and,

Whereas, The Governor of the State of Florida, as well as the Mayor of Tampa, has refused to make an investigation of the conditions arising from the action of this self-constituted citizens' committee; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby enters an emphatic protest against this unwarranted and uncalled for interference with the rights and liberties of the working men and women of Tampa; and, be it

Resolved, That this convention also emphatically protests against the action of the municipal authorities of Tampa by reason of their refusal to protect the rights of those citizens whose property was confiscated by the closing of the halls where their meetings were held, and, be it

Resolved, That this Convention protests against the unwarranted arrests and incarceration of the officers and members of the unions of Tampa; and, be it further

Resolved, That this Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor calls upon the organizations herein represented and their members and friends to give all possible moral and financial assistance to our fellow working men and women of Tampa involved in this controversy, to the end that their organization may be maintained and their rights and liberties as American citizens upheld.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 144—By Delegates Joe N. Weber, Owen Miller, D. A. Carey, Joe F. Winkler, of the A. F. of M. at A. F. of L. Convention:

Whereas, The United States authorities have repeatedly decided that musicians do not come under the provisions of the alien contract labor law, and

Whereas, In the past and at the present time orchestras and bands are imported into this country under contract, and

Whereas, The bands and orchestras so imported generally displace American musicians by contracting to work for pauper wages, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor consider the replacing of American musicians by foreign musicians under the circumstances as complained of, an injustice and hereby declares itself in full sympathy with all efforts of the American Federation of Musicians to have the alien contract labor law amended so as to afford the necessary protection to American musicians.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 145—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, Thos. Flynn and Joseph Flynn, of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers:

Whereas, There is a large and insistent demand for remedial legislation having for its object the prevention of the large number of locomotive boiler explosions with their accompanying loss of life; the list of such explosions are becoming larger each year and the experience of other nations shows the only effective remedy is Government supervision of inspection of boilers, and

Whereas, There is now before the Congress of the United States a bill to provide for Federal Supervision of Locomotive Boilers, which if enacted into law, would greatly reduce the number of these appalling disasters by requiring more careful and frequent inspections, promptness in making repairs when defects are found and compel a discontinuance of the present practice on many roads of taking chances with defective boilers, by continuing them in service in order to overcome a shortage of engines even after their dangerous condition has been ascertained: therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the delegates to the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in regular session assembled, do heartily approve of the principle of Federal supervision of locomotive boiler inspection and direct that the Legislative Committee of this body do all in their power to assist in having this measure enacted into law at the coming session of Congress; and we request all affiliated bodies to aid in the matter; and, be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these preambles and resolutions be sent to the President, Senators and Congressmen of the United States.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 146—By Delegate Chas. D. Wheeler, Delegate Chicago Federation of Labor.

Whereas, The 29th of next November (1911) will be the one hundredth birthday of Wendel Phillips, and

Whereas, This greatest of all American agitators and reformers (if not the greatest of all the world's agitators and reformers) has been studiously ignored by the plutocratically controlled institutions and publications of our country, therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor do, at this convention, resolve to celebrate the centennial anniversary of this great advocate of human liberty, and be it further

Resolved, That we recommend to all affiliated international, central and local unions the educational effect that a general celebration of his birthday is bound to have on all the people of this country, as it will encourage a study of his life, work and character.

Resolved, That the Resolution Committee be requested to draw up suitable resolutions covering this matter, so that the day, or the Sunday previous, can be properly observed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

At 6 p. m. the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 12 o'clock, noon, Monday, November 21, 1910.

## Sixth Day's Proceedings—Monday, November 21, 1910.

The convention was called to order at 12 o'clock, Monday, November 21, 1910, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Dolan (C. T.), Richardson, Gengenback, Hannahan, Bechtold, Wettengel, Nestor, Marshall, Gehring, Coakley, Weber (J. N.), Perry, Foster, Murphy (Patrick), Tracy (W. J.), Roth, Berry (G. L.), McHugh, Mitchell (M.), Evans (Jo), Teagarden, Drake, Skaggs, Lee, Joyner, Cathon, Jennings, Hudson (Fred), Courtenay, Kiefer, Andrick, Britt, Riley (J. H.), Wentz, Kleyhauer, Nystrom, Wilson (G. F.), Smith (J. U. P.), Smith (O. P.), Hunter, Bell, Leonard, Wood, Anderson (A. C.), Cotter, Rizzle, Stafford, Skelley, Gaede, Siebert, White, Swenson, Hubbard, Leibowitz, Lippert, Harris.

Delegate Furuseth requested that Resolution No. 120 be referred from the Committee on President's Report to the Committee on Resolutions. No objection being offered, the matter was so referred.

Delegate Ramsay, of the Committee on Organization, requested that Resolution No. 94 be referred to the Building Trades Committee, that Resolution 131 be referred to the Committee on Education, that Resolution No. 133 be referred from the Committee on Organization to the Committee on Adjustment, and that Resolution No. 126 be referred to the Committee on Law. No objection being offered, the resolutions were referred as requested.

Vice-President O'Connell requested that Resolution No. 131 be referred from the Committee on Adjustment to the Committee on Resolutions, that Resolution No. 83 be referred to the Committee on Resolutions, and that Resolution No. 112 be referred to the Committee on Law. No objections being offered, the resolutions were referred as requested.

Vice-President Perham: The Committee on Local and Federated Bodies desires to refer Resolution No. 118 and Resolution No. 124 to the Committee on Law. No objection being offered, the resolutions were referred as requested.

### Report of Committee on Organization.

St. Louis, Mo., November 18, 1910.

The Committee on Organization met and organized with Mr. John Mitchell in the chair. D. G. Ramsay was chosen secretary. Several resolutions asking for the appointment of organizers being in the hands of the committee, the question of their disposition was fully considered and it being the understanding of the committee that at the present time the funds available for organizing purposes are not in excess of the amount necessary to defray the expenses of those now employed it was considered best to refer these resolutions to the Executive Council with instructions to give all possible attention to the work of organization in the localities referred to in the following resolutions:

**Resolution No. 3**—By Delegate James Buckley of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

Whereas, The state of Wyoming has several fair-sized towns in which there are no labor organizations, and several in which we believe various locals could be organized, and in the past the state has received practically no assistance in organizing from any source; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor consider the question of sending an organizer for a specified time to work in this field.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 6**—By Delegate Homer D. Call of Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen:

Whereas, The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America has for the past six years made a determined and consistent effort to organize the employes in the packing industry; and

Whereas, Their efforts have been vigorously opposed by what is known as the American Meat Trade Association, who have

repeatedly declared for the open or non-union plant; and,

Whereas, At the present time the wages and conditions of the employes have been systematically reduced until today the average wage of the butcher workmen is less than \$7.00 per week; and,

Whereas, Owing to the present system of government inspection, we believe the time opportune for organizing the said butcher workmen of North America; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled do hereby request the Incoming Executive Council to render such aid and assistance as possible to organize the butcher workmen of this country; and be it further

Resolved, That some one general organizer of the American Federation of Labor be designated to take charge of the work of organizing, with instructions to devote his entire time to that work, at the expense of the A. F. of L.

The committee recommended that the resolutions be referred to the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed by Delegate Call, who spoke briefly in regard to the conditions existing among the employes of the American Meat Trade Association.

The motion to concur in the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate C. F. Russi, Jr., San Antonio Trades Council:

Whereas, Texas has not been getting the recognition of the American Federation of Labor that it is entitled to in way of general organizers; and

Whereas, Texas is in need of a general organizer on account of the bad conditions existing throughout the state; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor send a general organizer to Texas on the first of January, 1911; and be it further

Resolved, That the organizer be kept active in Texas permanently.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Roderick McGeary, C. F. U. of Providence, R. I.:

Resolved, That an organizer be sent to Providence, R. I., and vicinity for the purpose of organizing the jewelry workers. At the present time there are 30,000 skilled workmen employed at their craft in this section, none of them being organized.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate Geo. W. Bell of Gas Workers' Union 9841:

Whereas, The large army of wage workers now employed in the manufacturing and distributing of artificial and natural gas in the United States and Canada are unorganized except in the state of California; and

Whereas, If these men were organized it would be the means of bringing into the fold of the American Federation of Labor many thousands of wage-workers; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to make every effort to organize the gas workers in the large cities of the East and Middle West.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 53 — By Delegate Charles Lavin of Pennsylvania State Federation:

Whereas, The state of Pennsylvania employs over 50,000 people in the silk industry; and

Whereas, The larger portion of these are women and girls, working long hours and for meager wages, as a result of their lack of organization; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the delegates to the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, do strongly urge upon the Executive Council the advisability of placing one organizer in that territory for at least six months of the coming year, with a view of assisting to bring about a more thorough organization among these silk workers; and be it further

Resolved, That the organizer so assigned shall be one who has at least some knowledge of the silk industry.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

It was moved and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed at length by Delegate Lavin, who described the deplorable condition of the children and young girls working in the silk mills. He urged that all other organizations assist in obtaining better conditions for them.

Vice-President Lennon: I just desire at this time to say a few words regarding the situation of the American Federation and the Executive Council in taking up these matters. It is not because of lack of interest, nor because of a lack of desire to furnish organizers. The federation now has in its general fund about \$4,000. I think only about two months ago we had absolutely nothing in the general fund. Delegates must remember that the organizers who are already in the field have work in hand which, if abandoned, will make a large part of the work they have already done inefficient and of no value. Therefore the council, when it is without funds, cannot act upon these propositions. If they take away men who have certain work in hand and send them to other places, they render the work already done of no avail, and in going into new fields the men can accomplish but little and make no showing for the organization for some time to come. I want to call your attention to the fact now that what is needed to carry out this work is more money, and the Law Committee will submit a proposition to this convention looking for an addition to the funds of the federation that will enable the council to carry out a very considerable portion of this work that is assigned to them. I felt a statement of this kind would not be amiss in handling resolutions of this character by the committee.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 57 — By Delegates Christ Kerker and Henry Koch, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union:

Whereas, Unscrupulous employers of the baking industry, employing thousands of craftsmen of the baking trade have in the past year reduced wages and forced men to inhuman conditions, and while we are doing all within our power to uphold and defend our constitution against the wanton attack of corporate power, which seeks to take advantage and fasten upon its employees a slavish condition of servitude; and

Whereas, The members of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union have been engaged in bitter strikes the country over, we feel that the conditions of the bakery industry must be sharply looked after, and

Whereas, As the situation presents itself to us, we picture it with serious alarm and apprehension, for we recognize in it an insidious attack on organized labor; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized by this convention to give to our organization assistance in the way of organizing by instructing organizers in all localities to give particular attention to the organizing of bakers.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate Riley, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks:

Whereas, There are approximately one-fourth million clerical employees of the various railroad companies in the United States at the present time who are unorganized, and

Whereas, This vast number of wage-earners is by far the largest contingent of unorganized labor embraced in a single class now in existence, and

Whereas, The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks has organized a certain percentage of this class and upon a number of railroad lines this class has materially increased its wages, reduced its hours of service and secured other improved conditions through such organization, and

Whereas, The organization of this vast body of workingmen is of paramount importance to the labor movement at the present time, and

Whereas, The said Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, claiming jurisdiction over this class of wage-earners, is an affiliated body; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that special effort be made to organize this large contingent of unorganized labor; that each and every organizer of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to at once begin and prosecute a vigorous campaign of education along trade union lines among this class, and, be it further

Resolved, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be, and hereby are, instructed to assign at least one of its organizers to the special and exclusive work of organizing this one-fourth million unorganized wage-earners, such organizer or organizers to work under the assignment and direction of the Grand President of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate Geo. W. Bell, Gas Workers' Union, 9840:

Whereas, The Sugar Workers' Union 10519 is the one and only union of its kind in America, and therefore not in a position to organize the sugar workers throughout the country, and

Whereas, The sugar workers of America, if organized, would form one of the largest organizations in the country; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Incoming Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor be, and hereby is, instructed to use its best efforts to organize the sugar workers in the Eastern States.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate Sim A. Bramlette, Central Labor Union, Kansas City, Kan.:

Whereas, The Central Labor Union of Kansas City, Kan., has been carrying on a campaign of organization among the unorganized workers of that city with the of being able to ultimately organize the several thousand unorganized workers, and in such effort have exhausted practically every means available.

Whereas, Such effort on the part of the Central Labor Union has been supplemented by the State Federation of Labor as far as that organization was able to contribute to the work, with the result that favorable conditions have been established to form several local organizations, provided the work is continued; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor place a general organizer in said city or appoint some competent local worker as a special organizer to take up the work of organization in Kansas City, Kan., and that such organizer maintain headquarters in said city while engaged in such work.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate James Murray, of State Federation of Labor of Texas:

Whereas, The influx of Mexican labor into the Southwestern States is assuming larger proportions each year, and, if not properly and promptly attended to by this Federation will in all probability result in the disaffection of many of the locals now affiliated with this Federation, and

Whereas, The belief is common with those who have given this subject the

closest study and investigation that this Federation has not been pursuing a wise policy in the past in regard to this matter, thereby endangering the continued existence of the locals now organized and affiliated, and by this neglect weakening its own strength when it should be pursuing an entirely different policy, therefore be it

Resolved, That such delegates as may be now attending this convention from the Southern or Southwestern States be requested to go before the Committee on Organization and submit such information as they may possess in relation to this matter, and that the committee be instructed to report back to this convention with such recommendations as they may deem best for the interest of the Federation.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 44—By Seamen's Delegation:

Whereas, There are a large number of men who, by their occupation (that of general laborers), are under great difficulty in trying to organize, and yet who, more than any other class of men, are in serious need of organization, and

Whereas, These men (more than three million) travel from place to place to obtain work of different kinds; and

Whereas, These men are ill-paid, ill-fed, ill-housed and treated in a way that denies their common humanity, that prevents them from obtaining promptly even the pitiful small pay which they are promised; and

Whereas, These men are gradually getting to believe that not only the world generally, but even the trade unionists are their enemies and are therefore learning to hate unionism; and

Whereas, We seem thus to be traveling in nearly the same way as did the gulls to a condition which will divide them from the rest of the workers; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council be instructed to devise a form of organization that shall be suitable to the needs of these migratory laborers; and be it further

Resolved, That such part of the funds of the federation as can possibly be spared be devoted to the organization of what may be called the migratory laborer of such states where such work may give the best promise of results.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to Executive Council, being covered by Resolution No. 86.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.



Resolution No. 86—By Delegate O. A. Tveitmoe, United Laborers 12992, of San Francisco, Cal.:

Whereas, It is the duty of the organized artisans, mechanics and laborers to help in the uplift of all who toil for a living; and

Whereas, Steps have already been taken by organizations in various states to organize the migratory and unskilled laborers in accordance with a definite and systematic plan; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that all authorized organizations of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated International and National unions, be directed to use every effort within their power to organize the unskilled and migratory laborers of the various cities and counties wherein they may be employed; and, be it further

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and is hereby instructed to give particular attention and care to this great mass of unskilled labor, and endeavor to perfect an International organization in accordance with the principles of the trades union movement and the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended that the resolution be adopted.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate A. J. Sanarens, Trades Council, Macomb, Miss.:

Whereas, Believing that the work of organizing the workers of the South, especially the States of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, and believing that by an effort on the part of the American Federation of Labor, through its organizers, results can be obtained; therefore, be it

Resolved, that the American Federation of Labor be instructed to place as many organizers in the States mentioned as possible to the end that the interests of the cause may be benefited.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 9—By the delegates of the International Longshoremen's Association:

Whereas, The closer affiliation of all organizations of the workers employed in the industry of transportation, such as longshoremen, seamen, teamsters,

railroaders, freight-handlers, street carmen, boatmen, etc., will be of advantage to all concerned; and

Whereas, The development of industry will eventually force the workers to organize and affiliate on industrial lines; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be asked to inaugurate a movement to establish a Transportation Department within the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to confer with the representatives of the organizations in question as to the practicability of organizing such a department

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Furuseth and Vice-President Mitchell.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate P. J. Brice, Stone Derrick Men's Union No. 12878:

Whereas, We, the Stone Derrick Men's Union No. 12878 of St. Louis, have tried to form an international union of our craft, consisting of men over 21 years of age, employed at the following work:

The handling of all cut stone and granite cut by stone and granite cutters, in yards and on buildings, and the helping to set of all stone and granite.

The handling of all saws (except granite saws), travelers and derricks in yards, when used to handle cut stone or granite.

The drilling of stone or granite, whether by hand, steam, air or any other method.

Where specified granite drilling, said drilling is controlled by granite cutters.

Where specified hand drilling, this does not apply to mash hammer drilling when done by a stonecutter.

The handling and rigging of all derricks when used for the purpose of handling cut stone or granite, whether on construction, reconstruction and alterations of buildings, where cut stone or granite is handled.

All rubbing of stone (except granite polishing), all cleaning down of new stonework on buildings.

The handling and helping to set all artificial cut stone made in molds, blocks or slabs. By the term "artificial cut stone" is meant where molds, blocks

or slabs are to take the place of cut stone. We do not claim the manufacture.

The handling and helping to set exterior marble, when said marble work is being done by stonecutters or stonemasons.

Having also solicited the aid of the American Federation of Labor in forming said international union, and having been informed by Mr. F. Morrison, your secretary, that the American Federation of Labor would do all in its power to help us form said union, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this, the thirtieth convention of the American Federation of Labor, give us their support to further the work of organizing the locals engaged in our class of work, and be it further

Resolved, That the thirtieth convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its organizers to work to that end, namely, that said international union may be formed.

We find in different cities that men of our craft are at this time unorganized, and we feel that locals could be organized, thereby getting together enough to warrant the forming of the proposed international union, and we, the Stone Derrick Men's Union No. 12878 pledge our financial support to further this movement.

In connection with the above resolution will say we have an eight-hour day schedule at the rate of 37 1-2¢ per hour; a schedule of four hours on Saturday, with time and a half for overtime; double time for Sundays and holidays, which are New Year's Day, Fourth of July, Thanksgiving and Christmas. No work on Labor Day.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Secretary Morrison: Part of the whereas says that Secretary Morrison promised to do all in his power to help form this particular union. The secretary has no recollection at this time of ever having made such a statement orally or to have written a statement of that character in regard to this particular organization, although the officers of the American Federation and the Executive Council are instructed by the constitution to form international organizations out of local unions wherever possible. I desire to make this correction at least in the minds of the delegates.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate Harry DeVeaux, representing the Actors' International Union.

Whereas, At the Toronto (Canada) convention of the American Federation of Labor two resolutions were introduced by the Actors' International Union, one of which requested the assistance of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to aid the Actors' International Union in forming an international association of actors in all parts of the world; and the other resolution requested the assistance of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to induce an organization known as The White Rats of America, a theatrical association of vaudeville actors, to become a component part of the American Federation of Labor, and

Whereas, Through the personal efforts of President Samuel Gompers several conferences were held between the Actors' International Union and The White Rats of America, which resulted in the amalgamation of the two organizations on the 7th day of November, 1910, at the Victoria Hotel, in New York City, at which conference representatives of the Actors' International Union, The White Rats of America and President Gompers were present, thereby forming in fact an international association of actors allied with the English, German, French and Australian federations of organized actors, under the title of The White Rats Actors' Union of America; therefore, be it

Resolved, That all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor render their moral support and influence to The White Rats Actors' Union of America in their efforts to have all places of amusement in the United States and Canada employ members of the only recognized body of theatrical performers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

Resolved, That due notice of the amalgamation of the Actors' International Union and The White Rats of America be submitted officially by the American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, to all national and international unions, state federations and local city central bodies.

The committee recommended that the resolution be adopted.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 27 be amended by striking out "shall" in the fourth line and inserting "be requested"; also striking out the words "every assistance will be

given," in lines six and seven, and insert in line nine, after the word "name" "be requested to give their assistance." The resolution as amended is as follows:

**Resolution No. 27—By Delegate Harry De Veaux of the Actors' International Union:**

Whereas, Through the efforts made by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the association of actors, formerly known under the title of The White Rats of America, have been amalgamated with the Actors' International Union, thereby forming a well-organized branch of the amusement profession under the new title of The White Rats Actors' Union of America, and

Whereas, It is to the best interests of those that are employed in the various places of amusement in this country and Canada, that the various crafts so employed, should assist in the practical organization of all engaged in these various branches; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Musicians and the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees be requested to use their best efforts to assist The White Rats Actors' Union of America in their campaign of organization, and that the various locals of the two organizations named be requested to give their assistance in regulating any local differences that may occur between the employer and the employee in so far as the constitutions of the international organizations above named will permit.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

Delegate De Veaux discussed the resolution briefly, and stated that he had no objection to the amendment.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in and the resolution adopted.

**Resolution No. 54—By Delegate Wm. E. Eckenrodt, Tennessee Federation of Labor; Chas. P. Fahey, of Nashville Trades and Labor Council, and S. H. Lowe, of Jackson Trades and Labor Council:**

Whereas, The State Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union in Tennessee has passed the following resolutions at their annual convention, held September 13, 14, 1910, at Dickson, Tenn.

Whereas, The organized workmen of Tennessee are striving to improve the condition of themselves and their families; and

Whereas, It is the desire of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of Tennessee to assist them in every practical way possible; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the State Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union, that we request the Tennessee Federation of Labor to prevail upon the International Labor Organization to send representatives to our country meetings to explain to our members the importance of purchasing the product of union labor that bears the union label; and be it further

Resolved, That our state secretary be instructed to furnish the secretary of the State Federation of Labor, on his request, the dates and places of the meetings of our county unions for that purpose. Be it

Resolved, That our legislative committee is hereby instructed to meet and co-operate with the legislative committee of the Tennessee Federation of Labor on all measures pertaining to the common interest of labor and that all legislation agreed upon by both organizations shall be submitted to all candidates for legislative honors.

Resolved, That the President of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of Tennessee be empowered to appoint a committee of three from this body to co-operate with the authorities of the Tennessee Federation of Labor to arrange a joint convention of the two orders above named at a convenient point in the state during the year 1911; and

Whereas, The Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union in Tennessee has by the passage of the above resolutions indicated their desire to co-operate with and assist the Trade Unionists in Tennessee in a practical way to improve their condition; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the delegates to the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we most heartily endorse the proposed working agreement between the organized Farmers and the Trade Unionists of Tennessee; and, be it further

Resolved, That we instruct the Incoming Executive Council to comply with the request contained in the resolutions and send some person to attend the meetings of the county unions of the farmers to explain and instruct them of the importance of purchasing the goods that bear the union label.

The committee recommended that the alliance between the State Federation and the Farmers' Union of Tennessee be commended, and that the subject matter of the resolution be referred to the Union Label Trades Department.

The question was discussed at some length by Delegate Fahey, who explained at length the conditions existing in Tennessee and stated that a large amount of benefit would be derived by every international union that has a label if the suggestion contained in the resolution could be carried out.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate John J. Flynn of Brooklyn Central Trades Union:

Whereas, There is operated in the Borough of Brooklyn a factory for the manufacturing of linotype machines, known as The Mergenthaler Linotype Company; and

Whereas, There are employed in that factory many hundreds of men, women, boys and girls, including craftsmen, such as electricians, machinists and tool and diemakers, metal polishers, carpenters, engineers, firemen, and others; and

Whereas, The employees in this factory are grossly underpaid and exploited, and the company is showing its distaste for organized labor, by repeatedly discharging members of unions who had the temerity to wear an emblem of their union, or when it came to the knowledge of the officials of the company that they were members; and

Whereas, The manufactured products of this company are used and operated by organized labor; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in its Thirtieth Annual Convention at St. Louis, Mo., November, 1910, direct the trades interested to concentrate their efforts in an endeavor to organize The Mergenthaler Linotype Company; and, be it further

Resolved, That the International Typographical Union and the trades affiliated, directly and indirectly, give all necessary assistance in furthering the organizing of the craftsmen in the employ of that company, in keeping with the spirit of the American labor movement.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to seek the co-operation of the International Union in question in an effort to organize the employees of the Mergenthaler Linotype Company.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate Charles W. Fear, of Joplin, Mo., Trades Assembly:

Whereas, The unorganized wage workers of the Southwest Missouri district present an opportunity for the organization of a number of local unions, particularly in the city of Joplin, Mo., and vicinity; and

Whereas, The Joplin Trades Assembly is working to thoroughly organize the tollers of that vicinity under the trade union banner of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor call the attention of officers of affiliated international unions to the unorganized

Southwest Missouri district, and again urge that international organizers be detailed to work in the Joplin district during the coming year with the purpose of more thoroughly organizing the workers of the different crafts into their unions; and be it further

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the Federation of Labor be and are hereby authorized to render all assistance possible in organizing the tollers of Southwest Missouri.

The committee recommended that the resolution be adopted.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 93—By Delegates Urban Fleming and John Golden, of United Textile Workers of America:

Whereas, The textile industry in its many branches employs over 1,000,000 wage-workers scattered over the North American Continent, and

Whereas, The prevailing condition in many parts of the country in connection with the textile industry are long hours of labor, a low scale of wages, coupled with unhealthy and unsanitary conditions, mostly due to the non-enforcement of the factory laws in some States, and the absolute lack of humane laws in other States, especially those south of the Mason and Dixon line, be it therefore

Resolved, That the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby instruct the Executive Council to co-operate as far as possible with the officers of the United Textile Workers of America during the coming year in a joint effort to bring about a more thorough organization of textile workers and a consequent uplift of their conditions.

The committee recommended that the resolution be adopted.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate Edw. P. Baum, of the Belleville (Ill.) Trades and Labor Assembly:

Whereas, A good many of the crafts in the stove and range shops and the foundries in general all over this country are not organized, and it has been shown that in a good many shops where said crafts are not organized, other crafts are thoroughly organized and receive the recognition of the firms; in fact, in some of the shops some of the smaller crafts, such as the metal polishers, stove mounters, steel range workers, foundry employees and, in some instances, the iron molders, are out on strike and scabs are working in their places, the firms placed on the unfair list and such unfairness indorsed by the Trades and Labor Assembly of said respective districts, and still we find that other crafts organized under the American Federation of

Labor and affiliated with the Metal Trades Department continue to work in said unfair shop with said scabs and strike-breakers, without rendering any assistance toward organizing these non-union men; and

Whereas, If said crafts who are organized in said unfair shops would speak to said non-union men they could bring pressure to prevail upon them to identify themselves with the unions under whose jurisdiction they work. Where, as it is, they work with them for years and never ask them any questions relative to their becoming union men, and in most instances costs the unions under whose jurisdictions they work considerable time and money to get them organized; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in St. Louis, Mo., November, 1910, that the American Federation of Labor insist that the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor make their prime issue the organizing of all crafts working in the said foundry industries, and that said crafts who are organized in any foundry do all in their power to organize the other metal trades crafts that are yet unorganized; and be it further

Resolved, That no international union grant or permit its affiliated locals to grant the use of their union label to any firm unless all crafts whose international unions are affiliated with the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor working in said firms' shops or foundry are organized.

Endorsed by the Eighth District, Stove Mounters and Steel Range Workers' Union Convention, Belleville, Ill., October 29, 1910.

Further recommended by Frank Grimshaw, Stove Mounters' International Union; George Bechtold, International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees; Thomas Rumsey, Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers' International.

The committee recommended that the first resolve be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to correspond with the Metal Trade organization looking to a more complete organization of all foundry employees, and that the second resolve be referred to the Metal Trades Department.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate E. C. Morris, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12,646:

Whereas, Officers of international and national unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor hold commissions as organizers, and

Whereas, Many stenographers, bookkeepers and general office workers are employed in the offices of these international and national unions and there seems to be no opportunity for the American Federation of Labor to assign a special organizer to work among these employees, be it

Resolved, That the officers of international and national unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor use their best efforts as organizers commissioned by the A. F. of L. to secure the membership of their office workers in existing local unions of these crafts and to promote the formation of such local unions in cities wherein they do not now exist.

The committee recommended that the resolution be adopted.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 101—By Delegate Geo. F. Golden, Illinois State Federation of Labor, Rock Island, Ill.:

President and delegates of the American Federation of Labor, St. Louis, Mo., asking the bricklayers to join the American Federation of Labor, at the meeting of the Galesburg Trades Assembly, on September 8, 1910; the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, and are presented to this body for your consideration and concurrence. Trusting they will meet with your favorable action, we remain fraternally,

Executive Committee, Galesburg Trades Assembly.

Galesburg, Ill., September 8, 1910—To the Galesburg Trades Assembly: Inasmuch as the Bricklayers' and the Masons' Union have repeatedly refused to become affiliated with the Building Trades Council, thereby preventing the formation of such an organization and causing many nonunion jobs which otherwise would have been fair, and inasmuch as the said Bricklayers' and Masons' Union have been scabbing on the Brick Makers' Union, thereby prolonging the strike of the brick makers, stationary firemen, the steam shovel and dredgemen at the Purlington Brick Yards, and inasmuch as the brick makers, steam shovel and dredgemen and stationary firemen are all affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and the bricklayers and masons are not, and have several times refused so to affiliate themselves; therefore, be it

Resolved, That these matters be presented to the meeting of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in suitable resolutions, with a request that they take the matter up at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the bricklayers and masons be again asked to join hands with other organized workers under the American Federation of Labor; shall take steps toward the formation of a bricklayers' union, which shall be so affiliated, to the end that the stumbling block in the way of progress of the organized workers be removed.

**Delegate Ramsay:** Your committee desires to express their regret at the unfraternal policy of isolation pursued by the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union, and we recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its efforts to bring into affiliation with the American Federation of Labor the organization in question.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee recommended that that part of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Organization and its Extension," be concurred in.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that the recommendation of the Executive Council contained in that part of its report under the caption "Status of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Struggle with the United States Steel Corporation," be concurred in.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Organized Farmers," the committee reported as follows: We express our gratification at the good relationship established and now existing between organized farmers and organized wage earners. As a further evidence of our appreciation it is recommended that the Executive Council be authorized to send a representative of the American Federation of Labor to the next convention of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, and that they be invited to be represented through fraternal delegates to the American Federation of Labor.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Secretary Ramsay:** This report is respectfully submitted and signed

JOHN MITCHELL, Chairman,  
D. G. RAMSAY, Secretary,  
J. L. KLINE,  
F. X. NOSCHANG,  
JOS. N. WEBER,  
FRANK J. HAYES,  
D. J. TOBIN,  
P. T. BARRY,  
ED HIRSH,  
J. H. KENNEDY,  
EMMET L. ADAMS,  
L. W. BUTLER,  
CHARLES A. CULLEN,  
J. H. ANDERSON.

#### **Report of Committee on Credentials.**

**Delegate Kelley (W. J.):** reported as follows for the committee:

The committee received the following credentials from the American Society of Equity of North America: "This is to certify that Dr. J. T. Tuohy, LL.D., of Missouri, a member of the American Society of Equity of North America, has been duly elected at our National Annual Convention now in session in the city of Indianapolis, Indiana, a fraternal delegate to represent the above named Society at your national convention now in session in the City of St. Louis, Missouri." The communication is signed M. F. Sharp, President S. D. Kump, Secretary-treasurer.

The committee recommended that Dr. Tuohy be seated as a fraternal delegate without vote.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

#### **Report of Committee on Resolutions.**

**Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee,** reported as follows:

**Resolution No. 4—By Delegates Brais, Lindala and Lennon of Journeymen Tailors' Union:**

Whereas, The General Executive Board of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of American have been impressed by recent events in the world of industry with the very great importance to all wageworkers of making a special and persistent effort to organize into the trade union movement women engaged in industrial life; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we respectfully urge upon the American Federation of Labor both the necessity and importance of placing some women organizers in the field; and be it further

Resolved, That the delegates of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America be and are hereby directed to submit these resolutions for action by the St. Louis Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 5 be amended by striking out the words "and also protest against the Interstate Commerce Commission acquiescing in the request of the railroad employes if such a course is contemplated by the said body;" that

the second resolve be stricken out entirely and the following substituted in its place: "Resolved, that the protest be communicated to the Interstate Commerce Commission," the resolution as amended to read as follows:

**Resolution No. 5—By Delegate Steve McDonald of the Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union:**

Whereas, Some of the employees of the railroads of this country have petitioned the Interstate Commerce Commission to permit those who control the means of transportation to boost the present freight rates; and

Whereas, The earnings of the railway corporations are enormous, even upon a capitalization that drips with water, after paying for improvements and equipments out of the earnings, thus proving without doubt that there is no necessity for an increase in the freight rates; therefore be it

Resolved, By the delegates here assembled, in the interests of the tolling masses, the business men and public in general, that we protest against the contemplated move by those who are working for the selfish interests of the railroads, because it would only inflict greater hardships upon the tolling masses, the business men, and the independent operators who have been figuratively strangled by the coal-carrying roads, through the pernicious system of unfair, unjust and infamous discrimination, and be it further

Resolved, That this protest be communicated to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Furuseth, Delegate Hawley, Vice-President Duncan and Delegate McDonald.

The motion to adopt the resolution as recommended by the committee was carried.

**Resolution No. 8—By Delegate Oscar F. Nelson of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks, Indorsing Senate Bill No. 5900 and House Bill No. 19796, providing for the regulation of the hours of labor of postoffice clerks:**

Whereas, The post office clerks are the only federal civil service employees who have no legalized regulation as to the number of hours that shall constitute a day's work, and for that reason are compelled to work an excessive number of hours without extra compensation; and

Whereas, The duties of a postoffice clerk are of an arduous nature, both physically

and mentally, and as a consequence long hours of labor imperil the health of such workers; and

Whereas, Senator Jones of Washington has introduced Senate Bill No. 5900, which provides "that forty-eight hours shall constitute a week's work for postoffice clerks," and Congressman Goebel of Ohio has introduced a like bill in the House of Representatives, No. 19796; and

Whereas, The National Federation of Postoffice Clerks have indorsed these bills as meeting with their approval, and as we believe our government should be foremost amongst all employers of labor in maintaining a high standard of working conditions and equitable treatment of its employees; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled at St. Louis, Mo., do hereby go on record as indorsing Senate Bill No. 5900 and House Bill No. 19796, and do hereby instruct our Legislative Committee to strive to have this measure, as well as such other measures that will improve the working conditions of the postoffice clerks, enacted into law.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 11 be amended to read:

**Resolution No. 11—By the Delegates of the International Longshoremen's Association:**

Whereas, In the work of loading and unloading of vessels of all classes there is absolutely no government rules to protect and safeguard the lives and health of the men engaged in such work and no government inspection of same, such as is provided for construction, factory and mining industries; and

Whereas, The lives and health of the members of this association are daily jeopardized and sacrificed to the most reckless speeding up of work for the sake of more profits for the employers; and

Whereas, We consider the lives and health of our members and of workmen in general more precious than profits; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed to have introduced in the Congress of the United States a bill containing rules and regulations governing the work of loading and unloading of vessels, tending to safeguard the lives and health of the men employed in such work, and to have a government inspection established for the purpose of properly enforcing such rules and regulations.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The question was discussed by Delegate Furuseth, Delegate O'Connor (T. V.), and Delegate Olander.

Delegate Furuseth moved as an amendment that the provision for the adoption of the resolution be stricken from the motion and that it be referred to the Executive Council.

The amendment was seconded, and carried by a vote of 73 in the affirmative to 64 in the negative.

Delegate Furuseth: May I be permitted to make a short statement? I want to make an offer to the Longshoremen I am sure they will accept. I want to offer our hearty co-operation in the passing of an employers' liability law in this field that the employers cannot contract themselves out of and put upon insurance companies.

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate Steve McDonald, of Scranton Central Labor Union:

Whereas, A number of railroad employees have lent their aid to the railroad manipulators for the purpose of petitioning the Interstate Commerce Commission to persuade that body to grant permission to increase the present freight rates; and

Whereas, Fabulous dividends are paid now as a result of the present freight rates charged on all commodities; therefore be it

Resolved, That the president of the A. F. of L. appoint a committee of five trade unionists, whose duty it shall be to make an investigation to ascertain the earnings and dividends of the railroads in this country, so that the American people may be placed in a position to determine whether the request for the privilege of increasing the freight rates is justifiable; be it further

Resolved, That all labor organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be requested to withhold any assistance from the railroads in the manner of indorsing the request of the owners and manipulators of said railroads, for an increase in freight rates until such time as the true condition of affairs is ascertained.

Secretary Frey: Your committee nonconcurred in the resolution. Such a committee of investigation as called for in the resolution could have no power conferred upon it by the American Federation of Labor which would force railroad corporations to give the free access to their books and accounts which would be necessary to secure the information required. The subject of

freight rates is now before the Interstate Commerce Commission, which has power to grant or refuse permission to advance freight rates.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate E. Wm. Carr of the International Printing Pressmen's Union:

Whereas, Owing to the centralization system of industry affording the people a lesser opportunity of launching successfully into business individually for themselves as formerly, and in view of the fact that almost all manufactories, mercantile and transportation, being owned and controlled by a comparative few, there is now but little opportunity for those among the masses to distinguish themselves through intellect, energy and capability, except as salaried individuals in the capacity of managers, clerical positions, skilled artisans, mechanics and laborers; and in further view of the fact that no matter how talented the individual rarely is the salary allowed to be but little, if any, more than enough to keep them beyond the day whereof they toil; thus those who produce the wealth and splendor of the earth of a right, it is not just that when nearing the end of their journey they should be mortified and dependent on charity or turned away to the poorhouse and finally to the potter's field; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this body. The American Federation of Labor, herein instructs its Legislative Committee to engage legal talent and have formulated a proposed law, the same to be introduced in congress, substantially as hereinafter included, to-wit:

"Any person having been legally married and having previously been regularly engaged in an honorable business, or having previously been employed regularly at an honorable vocation, but being no longer in business or employed and having an income of less than six hundred dollars, or an equivalent thereto, per annum, and who shall be and shall have been a resident in and a citizen of the United States of America for at least twenty-one years, and who shall arrive at the age of sixty (60) years, shall be entitled to a pension of thirty dollars (\$30) per month from the government."

The committee recommended nonconcurrence in the resolution, and further recommended reaffirmation of the action of the Toronto convention of the American Federation of Labor in relation to the subject of Old Age Pensions.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed at some length by Delegate Carr.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried.



The committee recommended that Resolution No. 38 be amended to read as follows:

**Resolution No. 38—By Delegate John S. Whalen, New York State Federation of Labor:**

Whereas, Several attempts have been made during the past few years to have legislation enacted, both state and national, which would destroy the efficient and practical pilot system in New York; and

Whereas, The present laws have proven beneficial to life and property, as the records will demonstrate; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this workingmen's federation condemn any attempt to amend the present law, which would not alone destroy the efficiency of the pilot system, but would also destroy the union whose members have been following this calling for a livelihood for many years; be it further

Your committee recommends that the action of the New York State Federation of Labor as expressed in the resolution, be endorsed by this convention.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 39 be amended to read:

**Resolution No. 39—By Delegate John S. Whalen, New York State Federation of Labor:**

Whereas, The struggle to maintain and re-establish union conditions among the seamen of the great lakes has been conducted during the past season with such success as to give promise of ultimate victory, and

Whereas, The seamen and others are directly involved 'n the struggle against the Steel Trust and its system of labor, named by it "The Welfare Plan;" therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention congratulate the seamen upon their magnificent struggle; that we urge upon them to persevere, and we renew the pledge of the Toronto Convention of the A. F. of L. to furnish to them both moral and financial assistance.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 43—By the Seamen's Delegation:**

Whereas, Congress again has under consideration the proposition to give a general subsidy to the merchant marines of the United States, and

Whereas, Great and systematic agitation, in fact, a regular educational campaign—has been and is carried on to mislead the people of this country on the subject of ships and seamen, by distributing "facts that are not so" with reference to these matters, especially maintaining that the

cost of operation is greater under the American than any other flag; and

Whereas, This in the main is untrue and in the few instances where it is true can be amended or changed by this country ceasing to hunt up, arrest and deliver back to their owners the sea slaves of other nations; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we enter our emphatic protest against any such legislation; and further

Resolved, That full information on the real facts will disclose that any such subsidy under existing railroad domination of transportation by water as well as by land will be a subsidy to the railroads and of no value whatever to the shipping of the country.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 45—By Delegate John P. Frey of the International Molders' Union of North America:**

Whereas, The thorough education of all workmen and the public in the principles and policies of trade unionism is one of the prominent purposes of the American Federation of Labor; and

Whereas, There are many publications indorsed by the American Federation of Labor, its affiliated bodies and sub-divisions, which, nationally and locally, are constantly engaged in an effort to spread the gospel of trade unionism and keep their readers informed on all questions of interest affecting the welfare of labor; be it

Resolved, That a bureau of information be created and placed in charge of a secretary to be selected by the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the bureau of information shall furnish a weekly letter, without cost, to all publications officially indorsed by the American Federation of Labor, its affiliated bodies and sub-divisions, which shall contain a summary of all important matters affecting labor occurring in the industrial, legislative and judicial fields, and all such other matters which will tend to further the development and progress of the trade union movement.

**Secretary Frey:** Your committee was informed that the general features of this resolution were before the Executive Council for action, by reference from a previous convention. We recommend similar reference of this resolution, so that at the earliest opportunity this issuance of news letters may be instituted by the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 46—By the Seamen's Delegation:**

Whereas, The seamen themselves describe their status, their needs and the injustice under which they live in the following petition:

To those who govern nations, to those who make laws, to humanitarians, democrats, Christians and friends of human freedom everywhere: Do we, the seamen, the yet remaining bondmen, humbly yet earnestly submit this our petition that we may be made free men and that the blighting disgrace of bondage be removed from our labor, which once was considered honorable, which is yet needed in the world of commerce, and which has been held to be of great importance to nations with sea coasts to defend.

Existing maritime law, except in the domestic trade of these United States, makes of us the property of the vessel on which we sail. We can not work as seamen without signing a contract which brings us under this law. The contract is fixed by law or authorized by governments. We have nothing to do with its terms. We either sign it and sail or we sign it not and remain landmen.

When signing this contract we surrender our working power to the will of another man at all times while the contract runs. We may not leave the vessel, though she is in perfect safety. We may not without the master's permission go to a mother's sick bed or funeral or attend to any other duties of a son, a brother a Christian or a citizen.

If our owner thinks he has reason to fear that we desire to escape, he may, without judicial investigation, cause us to be imprisoned for safekeeping until he shall think it proper to take us out. If we have escaped, he may publish our personal appearance along with a reward for our apprehension and return. He may through contracts between nations cause the peace officers and police to aid him in recovering his property. The captain may change, the owner may change—we are sold with the vessel, and so long as the flag does not change there is nothing except serious illness or our master's pleasure that will release us from the vessel.

The master, acting for the vessel, may release himself and the vessel by paying a few dollars, with no alternative.

He that owns another man's labor-power owns his body, since the two can not be separated.

We stand in the same relation to the vessel as the serf did to the estate, as the slave to his master. When serfdom was abolished in Western Europe we were forgotten by the liberators and our status remained. When the slaves of the United States and Brazil were emancipated our status continued. When serfdom was abolished in Russia no change came to us.

We now raise our manacled hands in humble supplication to restore to us our rights as brother men, to our labor that honor which belonged to it until your power, expressing itself through your law, set upon it the brand of bondage in the interest of cheap transportation by water.

We respectfully submit that this serfdom of the men in our calling is of comparatively modern origin. Earlier maritime law bound while in strange countries and climes the seaman to his shipmates and his ship, and the ship to him, on the principle of common hazard. In his own country he was free—the freest of men. We further humbly submit that, as the consciousness of the seamen's status penetrates through the population, it will be impossible to get free men to send their sons into bondage or to induce free men's sons to accept it, and we, in all candor, remind you that you, when you travel by water, expect us—the serfs—to exhibit in danger the highest qualities of free men, by giving our lives for your safety.

At sea the law of common hazard remains; there must be discipline and self-sacrifice, but in any harbor where the vessel and you are safe, we beseech you, give to us that freedom which you claim for yourself and which you bestow on others, to the end that we may be relieved of that bitterness of soul that is the heavy burden of him who knows and feels that his body is not his own; and

Whereas, We are satisfied that the seaman's status is correctly described in this petition, and that the great loss of property and of life at sea is caused by the condition here described, that the seaman's helplessness has its origin therein and that a fundamental change is absolutely necessary; and

Whereas, House Bill 11193, introduced by Mr. Spight of Mississippi, and Senate Bill 6155, introduced by Senator LaFollette of Wisconsin, are designed to and when enacted will abolish the existing status of the seaman, make of him a free man, give him possibilities of self-help and improve the safety of travel at sea; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we urge upon Congress the immediate consideration and enactment of this bill into law.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 52—By Delegate C. D. Wheeler of the Chicago Federation of Labor:**

Protesting against executive orders that deprive federal civil service employees of their constitutional right as citizens to petition Congress for a redress of grievances and the right of free speech:

Whereas, Executive orders now in effect and part of the rules and regulations of the federal civil service forbids and prohibits all federal civil service employees (250,000 in number) from in any way attempting to influence legislation, directly or indirectly, in behalf of better working conditions, and which orders prohibit even the right to petition Congress in behalf of such legislation and restricts freedom of speech in that a civil service employee is forbidden to respond to requests for information desired by a member of either house of Congress or a committee of Congress, unless first granted permission to do so by departmental heads; and

Whereas, Such orders are not consistent with the Constitution of the United States, which reads "Congress shall make no laws abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people to peaceably assemble, and to petition Congress for a redress of grievances"; and

Whereas, The officials of the Post Office Department have removed employees because of alleged violation of such orders, and in one particular instance did summarily dismiss from the service Brother Oscar F. Nelson, president of the Chicago Post Office Clerks' Union, on the charge that he attempted to influence legislation in the interest of better working conditions indirectly through the Legislative Committee of this American Federation of Labor, and because of his action in introducing a resolution in the Chicago Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, at St. Louis, Mo., denounce as un-American and despotic executive orders and rules that prohibit or restrict federal employees from exercising to the fullest extent the inalienable right of free speech and free press and the right to petition Congress; and be it further

Resolved, That a committee of three, consisting of the president and secretary of this A. F. of L. and the chairman of its Legislative Committee be and are hereby instructed to present a copy of this resolution to President Taft in person and request the revocation of executive orders protested against and the reinstatement of Oscar F. Nelson to the service.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegates Wheeler and O'Donnell.

The motion to concur in the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate James Murray, of the Texas State Federation of Labor:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this convention that the National Congress should cease to make further appropriations and expenditure of public money for the improvement of harbors, rivers or other internal waterways to aid navigation or to promote traffic thereon, unless that the state wherein such expenditure and improvements are made and which are to be benefited by the same, shall have previously made ample provision for the public use of all wharves and landings bordering on such navigable channels within their boundaries or under their legal jurisdiction free from discrimination; and be it further

Resolved, That where such discriminations are practiced against one shipper or carrier, as against another in the use of such wharves or landings or railroad terminals connected therewith and intended for the purpose of completing the service of the same, or by one locality or community as against another for the purpose of lessening or destroying the industries or commerce of the one in order that the other may benefit thereby, that such discriminations should be penalized by imprisonment and fine, and the revocation of charters or franchises to operate such utilities.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate John Mitchell, United Mine Workers of America:

Whereas, The American Federation of Labor has in every possible way aided the movement for the study and prevention of tuberculosis throughout the United States and Canada, and

Whereas, The American National Red Cross has been in the past and is now making an especial effort, through the sale of Red Cross Christmas seals, to secure funds to carry on the war against tuberculosis, and by means of the funds raised in this manner has been able to do much effective work in this direction, therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor give its endorsement to the movement of the American National Red Cross and encourage its members to further in every reasonable way the sale of these seals in their respective communities.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate A. Abrahams of Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

Whereas, The great purpose of organized labor is to accomplish by its organized strength the improvement of the material conditions of the workers, and

Whereas, It is becoming more and more evident, day by day, that we must meet the employing class with a more compact system of attack, and

Whereas, The American labor movement is considerably hindered by the powerlessness of the American Federation of Labor to demand of international unions that they materially assist a sister organization in its struggles, and

Whereas, In central bodies, requests are constantly made for the assistance of the other organization, which the central body is powerless to give, we have reached a stage in the development of the American labor movement where power should be vested in the supreme body and in central bodies, to command organizations to call out their men in sympathy, if necessary, to assist their brother union men in the struggles for a betterment of their condition; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention appoint a committee of three, who shall bring in recommendations to so amend the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor as to bring about this state of organization.

The committee recommended nonconurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Vice-President O'Connell in the chair.

Delegate Abrahams spoke at length in favor of the resolution; Vice-president Duncan opposed the resolution, and spoke in favor of the report of the committee. The question was discussed in a general way by Delegate Gallagher, Delegate Lavin, Delegate Daly, Delegate Furuseth, Delegate Gearing, President Gompers, Delegate Walker (J. H.), Delegate Leary, Delegate Hawley, Delegate Hayes (Max).

On motion the debate was closed. The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate Owen Miller, of the American Federation of Musicians (by request):

Whereas, Oleomargarine is conceded by chemists and food experts to be a wholesome food product; and

Whereas, Existing laws discriminate against this wholesome food product through a tax of 10 cents a pound when artificially colored, the only purpose of which is to make it appear palatable; and

Whereas, Artificial coloring matter is permitted in butter and other dairy products, which clearly establishes a discrimination; and

Whereas, The discriminatory tax placed upon oleomargarine must be paid in the main by the poorer classes of people, and has a tendency to increase the price of butter; and

Whereas, The placing of a tax of 10 cents per pound on colored oleomargarine has rather increased than decreased violations of the law; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that Congress be petitioned to so amend the oleomargarine law that a tax not exceeding 2 cents per pound be placed upon the product, whether colored or uncolored, and that a license fee not exceeding six dollars (\$6.00) per year be placed upon the retailer for the privilege of vending oleomargarine, and that the product be packed in one-half, one, two and three-pound packages only, and that the product be sold only in original tax-paid packages.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed by Delegate Furuseth, Delegate Miller (O.), Delegate McCullough (T. W.), Delegate Wilson (W. B.), Vice-President Duncan and Delegate Cope.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate H. A. Vurpla, of the International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees:

Whereas, During 1909, according to the Interstate Accident Bulletins Nos. 31, 32, 33 and 34, there were 135 passengers killed and 7,097 injured, and in the same period 431 employees were killed and 4,251 injured; that 2,042 derailments were reported as caused by defective track; 353 caused by obstructed track, and 1,180 from miscellaneous causes, or a total for the year 1909 of 566 killed and 11,348 injured, and out of a total of 5,499 derailments 3,575 were of a preventable nature; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention place itself on record as favoring the examination each year as to the competency of every roadmaster and foreman or any other who may be placed in charge of the work in the track, bridge and building and interlocking departments of American railways, whose duty it is to look after the roadbed and safeguard the lives and limbs of passengers using the same, and that it shall be illegal for any railway company to employ any man in either of the above positions in charge of any repairs unless the employee shall have passed an examination as to his competency before a skilled examiner or board appointed by the

government and received a certificate which must be renewed yearly; further

Resolved, In the interest of public safety, that the government shall appoint skilled inspectors who shall be practical and certified men, and whose duty it shall be to inspect at least twice each year, at intervals of at least three months apart, by handcar or on foot, all tracks over which passenger trains are operated, who shall make a report in writing to the Railway Commissioners as to the physical condition of each separate road inspected by him, giving day and date of such inspection and of all defects in detail with exact mileage and location of same. Upon receipt of said report of defect, the Railway Commissioners shall be empowered to order the railway company to make proper repairs within a specified time; failing to do this, the commissioners shall be empowered to order the suspension of all passenger traffic over the defective track; and further

Resolved, That this convention is of the opinion that on all main and branch lines of railway operating passenger trains there shall be regularly employed during the whole year not less than one man to each mile of single track and a foreman to each section, which shall not exceed six miles in length of single track; and further

Resolved, On all lines where passenger trains are operated during the night, a competent track-walker shall be employed, whose duty it shall be to patrol each section of not more than six miles of single track on every night on which passenger trains are run. And if from any preventable cause the railway company shall neglect to make provision for carrying out any or all of these provisions and an accident occur in which life is lost or limb endangered or injured, then the company at fault shall be adjudged guilty of criminal negligence; and further

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall take such steps as they may deem proper to secure the passage of legislation by Congress making these resolutions effective at the earliest possible moment.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution,

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 80 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 80—By Delegates O. A. Treitmo, Andrew J. Gallagher, Cyrus F. Grow, L. W. Butler, P. W. Buckley, Thomas Bone, representing California organizations,

Whereas, The National Manufacturers' Association, through its subsidiary, the

Merchants and Manufacturers' Association of Los Angeles, has started a war of extermination against the unions on the Pacific Coast; and

Whereas, The consequent result of this deep-laid and sinister plan of the employers forced the brewery workers on strike on the 18th day of May, and the entire Metal Trade Department of Los Angeles on strike on the 1st day of June, in addition to the members of the leather workers on horse goods, who were already on strike; and

Whereas, The aforesaid union men of Los Angeles so forced on strike in order to maintain a living wage and humane conditions, have, supported by the trades unionists of California, put forth one of the most gallant and heroic struggles on record within the annals of the trades union movement; and

Whereas, At the early beginning of the aforesaid strike the city council of Los Angeles did pass a so-called anti-picketing ordinance prohibiting members of trades unions from walking along the streets, or talking to people whom they might meet; and

Whereas, Hundreds of union men have been arrested and persecuted under the provisions of this ordinance for alleged crimes, misdemeanors and felonies, all in violation of the rights of free speech and free assembly guaranteed by the provisions of the constitutions of the United States and of the State of California; and

Whereas, The Merchants and Manufacturers' Association of Los Angeles, through its attorney, who has been appointed special prosecutor, is endeavoring, through the refined torture of the grand jury room and the third degree, to fasten the crimes of arson, conspiracy and murder upon aggressive, loyal and staunch organizers and trade unionists—honored members of organized labor who are delegates to this convention—who have been shackled to private detectives, dragged into the morgue to gaze upon mutilated and charred bodies, taken back to the dark prison cell and threatened with violent demonstrations of lynching; and

Whereas, The Merchants and Manufacturers' Association of Los Angeles, through its privately owned grand jury and PERSECUTING-attorney, is desperately trying to tie a rope of hemp around the necks of union men, organizers and labor leaders who have carried the brunt of the battle for the cause of organized labor in California; and

Whereas, Through the same infernal agency of the Los Angeles merchants and manufacturers, innocent widows and wives have been ruthlessly taken from their homes, charged with murder, or detained in gloomy corridors of the grand jury rooms for weeks, while their little children were suffering for want of care; all of which has been carried on in conformity with the deep-laid plots of the National Manufacturers' Association to annihilate the trades unions on the Pacific Coast, therefore be it

Resolved, By the American Federation of Labor that its Executive Council be, and is hereby authorized and directed to issue an appeal immediately

to all affiliated international and national unions, central labor bodies, state federations of labor and local unions, for contributions of funds necessary to support the union men on strike in Southern California and along the Pacific Coast, and for the further purpose of thoroughly unionizing the city of Los Angeles and maintaining trades union organizations along the Pacific Coast.

Resolved, That the Executive officers of the international and national unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be requested by its president to issue similar appeals to their various affiliated local unions.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed at length by Delegate Kugler, Delegate Grow, Delegate Tveitmoen and Delegate Furuseth.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

President Gompers introduced to the convention Miss Fannie Sellins, a representative of the Garment Workers of St. Louis. Miss Sellins spoke at length in regard to the strike being conducted by the Garment Workers against the firm of Marx & Haas and appealed for assistance for the strikers. During the course of her address Miss Sellins thanked the delegates representing international and national organizations for the help extended to the St. Louis Garment Workers for several months past.

Secretary Morrison: Delegate Bohm states that in the vote on the proposition of the Electrical Workers on November 18th he is recorded as having been absent. He states that he voted "No" when his name was called. I recollect distinctly calling the absentees and calling his name twice. If this goes into record as his statement, I presume it will be satisfactory.

President Gompers: The chair desires to say that unanimous consent was given on Thursday for the introduction of a resolution today by the Photo-Engravers' Union. The resolution has been introduced, and because of the subject in a general way being under consideration by the Committee on President's

Report, the resolution is referred to that committee.

Following is the resolution:

Resolution No. 147—By Delegates Matthew Woll, International Photo-Engravers' Union, and Andrew J. Gallagher, San Francisco Labor Council:

Whereas, Local Photo-Engravers' Union of the City of Boston, Mass., with approval of the International Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A., in the ordinary and lawful conduct of its organization, solicited into membership craftsmen in this city, unaffiliated with our movement, and in so doing met with the combined and organized opposition of employers to such an extent that membership in the union was cause for their dismissal, notwithstanding their published statement of neutrality, and

Whereas, This combined and organized opposition of employers compelled members of the local photo-engravers' union to assert and protect their rights of association, affiliation and organization by endeavoring to collectively bargain and contract for a better working condition, viz.: reduction of working hours to forty-eight hours per week, payment of time and one-half for overtime, double time for Sundays and holidays, establishment of a minimum wage scale, regulation of apprentices, and protection of their right of association and organization, resulting in a strike, after several months' attempt to negotiate for these improved working conditions, and having made every possible effort to avoid friction, and

Whereas, The employers even before the strike became effective sought to prevent the strike by means of an injunction writ, and have since the calling of the strike secured a number of permanent injunctions not only declaring our strike illegal, because of our attempt to protect our right of association and of organization and permitting us to defend this right by force of perfect organization, but denying us the right to continue the strike for any other purpose or purposes, such as the establishment of a minimum wage scale, payment of time and one-half for overtime, double time for Sundays and holidays, and regulation of apprentices, and to this end have enjoined us from paying strike benefits directly or indirectly to our members, and

Whereas, The local union was, by order of court, not only compelled to call off our strike and stop paying strike benefits for any purpose, but the employers at the present time, by perverting our motives and misinterpreting our actions, are now attempting to prevent us from paying to members unemployed in this city, by reason of the employers refusing to treat with our members as a union for any purpose, "out of work benefits," by citing the local officers, the international president and international organizer into court for contempt of court for paying

benefits to members unemployed, and asking for jail sentence for paying these unemployed benefits, and

Whereas, the success of employers in these proceedings has not only served to prevent the payment of strike benefits, and may serve the purpose of preventing us from paying out of work benefits, thereby laying the foundation for the complete destruction of the power, influence and efficiency of trades unions to enforce a better working condition for its members and prevent future attacks upon working conditions already established, and in addition can only serve the purpose of a precedent, and prove an incentive and encouragement for a still greater destructive exercise of the judiciary power in labor controversies,

Therefore, be it resolved, that the American Federation of Labor take cognizance of the conditions confronting the Photo-Engravers' Union in the city of Boston, and that of organized labor generally, protest this exercise of the equitable power of the judiciary, instruct its president and executive council to thoroughly inquire into the situation confronting the Photo-Engravers,

and all organized labor, related in the fore part of this resolution, and take such action in this legal and industrial controversy as will secure to the Photo-Engravers and to all organized labor, the rights which rightfully and justly belong to the workers, and obtain for them the conditions of labor deemed fair, just and equitable.

Referred to Committee on Presidents' Report.

President Gompers announced that Rev. J. T. Tuohy, General Secretary of the American Co-operative Unions, would give a lecture on the subject of Working Men's Co-operation, "What They Have Done and Are Doing," in the convention hall on Monday evening. The statement was made that all were cordially invited to attend.

At 6 o'clock the convention was adjourned under the rules, to reconvene at 12 o'clock noon, Tuesday, November 22nd.

## Seventh Day's Proceedings—Tuesday, November 22, 1910.

The convention was called to order at 12 o'clock, noon, Tuesday, November 22, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Glover, Feeney, Hannahan, Rickert, Bloch, Moffitt, Marshall, McSorley, Coakley, Handley, McCullough (E. S.), Tracy (W. J.), Quick, Paquin, McHugh, Howley, Teagarden, Drake, Skaggs, Joyner, Cathon, Maddox, Jennings, Hudson (Fred), Courtenay, Klefer, Andrick, Britt, Urlick, Kleyhauer, Wilson (G. F.), Smith (J. U. P.), Smith (O. P.), Bell, McDonald, Wood, Anderson (A. C.), Cotter, Rizzle, Stafford, Skelley, Gaede, Siebert, White (G. T.), Swenson, Hubbard, Leibowitz, Miller (A.), Lippert, Harris, Collins (P. J.).

### Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 87 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 87—By Delegates Wm. E. Eckenrod, Tennessee Federation of Labor; Chas. P. Fahey, of Trades and Labor Council, Nashville, Tenn.; S. H. Laws, of Trades and Labor Council, Jackson, Tenn.; C. C. Zelgler, of Trades and Labor Council, Oklahoma City, Okla.; G. L. Hunter, Okmulgee Central Labor Council; Mont R. Powell, of Oklahoma State Federation of Labor; Jerome Jones, of Georgia Federation of Labor; Louis P. Marquardt, of Atlanta Federation of Trades:

Whereas, There is an organization in the South known as the Southern Conference on Child and Women Labor, composed of representatives of organized labor, women's clubs, boards of trade, business men's clubs, firms or corporations employing women or children, labor commissioners, factory inspectors and five delegates appointed by the governor of each Southern State; three of them must be employers of women or children. For the purpose of recommending uniform legislation in the Southern States relating to the employment of women and children; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we endorse the organization known as the Southern Con-

ference on Child and Women Labor, and its announced objects, and recommend to all labor organizations of the South that they send representatives to the next annual conference which will be held in Atlanta, Georgia, in April, 1911, and that the endorsement of this resolution by this convention be communicated to all State and central bodies in the Southern States not later than February, 1911, by the secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

The motion was discussed at length by Delegate Fahey, who reviewed the work of the organizations and clubs of the South in connection with the Conference on Child and Women Labor.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates Wm. D. Huber, Frank Duffy, Wm. B. Macfarlane, W. J. Kelly, Carl Young, Thos. Flynn, A. M. Swartz, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

Whereas, Since the 19th day of August, 1910, twenty carpenters of R. H. Macy & Company's department store are on strike for the prevailing rate of wages and hours, and

Whereas, The above firm absolutely refuses to meet representatives of the organization of carpenters engaged in a strike against starvation wages and long hours, and

Whereas, The firm of R. H. Macy & Company is at present employing strike breakers under such conditions as are a menace to the union conditions prevailing in other department stores of the city of New York, be it

Resolved, That the undersigned organization pledge itself to give the organization of carpenters all the necessary support in their fight for a good cause, and furthermore, be it

Resolved, To notify all organizations affiliated with this central body, of the trouble pending between R. H. Macy & Company and the Carpenters' Organization.

(Signed) United Board of Business Agents of the New York Building



Trades Council, American Federation of Labor; Lawrence Storey, Chairman, Roswell D. Tompkins, Secretary-Treasurer.

Central Federated Union of New York, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; A. Block, Chairman, Ernst Bohm, Secretary.

Women's Trade Union League; Mary E. Dreier, Chairman, Helen Marot, Secretary.

Endorsed by the Hudson County Central Labor Union.

Endorsed by the State Council of New York State, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to investigate and render such assistance as possible in effecting an adjustment of the controversy.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed by Delegate Healy (T.) and Macfarlane.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate O. A. Tveitmo, of United Laborers' Union No. 12992, of San Francisco, Cal.:

Whereas, A movement has been launched to hold a world's fair in San Francisco in the year 1915; and

Whereas, The precedent has been established by the world's fairs in Paris and in Chicago, at which time and places representatives from the various industrial organizations throughout the world met and conferred; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the American Federation of Labor in Thirtieth Annual Convention assembled, that its Executive Council be, and is hereby authorized, directed and instructed to issue a call to the proper authorities and bodies for an International Labor Congress, to convene and be held in the city of San Francisco, California, at a convenient date, in the year 1915, in order that the workers of the world, who make a world's fair and exposition possible, may be afforded an opportunity of closer affiliation and a better understanding, with the consequent result that the various sections of the globe where these producers dwell, may be made a better place in which to labor and live.

On Resolution No. 85 the committee reported as follows: Inasmuch as several conventions of the American Federation of Labor will be held before 1915, and as the intervening conventions of this body cannot be bound by

the action of this convention, your committee recommends that action upon the subject matter of holding an International Labor Congress at a 1915 world's fair in connection with the opening of the Panama Canal be deferred until the year preceding the holding of the Panama Exposition.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Gallagher.

Delegate Daly: I move as a substitute for the report of the committee an endorsement of the city of San Francisco as the place for holding the World's Fair.

Delegate Gallagher: This is not the World's Fair resolution, but one in regard to the World's Congress of Labor.

Delegate Kemper opposed deferring action on the resolution until the convention to be held in 1914. Vice-President Duncan, Chairman of the Committee, spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee.

Treasurer Lennon: I move that the report be amended to read that the matter shall be deferred for the consideration of the first convention after the date and place have been fixed.

The committee accepted the amendment offered by Treasurer Lennon, and the recommendation of the committee as amended was adopted.

President Gompers: The Chairman of the Committee on Adjustment states to the chair that one of the resolutions before that committee provides for the doing of an act by this convention, and asks that that action may be determined upon in order that the work can proceed.

Chairman O'Connell, of the Committee on Adjustment, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 133—By Delegate T. Healy, C. L. Shamp, Jos. W. Morton:

Whereas, The Twenty-ninth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., held in Toronto, Canada, November, 1909, several conferences were held between the delegates representing the I. U. of S. E. and the I. D. of S. F. for the purpose of arriving at a satisfactory working agreement; and,

Whereas, These conferences have failed to bring about the desired result, and no settlement has been arrived at since that time; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the president of the A. F. of L. request the delegates of the I. U. of S. E. to confer with delegates from the I. D. of S. F. in conference, and that he appoint a member of the Executive Council to act as referee for the purpose of bringing about a mutual agreement by and between the above-named organizations, and make a report of his findings to this convention.

The committee recommended that the resolution be adopted.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

President Gompers: I will appoint Vice-President Alpine to act for the convention, as provided by the resolution.

Secretary Frey, for the Committee on Resolutions, proceeded with the report of that committee, as follows:

Resolution No. 89—By Delegates Buterworth of the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance; T. J. Dolan, of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, and Jos. W. Morton, of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen:

Whereas, The Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, and the Stationary Firemen's Union have, since the 13th day of April, been engaged in a struggle with the Purlington Paving Brick Company, of Galesburg, Ill., in defense of their right to organize; and

Whereas, The Purlington Paving Brick Company has placed itself on record that its chief objection to the above organizations is their affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, and positively refuses to meet representatives of the American Federation of Labor to discuss an honorable settlement; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled pledges the moral support of its affiliated unions to the unions affected and requests our officers to do all in their power to assist in securing to the striking men the right to be members of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 99 be amended by striking out the word "privilege" in the fourth line of the first section and in the third line of the third section, and

inserting in lieu thereof in both instances the word "right," the amended resolution as follows:

Resolution No. 99—By Delegates Chas. H. Lee, of Rhode Island State Federation and John Golden, of United Textile Workers; Roderick McGeary, of Providence Central Labor Union:

Whereas, in the State of Rhode Island a property qualification law prevails which deprives thousands of working men, citizens of the United States, the right of equal franchise at the ballot box, and

Whereas, We believe that such an unjust and un-American law is retained for the sole purpose of reducing the vote of the men of labor to the lowest possible minimum, realizing full well that many workmen, on account of their economic conditions, can never hope to attain the necessary qualification as prescribed by this unjust law, thereby conferring the voting power to special interests, and

Whereas, The labor movement has at all times stood for equality and equal rights at the ballot box, be it therefore

Resolved, That we, the delegates to the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, pledge ourselves to assist to the fullest extent our brothers in Rhode Island in securing the same rights at the ballot boxes as are enjoyed in all the other sovereign States by workmen, and be it further

Resolved, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to co-operate with the officers of the Rhode Island State Federation of Labor in an effort to secure the repeal of this law, which, under the present conditions, only serves to rob the laboring man of his right to vote.

The Committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate George F. Golden, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

Whereas, This white plague is a disease known and become general to the present jurisdiction; and

Whereas, The medical fraternity of the United States sees the necessity of devising ways and means to stay the ravages of this dreadful disease and have applied to the assistance of organized labor; and

Whereas, The Pittsburg American Federation of Labor Convention recommended that all the affiliated trades take up this sympathetic work along the line set forth by the printers of Colorado Springs; and

Whereas, It has been proven that relief can be accomplished at home as well as elsewhere; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this the Twenty-Eighth Annual Convention of the State Federation of Labor take up the work of establishing a State sanitarium in some healthful locality in the State of Illinois, and that the president of the I. S. F. of L. will use his office and appoint a committee to introduce a bill in the State legislature for an appropriation to nominate a sanitarium in the State for the care and treatment of those afflicted with dreaded diseases, and that the trades unions of the State of Illinois give their moral and financial support to this sympathetic work.

Secretary Frey: While this resolution does not ask for any action by this convention, and does not request the endorsement of the American Federation of Labor, it being a resolution introduced and acted upon by the Illinois State Federation of Labor in relation to the creation of a State sanitarium, your committee is of the opinion that the endorsement of this convention is desired by the Illinois State Federation of Labor. Your committee therefore recommends that the endorsement of this convention be given to the Illinois State Federation of Labor for its action, as indicated by Resolution No. 106.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 108—By Delegate Geo. F. Golden, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

Whereas, Lodge No. 195 of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America, of Kewanee, Ill., is on strike at the plant of the Kewanee Boiler Company, manufacturers of heating and power boilers, at Kewanee, Ill.; and

Whereas, The terms submitted and the position taken by the said Lodge No. 195 has been sanctioned by the Executive Council of the said International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders; and

Whereas, The said Kewanee Boiler Company refuses to come to any reasonable agreement with the said Lodge No. 195 and are unfair to said members of Lodge No. 195, and are seeking to destroy and disrupt the said Lodge No. 195 by making the plant of the Kewanee Boiler Company an open shop; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and especially the members of the Steamfitters, Boilermakers and Teamsters' Union, to use every lawful means to compel the said

Kewanee Boiler Company to recognize the said Lodge No. 195 and to come to fair terms with the members of said lodge; and we urge upon all men who favor fair play to encourage and uphold the members of Lodge No. 195 in their long and manly struggle for reasonable working conditions.

Secretary Frey: Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for investigation and such assistance as can be given to Lodge No. 195 of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 109 be amended by inserting in the sixth line of the last resolution, after the word "law" "as uniform as possible." Later the resolution was amended by the convention by striking out the last line, which read "and in each province of Canada."

The amended resolution is as follows:

Resolution No. 109—By Delegate J. C. Skemp, of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers:

Whereas, We believe that the cost of compensation for accidents, loss of health, and loss of life occurring during employment or resulting from an occupation, should be charged to the industry, that such compensation should be fixed by law, and its prompt payment, without cost to the injured or to the dependents of the killed, be assured by the State; and

Whereas, This principle is recognized and embodied in the law enacted at the last session of the legislature of the State of New York, providing fixed compensation for the injury or death of men engaged in certain specified hazardous occupations and permitting employers and employees in other occupations to voluntarily place themselves under the law without surrendering their right to enter suit under the Employers' Liability Law, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention recommends that all affiliated national and international unions advise and urge their local unions situated in the State of New York to include in all future agreements with their employers a provision requiring them to place themselves under the Workmen's Compensation Law, and, be it further

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, through the Executive Council, and all its affiliated organizations, endeavor to secure the extension and broadening of the Workmen's Compensation Act in the State of New York,

so that it will apply compulsorily to all wage-earners regardless of occupation or sex, and so that compensation may be provided not only for injury through accident, and for death, but for loss of health and earning capacity due to disease resulting from the occupation; and, be it further

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations use their utmost endeavors to secure the enactment of a comprehensive and liberal workmen's compensation law, as uniform as possible, in every State of the Union.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed by Vice-President Mitchell, Delegate Curtis, Delegate Hawley, Delegate Robinson (D. W.), Delegate Proebstle, Delegate Walker (J. H.), President Gompers, Delegate Furuseth, Delegate Olander, Delegate Gehring and Delegate Draper.

On motion of Delegate Draper the words "and in each province of Canada" were stricken from the last line of the resolution.

The question was further discussed by Delegate Skemp.

On motion the debate was closed.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee, as amended, was adopted.

Delegate Wilson (W. B.): Will a motion on the subject be in order at this time?

President Gompers: The chair will recognize Delegate Wilson.

Delegate Wilson: If it is in order, I desire to offer the following: That the Executive Council be instructed to investigate the entire subject of liability and compensation, and report to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor such recommendations, relative to legislation, as in their judgment will enable us to proceed along as uniform lines as possible to secure just laws on these questions.

The motion offered by Delegate Wilson was seconded and carried.

Vice-President Duncan: I do not arise as chairman of the committee, but as a delegate. As this is the first session after a very important event has taken place, I will read the following, which, I think, will meet the approval of the delegates of the convention:

Whereas, The civilized world has just learned, with regret, of the passing, at a ripe old age, after a well-spent life, of Leo Tolstol, the great Russian exile, educator and world-wide economist, litterateur and humanitarian.

Resolved, That in commemoration of this great international loss, and as an expression of appreciation of Count Tolstol's life work, this convention place on record an expression of admiration of the work and example of the great philosopher and reformer, and of grief at his passing on, by the delegates attending this, the Thirtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, arising on call of our president, and remaining standing for one minute in silent meditation.

The resolution offered by Delegate Duncan was adopted by unanimous vote, and all the delegates arose, and remained standing silent for one minute, upon the call of President Gompers.

Secretary Frey, for the Committee on Resolutions, continued the report of that committee, as follows:

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate John Mitchell, United Mine Workers of America:

Whereas, Recent investigations in Europe and America indicate that the suffering and economic loss occasioned by occupational poisons and diseases can be greatly minimized and in some cases absolutely eliminated through labor legislation requiring strict regard for the health of the workers, and

Whereas, The American Association for Labor Legislation has attacked the problem in a scientific way, and with a presentation of facts and figures is demanding national and State action; and, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor urges such investigation of conditions, such labor legislation, such thorough factory and mine inspection, such provision for the health of the workers, such enforcement of labor laws as shall place America on a level with the most progressive of nations; and it endorses and commends the American Association for Labor Legislation for the work it is doing in this direction.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 116—By Delegate Matthew Woll of International Photo-Engravers' Union; Andrew J. Gallagher, San Francisco Labor Council:

Whereas, President Gompers, in his report to convention, has ably expressed the advisability and necessity for legislation to protect the children of our country against exploitation, and to advance their physical,

moral and educational welfare, and that of society, and

Whereas, The president's report and that of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor contain no reference to legislation now pending before congress bearing upon this humane and important subject matter, other than the enactment into law of a bill intended for the better enforcement of the Child's Labor Law of the district of Columbia, and

Whereas, (Quoting the language of President Gompers used in his report to convention): "The period has now arrived when the average member of a legislature is proud if he can make a good record on Child Labor Legislation." Be it, therefore,

Resolved, By this Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the American Federation of Labor take cognizance of and give approval to the intent and purpose of a bill now pending before congress, "To establish in the Department of the Interior a bureau to be known as the Children's Bureau," of which the following is an exact copy:

Sixty-first Congress, second session, Calendar No. 411, section 423, report No. 417, in the Senate of the United States, March 22, 1909—Mr. Flint introduced the following bill, which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, March 18, 1910, reported by Mr. Flint, with amendments: A bill to establish in the Department of the Interior, a bureau to be known as the Children's Bureau. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled; that there shall be established in the Department of Commerce and Labor a bureau to be known as the Children's Bureau. Section 2. That the said bureau shall be under the direction of a chief, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and who shall receive an annual compensation of four thousand dollars. The said bureau shall investigate and report upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life, and shall especially investigate the questions of infant mortality, the birth rate, physical degeneracy, orphanage, juvenile delinquency and juvenile courts, desertion, dangerous occupation, accidents and diseases of children, employment, legislation affecting children in the several States and territories, and such other facts as have a bearing upon the health, efficiency, character and training of children. The chief of said bureau may from time to time publish the results of these investigations. Section 3. That there shall be in said bureau, until otherwise provided for by law, an assistant chief to be appointed by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, who shall receive an annual compensation of two thousand four hundred dollars; one private secretary to the chief of the bureau, who shall receive an annual compensation of one thousand five hundred dollars; one statistical expert, at two thou-

sand dollars; two clerks of class four; two clerks of class three; one clerk of class two; one clerk of class one; one clerk at one thousand dollars; one copyist at nine hundred dollars; one special agent at one thousand four hundred dollars; and one special agent at one thousand two hundred dollars. Section 4. That the Secretary of Commerce and Labor is hereby directed to furnish sufficient quarters for the work of this bureau at an annual rental not to exceed two thousand dollars. Section 5. That this act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

Amend the title so as to read: "A bill to establish in the Department of Commerce and Labor, a bureau to be known as the Children's Bureau," and be it further

Resolved, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor are hereby authorized and instructed to exert their best efforts and use every possible influence for the adoption and enactment into law of this or legislation of similar character and purport.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 123—By Delegate T. V. O'Connor, of International Longshoremen's Association:

Whereas, The School Teachers' Association of Buffalo, N. Y., whose members are striving to better their conditions and to secure a fair compensation for their labor, which is of an arduous nature, both physically and mentally; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the representatives of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, declare in favor of a higher standard of wages and salaries to be paid to the school teachers of our country, and we now go on record as indorsing the efforts of the school teachers of Buffalo to improve their conditions of employment, and pledge our support to the members of that organization.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee recommended that some minor changes be made in Resolution No. 125, the amended resolution to read as follows:

Resolution No. 125—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, M. W. Kelleher, J. H. Sanderson, T. J. Dolan, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

Whereas, The United Steel Corporation and Subsidiary Corporations are

alleged to maintain agents in Europe to export labor to this country; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council investigate this matter and ascertain if it is true that criminals of continental countries are brought to this country through the efforts of these corporation labor agents; further, be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council report the result of its investigation to the entire labor world, and publish same at large.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 127—By Delegate T. J. Dolan, of International Longshoremen's Association:

Whereas, The construction of deep water-ways will provide a great deal of public work for workingmen; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor is in favor of the active work on the deep waterway from the lakes to the gulf being started at once by the government.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

President Gompers: The chair would suggest to the convention that the prosecution of the deep water-ways, simply for the purpose of procuring work is not the only reason that work should be furthered. It should be furthered for the purpose of commerce and the public good. I do not think the proposition is quite defensible from that point alone.

The motion to concur in the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 132—By Delegate Emmett L. Adams, of Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.:

Whereas, The people of the District of Columbia have been deprived of the right of local self-government, and a form of government under which an immense majority have neither voice nor influence has been forced upon them by Congress without their consent; and,

Whereas, The present form of government in the capital of the republic—the political heart of the nation—is contrary to the fundamental principles of American liberty to establish which

our revolutionary forefathers pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor; and,

Whereas, The ballot is the workers' most effective weapon, deprived of which they are powerless to redress many of their grievances or to prevent the few men despoiling the many; and,

Whereas, The Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C., have a number of times petitioned the Congress of the United States for the restoration of a republican form of government in the national capital, and have presented a plan for such a form of government; and,

Whereas, The people in no other city in this country are deprived of the right and opportunity to express their views and register their will through the ballot box; therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the American Federation of Labor that Congress re-establish in the District of Columbia a government of the people and by the people under which it would be more responsive to the needs of the masses; and be it further

Resolved, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to lend such aid as they may deem wise and helpful to secure for the citizens of Washington such a change in the form of government.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed by Delegate Wilson (W. B.), Delegate Adams, Vice-President Duncan, Delegate Ramsay, President Gompers, Delegate Sullivan (Jere), Vice-President O'Connell and Delegate Keegan.

The motion to concur in the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 134—By Delegate Mont. R. Powell, of Oklahoma State Federation of Labor:

Whereas, The voting power of the American Federation of Labor, delegated to the National and International unions through its constitution is not in keeping with the democratic government of the American Federation of Labor, thereby making it possible for three or four crafts to control the destinies of the American labor movement to the possible detriment of other crafts or State Federations and city central bodies, and the time having arrived in the progress of the labor movement for the American Federation of Labor to readjust the system of representation, and believing the voting strength of the State Federation and city central bodies combined should equal that of the National and International unions; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the delegates to the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in regular session assembled, that a committee of five members be appointed by the president to take up the matter of readjustment of representation and report at the next annual convention; said committee to be composed of at least one member from a State Federation and one member from a city central body; and, be it further

Resolved, That the expenses accruing from the deliberations of said committee at the next American Federation of Labor Convention be paid by the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended nonconcurrency in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

The motion was carried by a vote of 111 in the affirmative to 22 in the negative.

#### **Report of Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.**

Delegate Wheeler, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Local and Federated Bodies beg leave to submit for your consideration the following report upon the various matters that have been referred to it:

**Resolution No. 12—By Delegate James Buckley, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:**

Whereas, At the Second Annual Convention of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor the following resolution was unanimously adopted: That the convention place itself on record as favoring the interchange of transfer cards between the various labor unions, and that the American Federation of Labor at its next convention try and have this matter submitted to a referendum vote of all affiliated unions. Therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention take the necessary steps to submit this proposition to a referendum vote of the affiliated unions.

The committee recommended nonconcurrency in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 29—By Delegate John S. Whalen, of New York State Federation of Labor.**

Whereas, This organization has been organized for a number of years and is continually looking after the interest of organized labor in this state and for their benefit, and

Whereas, There are a large number of locals in the state that are not affiliated with this State Federation; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this Federation petition the American Federation of Labor to have its general, district and deputy organizers to do all in their power to have those locals affiliate with this State Federation; and be it further

Resolved, That the delegate to the American Federation of Labor Convention present an amendment to the American Federation of Labor Constitution to compel all city and local central bodies, local unions and federal unions to become affiliated at once with their respective State Federations.

**Secretary Wheeler:** The committee concurs in the first part of the resolution relating to district and deputy organizers, and nonconcurrency in the second part of the resolution relating to compelling organizations to become affiliated with State Federations. As many of the resolutions submitted to your committee bear upon the subject of compelling local unions to become affiliated with city central bodies and state federations in a manner that appears to your committee to be impractical, your committee has formulated recommendations relating to affiliation with the object of covering the subject that has been approached in many different ways by these resolutions.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Robinson requested that the two resolutions be taken up separately.

**President Gompers:** The sense of the resolution will admit of dividing it.

The secretary of the committee read the first resolution, and stated that the committee recommended concurrence. On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The secretary of the committee read the second resolution, and stated that the committee recommended nonconcurrency. On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The resolution as adopted, as amended, is as follows:

**Resolution No. 29—By Delegate John S. Whalen, delegate of New York State Federation of Labor:**

Whereas, This organization has been organized for a number of years and is continually looking after the interest

of organized labor in this state and for their benefit; and

Whereas, There are a large number of locals in the state that are not affiliated with this State Federation; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this Federation petition the American Federation of Labor to have its general, district and deputy organizers to do all in their power to have those locals affiliate with this State Federation.

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate Harry T. Brady, of Jefferson County Trades and Labor Assembly, Steubenville, Ohio:

Whereas, The Jefferson County Trades and Labor Assembly of Steubenville, Ohio, recognizes the fact that organized labor should grow much stronger and become an educator to all; and

Whereas, We believe a great benefit could be derived in both the central bodies and all local unions affiliated if Section 2, Article X, of Resolution No. 35, passed at the Twenty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Denver, Colorado, was placed in force; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that Section 2, Article X, of the constitution, be placed in force and to continue so; and be it further

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor notify all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, that Section 2, Article X, will be enforced within thirty days after adjournment of this convention.

Secretary Wheeler: Inasmuch as your committee has covered the subject matter of this resolution in its recommendation, and owing to the fact that erroneous references are made in the resolution, it recommends that the terms of the resolution be nonconcurrent in.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed by Delegate Gallagher and Vice-President Perham.

During the course of his remarks Vice-President Perham, chairman of the committee, said: The committee, having heard various delegates on the subject of compelling local unions to become affiliated with the city central bodies and the state federations, took cognizance of the fact that most of the delegates who appeared before the committee were in favor of such compulsion that they concluded to make recommendations of their own after reading all of these resolutions. That question will prob-

ably come up when the recommendations of the committee on the subject are read.

The motion to concur in the recommendation of the committee was carried.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 49 be amended by striking out the last section that read, "That the label of the A. F. of L. be placed upon the product of the mills that have contracts signed with the International Union in place of the label now in use," the amended resolution to read as follows:

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate C. F. Russi, Jr., of San Antonio Trades Council:

Whereas, The affairs of the International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employees are in such bad condition that they need to be investigated, the international union having decreased in membership in the last six years from 21 votes to 3 votes in the convention of the A. F. of L., as the report of the secretary of the A. F. of L. will show; and

Whereas, The financial condition of the international union is so bad that notice has been sent to our local union that in case of trouble it can not pay strike or lockout benefits. (There is no international president, as the last one was expelled for non-payment of dues. There has not been a financial statement issued from headquarters for more than a year. Our local union has not received a communication nor answers to its letters from headquarters except receipts for money sent in payment of per capita tax); and

Whereas, The condition of the International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employees is so bad as to discourage the few remaining locals and cause them to disband, which could be avoided if attended to at once; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed to investigate the affairs of the International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employees; and be it further

Resolved, That if conditions are found to be in bad shape, have the secretary of the A. F. of L. revoke the charter of the international, and have the charters of the remaining few local unions transferred back to the A. F. of L. and issue new charters as Federal Labor Unions.

The committee recommended concurrence in the amended resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.



The question was discussed by Delegate Howley.

In reply to a question, Vice-President Perham, chairman of the committee, said: This resolution provides that the entire matter in relation to this international union be investigated by the Executive Council. The committee concurs in that part of the report. That part of the report which refers to the label of the American Federation of Labor being placed upon the products of the mills has been left open and not concurred in by this committee on account of the clash that now exists as to the proper label to be placed on the products of those mills. That question also should be investigated by the Executive Council, and investigated on its merits.

The question was further discussed by Delegate Russi, who explained at length the conditions under which the men in some of the locals still remaining in the International were working. He spoke in favor of concurring in the report of the committee. He also spoke in favor of taking the present label off the product of the flour and cereal mills and using the label of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Kemper discussed the question at some length, stating that his organization, the Brewery Workers, was very much interested, as the breweries used various products of the flour and cereal mills and they wished to have this product made under union conditions.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 110 be amended by striking out the word "applaud" in line three of the first resolution and inserting the word "approve," the amended resolution to read as follows:

Resolution No. 110—By Delegate J. E. Hartvigsen, of Michigan Federation of Labor:

The following resolution was presented at the twenty-first annual convention of the Michigan Federation of Labor, held at Muskegon, September 22 to 24, 1910:

Whereas, The Michigan Federation of Labor annually sends a delegate to the American Federation of Labor, therefore be it

Resolved, That the delegate elected at this convention to represent the Michigan Federation of Labor at the American Federation of Labor, to be held at St. Louis, Mo., be instructed to request the American Federation of Labor to send or appoint an organizer for a specified time to thoroughly organize the State of Michigan.

This resolution was unanimously adopted by the Michigan State Federation after having been referred to Resolutions Committee and reported favorably by said committee to convention.

Whereas, The State of Michigan holds the residence of C. W. Post, at Battle Creek, from which place emanate the most vicious tirades against organized labor, printed in publications of various sorts as paid matter, and being inimical to the union movement at large; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled approve the action of the Michigan State Federation of Labor in the decision to hold the 1911 State convention in Battle Creek, thus invading the enemy's home territory; and, be it further

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor Executive Board assist in every manner possible, by sending or appointing organizers and in other ways, the coming year, to thoroughly organize the State of Michigan, from which the pernicious non-union propaganda of C. W. Post is disseminated.

Secretary Wheeler: Your committee recommends that the first part of the resolution, relating to organizers for the State of Michigan, be referred to the incoming Executive Council.

Your committee, after amending the second part of the resolution by substituting the word "approve" for "applaud," concur in that part of the resolution.

Your committee recommends that the last clause in the resolution be referred to the incoming Executive Council.

On motion the recommendations of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 121—By Delegate M. A. Murphy, of Boston Central Labor Union:

Whereas, The unorganized women workers form the most helpless class in the competition that fixes hours, wages and conditions of work; and,

Whereas, The Woman's Trade Union League has given signal service in promoting trade union organization of woman workers, and has proven of strong and wise assistance in the time of strife; be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, recommend that in cities where there is a branch of the Woman's Trade Union League, that the central body of said

cities give the League their co-operation and support to the end that the women workers of the country may be organized.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 129—By Delegate Albert Abrahams, of Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity:**

Whereas, In almost every locality where there is a central body, a number of unions chartered directly by the American Federation of Labor, or by national or international unions, such unions do not affiliate with the central body in such locality; be it

**Resolved,** That Article XI, Section 2, of the American Federation of Labor, which instructs all chartered unions, national and international unions to have the local unions affiliate with such central body, be immediately enforced, and that the Executive Council be, and is hereby directed to issue a notice to these bodies to that effect.

**Resolved,** That any of these bodies refusing to comply within sixty days after the adjournment of this convention with this instruction, shall stand suspended until they do comply.

The committee recommended nonconcurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Abrahams spoke at some length, in opposition to the recommendation of the committee, and moved as an amendment that it be recommitted to the committee to bring in a report covering the question dealt with by the resolution.

Chairman Perham: I remarked once before that the committee had made some recommendations in regard to this matter of compulsory affiliation of local unions with city central bodies and state federations. We gave this matter very deep consideration. We were fully in sympathy with the aspirations of the city central bodies and the state federations. We understand what they want to do, and we would like to help them do that thing; but we have in mind that a compulsory arrangement in a voluntary association of voluntary associations is a very dangerous trend of affairs. A domineering policy in this direction would mean destruction

in the end. Moral suasion means progress from the bottom. Along these lines we have been working; along these lines we have formed machinery, we have formed the city central bodies, the state federations and the departments. We have them all ready for the individual action of union men, and if individual action is brought into play in these organizations we know the city central bodies and the state federations will be built up from the bottom and will endure forever.

The motion to concur in the recommendation of the committee was carried.

**Resolution No. 142—By Delegate John H. Riley, of Danbury, Conn., Central Labor Union:**

Whereas, In the State of Connecticut, less than 50 per cent of the local unions of that State are affiliated with the State Branch of the American Federation of Labor of Connecticut; and

Whereas, The same conditions exist in many of the other States compelling the few to carry on the work of many; therefore, be it

**Resolved,** That the same law of the American Federation of Labor compelling local unions to affiliate with central labor unions in these respective cities apply to local unions compelling them to affiliate with the State branches of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended nonconcurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Wheeler: The committee desires to offer the following recommendation: In view of the many resolutions submitted to your Committee indicating that it is the desire of many city central bodies and state federations to compel local unions to affiliate with them, your Committee, while being in full sympathy with the aspirations of the city central bodies and state federations, yet, recognizing the impracticability of the American Federation of Labor attempting to compel affiliation, with the attendant penalties of revocation of charter, offers the following in the manner of a practical suggestion.

We recommend that the national and international organizations be requested to make it mandatory on their local unions to affiliate with state federations and city central bodies, in order that

the general labor movement may be better fortified to adopt more effective means of defense in time of trouble. In the opinion of your Committee, if all the local unions, instead of a few of them, would affiliate with the city central bodies and state federations, it would make the cost of such affiliation very much less because the dues could be reduced.

The following section of the recommendation of the committee was read by Secretary Wheeler, but later eliminated by the committee: "Your Chairman is of the opinion that the city central bodies and state federations, under the present laws of the American Federation of Labor, can accomplish the end desired by withholding support and assistance from all local unions that fail or refuse to affiliate with city central bodies or state federations. Experience has demonstrated clearly that many unions stay out of the city central bodies and state federations until they get into trouble of some sort, and then they are very urgent in their demands for assistance from the bodies with which they have hitherto failed to affiliate."

The report was signed by

H. B. PERHAM, Chairman,  
C. E. WHEELER, Secretary,  
CHARLES LAVIN,  
W. D. MAHON,  
FRANK T. HAWLEY,  
FRANK GEHRING,  
M. W. KELLEHER,  
M. E. LICHT,  
E. F. WARD,  
JOHN T. BUTLER,  
SAM DE NEDREY,  
GEORGE F. GOLDEN,  
JOSEPH ARMISTEAD,  
HARRY DEVEAUX,  
E. T. DOLAN,

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Deltch: I want to understand if that means we are to insert something in our International constitution compelling our locals to belong to the city central bodies and state federations?

Chairman Perham: The idea of the committee was to pass back to the international their autonomy. If they desire to make it

mandatory upon their locals they are at liberty to do so.

The question was discussed by Delegate Fahey, Delegate Gallagher, Secretary Morrison and Treasurer Lennson.

Chairman Perham: I will make the suggestion, if it meets with the approval of the other members of the committee, it can be brought about immediately. I suggest eliminating the following portion of the recommendation of the committee: "Your committee is of the opinion that the city central bodies and State Federations, under the present laws of the American Federation of Labor, can accomplish the end desired by withholding support and assistance from all local unions that fail or refuse to affiliate with city central bodies or State Federations. Experience has demonstrated clearly that many unions stay out of the city central bodies and State Federations until they get into trouble of some sort, and then they are very urgent in their demands for assistance from the bodies with which they have hitherto failed to affiliate."

No objection being offered, the section of the recommendation read by Chairman Perham was eliminated.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee, when amended by the elimination of the section referred to by Chairman Perham, was carried by unanimous vote.

On motion the report of the committee, as a whole, as amended, was adopted.

#### **Report of Special Committee on Relation of Organizations in Canada and the United States.**

Delegate Tobin (John), secretary of the committee, read the report.

Following is the report as amended by striking out the word "economic," in the first paragraph:

Your Special Committee on the Relations of Organizations in Canada and the United States, beg leave to report as follows:

1. That the Trades and Labor Congress of the Dominion of Canada have the sole right to speak and act for organized labor in all political and legislative matters in the Dominion and all of its provinces.

2. That the autonomy of International Unions in trade matters be maintained as heretofore.

3. That the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress shall have the sole right to issue charters (certificates of

affiliation) to provincial or local central bodies in Canada.

4. That Canadian provincial or central bodies holding charters from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress may at their discretion also hold charters from the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee desires to express its cordial indorsement of the expressions from the annual report of President Gompers under the sub-head Canada, and we warmly congratulate our Canadian Brethren on the unremitting activity they have shown in pushing forward the cause of organized labor and the success that has accompanied their efforts to date.

T. W. McCULLOUGH, Chairman;  
W. D. MAHON,  
J. F. DUNACHIE,  
BEN TEAGARDEN,  
FRANK PAQUIN,  
FRANK M. RYAN,  
SAMUEL KELLY,  
NORVAL WHITE,  
ROBERT GLOCKLING,  
ALEX. KELSO,  
E. L. SMYTH,  
JOSEPH EVANS,  
CHARLES H. JOYNER,  
JOHN F. TOBIN, Secretary.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

On motion of Delegate Furuseth the report was taken up seriatim.

Secretary Tobin, read the first section of the report, "That the trades and Labor Congress of the Dominion of Canada have the sole right to speak and act for organized labor in all economic, political and legislative matters in the Dominion and in all of the Provinces."

A motion was made and seconded that the section be adopted:

Delegate Furuseth: I move that it be amended by striking out the word "economic." (Seconded.)

The question was discussed by Delegate Furuseth and Delegate McCullough, Chairman of the Committee.

The committee accepted the amendment offered by Delegate Furuseth, and the section as amended was adopted.

The second section, "That the autonomy of international unions in trade matters be maintained as heretofore," was adopted without changes or amendments.

The third section, "That the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress shall have the sole right to issue charters (certificates of affiliation) to provincial or local central bodies in Canada," was adopted without changes or amendments.

The fourth section, "That Canadian provincial or central bodies holding charters from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress may at their discretion also hold charters from the American Federation of Labor," was read, and a motion made and seconded that it be adopted.

The question was discussed by Delegate Furuseth, Delegate McCullough, Chairman of the Committee; President Gompers, Delegate Draper, Delegate Skemp, Delegate Sanderson, Delegate Kennedy, Delegate Carey and Delegate Stevenson.

The motion to adopt the fourth section of the report of the committee was carried.

The final section of the report was adopted without changes or amendments.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

At 6:30 p. m. the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 12 o'clock noon, Wednesday, November 23d.

## Eighth Day's Proceedings—Wednesday, November 23, 1910.

The convention was called to order at 12 o'clock noon, Wednesday, November 23, 1910, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Glover, Richardson, Humphrey, Tracy (T. F.), Hinder, Morton, Bechtold, Rickert, Moffitt, Coakley, Evans (D. J.), Foster, Tracy (W. J.), Malley, Malin, McHugh, Evans (Jo.), Grimshaw, Teagarden, Drake, Mikel, Skaggs, Cullen, Lee, Joyner, Cathon, Maddox, Marquardt, Jennings, Baum, Hudson (Fred), Courtenay, Flynn (J. J.), Klefer, Andrick, Britt, Wentz, Kleyhauer, Nystrom, Willson (G. F.), Smith (J. U. P.), Smith (O. P.), Bell, Keough, Leonard, McDonald, Anderson (A. C.), Rizzie, James, Stafford, Skelley, Gaede, Siebert, Eckert, White (G. T.), Swenson, Carter, Bartholomew, Hubbard, Leibowitz, Greenbaum, Miller (A.), Lippert, Harris, Nihil.

Vice-President O'Connell asked the privilege of the floor, and stated that, according to the custom of the convention, the delegates of the American Federation of Labor desired to present to the fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada and to their wives, some small tokens of the appreciation they felt of their presence in the convention. He presented to Fraternal Delegates Brace and Turner, of the British Trades Union Congress, and to Fraternal Delegate Pettipiece, of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, handsome watches suitably engraved. To Mrs. Turner and Mrs. Brace, on behalf of the delegates, he presented silver purses, and to Mrs. Pettipiece a pin set with diamonds.

Fraternal Delegates Brace and Turner in short addresses expressed their appreciation of the gifts and their pleasure in being able to attend the convention. They stated that they had received nothing but kindness from trades unionists everywhere since landing in America, and that they had learned much about the movement which was of interest to themselves and to the people they represented. Fraternal Delegate Pettipiece, in a brief address, expressed his apprecia-

tion of the gift and of the kindness shown him during the convention.

President Gompers stated that he had asked the wives of the fraternal delegates if they desired to address the convention. He stated further that they had asked him to convey their thanks and appreciation to the convention for the gifts presented them. President Gompers also expressed the pleasure felt by the delegates in having the fraternal delegates and their wives meet with them in convention, and in concluding wished them Godspeed and a safe return to their homes.

President Gompers introduced to the convention Mrs. D. W. Knefler, of St. Louis, Fraternal Delegate from the National Women's Trade Union League of America.

**Mrs. Knefler:** Mr. President and Delegates. I will not take up much of your time this morning, because I know you are very much interested in important affairs. If I did not feel I had a subject to present to you, not only of vital importance to the Women's Trade Union League, but also to the men representing the national and international trade unions, I would not do so. The Women's Trade Union League is organized for the purpose of organizing women into trades unions. Locally and nationally that is our purpose; but we do not feel that women are organized in trades unions when we have gathered a few girls together, had them apply for a charter and elect officers. We have then to educate the girls; we have to make them know and understand the things that are an old story to you, and that were an old story to your fathers and your fathers' fathers. We have to tell them the things their mothers have not taught them, or that their fathers have not taught them, and we have to have them unlearn many things their fathers and mothers have taught them.

Since the beginning of woman's entrance into industry she has been indirectly taught that any wage is good enough for a woman, that she is to go out and get what sum she can, because it is only a temporary thing—she is going to get married. Consequently when she goes into the factory she feels that any wage is good enough for a woman, and she and her sisters take any wage.

She is not one girl, she is not a hundred girls, she is not a thousand girls—in America she is three million girls, a mighty army going out to take any wage, because any wage is good enough for a girl. When she does this she reduces the wage in her individual factory for all the girls, and she does more than that, she reduces the wages of the men in the factory, she reduces the wages of the firemen, the engineers and the electricians; she brings them all down to meet the pitiful pittance she is willing to accept. The result is that when dividends are declared at the end of a year or two years, a new precedent in dividends is established; they are just a shade higher and the wages a shade lower, and they will never be adjusted until there is a struggle to bring them back again.

It is the duty of the Women's Trade Union League to present these things to the girls. That is the educational work we must do. The league in St. Louis in the something more than two years of its existence has organized about 1,200 girls into unions. Of that number 750 have secured the eight-hour day, and something more than 300 have secured a raise in wages. We have not only organized them into trades unions, but we have exerted an influence in politics. We had a bill passed in the legislature limiting the hours of work to fifty-four in one week. The bill was tampered with, it was of no account, and we had to go into court and have it declared unconstitutional. We expect to secure another and a better bill. The man who was instrumental in defeating our bill last year, the secretary of the Manufacturers' Association, was a candidate for member of the State Legislature. The Women's Trade Union League went out and defeated him. We were told we could not do it because he had the Manufacturers' Association, the Business Men's League and the Republican machine back of him. Our girls, our garment workers, our waitresses and others worked through the day in shops and factories, and at night went out carrying cards, and we beat that man. We have a political standing in Missouri just as well as a standing as organizers, because I think that although we could not get one line of our story in the papers, either while we were fighting this man or after he was defeated, there are no politicians in the State of Missouri who do not know what the Women's Trade Union League did.

Our work makes an appeal to the public that organizations of men do not make. You cannot talk of tired, weary, spiritless young girls and overworked, anxious women to any kind of people with hearts without their responding. And herein lies our danger. If we are to live we must have money, considerable money. If our work makes an appeal indiscriminately to people who only have a human idea of their suffering sisters we are taking a chance on subsidizing ourselves in a way that will

prove detrimental, not only to the women's movement, but to the whole labor movement.

I do not want to be misunderstood; I do not want the delegates to feel that we want to create too much class consciousness. We have had a few saintly women of very great wealth who have given to us in vast sums, but I think it is a very dangerous thing for the women trades unionists to have to accept the support of men and women of great wealth throughout the country. We are perfectly willing that every man and woman who understands the trades union movement, who knows what we are working for, who will come in and help us organize, who will stand by our girls after they are organized, who will go on the firing line and stand with us to the last, shall help us—we care not where they come from, they are welcome.

But we do not want money—and I say this fearfully lest I may be misunderstood—we do not want money with the idea that we are a new sort of charitable organization, a highly developed philanthropy. If people do not understand us, if they are not willing to accept us as trades unionists, we do not want them and we do not want their money. I believe when we adopt war methods, we are justified in taking money from any source we can. I care not where the money comes from that helps the garment workers of Chicago today; but I do care where the money comes from that supports our League day in and day out. We cannot have part of the labor movement subsidized and the other part free. We are, after all, only a sex movement in so far as we are bringing the women up to the understanding that you have, so that they may keep pace with you, so that they may mark time with you.

So we cannot, if we are to remain a labor movement, be looked upon as philanthropists, we must be supported by labor. If there is any man or men in this convention today who believe that we who are here without our union cards are only philanthropists or highly developed social workers, I advise you before your convention adjourns this evening, to vote us out of your ranks—you don't want us here. We are trades unionists, we must be trades unionists; we must keep the league a labor movement, and we cannot do that unless we have the support, financial and moral, of the trades union men of the United States.

Vice-President Mitchell read the following report:

#### **Report of Special Committee on Industrial Education.**

We have reviewed the work of the Committee on Industrial Education appointed by authority of the Denver Convention, the report of the President

and of the Executive Council to this convention, and beg leave to submit the following:

During the past year the work of the Committee on Industrial Education has been confined largely to the activities of a sub-committee. The chief things accomplished have been the introduction before Congress of the Vocational Education Bill and the securing of a Federal investigation.

#### **Vocational Education Bill.**

Through the efforts of the sub-committee, labor's bill for vocational education was presented to Congress, given an extensive hearing before the Senate Committee, and put on the calendar for early consideration at the next session of Congress. This bill, providing for educational co-operation with the States, comprehends provisions for State and federal control and supervision of public education, as recommended by the Toronto Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The main provisions of this bill offer to each State its proportion of ten million dollars as a co-operative fund towards placing agriculture, the trades and industries, and home economics in the secondary or high schools of the entire country. The States are required to supply all lands and buildings and to pay for all general studies needed to make broad and well-rounded courses of study. The money from the federal treasury will be available only for teaching the vocational subjects. This will enable the cities to establish several hundred splendidly equipped schools throughout the agricultural regions of the United States. It will also provide funds for studies in trades and industries, home economics, and agriculture in the smaller towns.

#### **Federal Investigation.**

On December 20 of last year, a committee consisting of President Gompers, Vice-Presidents Mitchell and O'Connell, and Secretary Morrison, conferred with Secretary Nagel of the Department of Commerce and Labor, and Commissioner Neill of the Bureau of Labor. It was agreed that a comprehensive federal investigation should be undertaken within the year. The investigation was actually begun April 10, 1910, and is now understood to be nearing completion.

The scope of the investigation has aimed to cover all phases of trade and vocational training throughout the United States. Careful study is being made of all vocational schools (elementary and secondary), apprenticeship, continuation, co-operative, part time, and trade schools in this country. The inquiry covers:

1. Organization, including purpose of the school, trades or occupations taught, and number of pupils registered by trades; personnel of directory and advisory boards, and the determining of local industries and conditions.

2. Finances, report of the value or building and equipment, sources of

funds for same, fees, bonds, free instruction, etc.

3. Teachers.—Personal data are being obtained from all teachers of trade subjects, regarding training for teaching, experience in teaching, and of actual practical experience in the trades they are purporting to teach.

4. Program, including a study of both academic and trade courses and the correlation of the same, with special effort to ascertain what is being done that will make for better and more intelligent citizenship.

5. Industrial Position.—Careful study of the relation of the school work to the apprenticeship, both on the part of organized labor and the employers, and of the extent to which pupils are prepared for higher positions.

6. Product.—In schools making a marketable product, the inquiry is being carried to a study of kind of product, market for and value of the same.

When completed this report will be the most comprehensive study of the whole subject of industrial education that has ever been made in the United States.

#### **American Federation of Labor Report on Industrial Education.**

Since the last convention the report of your Committee on Industrial Education appointed by authority of the Denver Convention, has been printed and has had a wide circulation. It has been very favorably received and highly commended.

#### **Royal Commission.**

A Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education has been appointed by the Canadian Government, resulting from a memorandum dated May, 1910, from the Minister of Labor, stating that industrial efficiency is all-important to the development of the Dominion and to the promotion of the home and foreign trade of Canada in competition with other nations, and can be best promoted by the adoption in Canada of the most advanced systems and methods of industrial training and technical education.

The Minister recommends that authority be granted for the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the needs and present equipment of the Dominion as respects industrial training and technical education, and into the systems and methods of technical education obtaining in other countries; and accordingly a Commission of seven was appointed, duly authorized to proceed with the investigation.

The Commission purposes to extend the inquiry into the United States, Great Britain, and European countries. No report has yet been received from this Commission, but it is anticipated that when received their report will be a very valuable addition to the sum total of information on the subject of industrial education.

The fact that this step was taken by the Dominion Government since the

Toronto Convention and the report made thereto by the American Federation of Labor Committee on Industrial Education is very gratifying.

#### State Commissions.

Within the year two States, Wisconsin and Maine, have appointed Commissions to report upon the subject of Industrial Education to their respective legislatures, and the Maryland Commission, which was appointed in 1908, has this year submitted a very commendable report.

The Wisconsin Commission, with the co-operation of the Legislative Reference Bureau, will submit a report to the next session of the State Legislature, with recommendations for legislative action. The Commission will submit plans, not only for a trade school but also for a broad industrial education, placing emphasis upon the teaching of hygiene and citizenship. The industrial education matter is to be one of the main issues before the Wisconsin Legislature this year.

#### Trade Union Investigations.

During the year 1910 the Chicago Federation of Labor appointed a committee on industrial education which made a thorough inquiry into the work done in Chicago, the attitude of the local labor organizations in regard thereto, and submitted a report within the past few days.

The Boston Central Labor Union appointed a committee to investigate industrial education in the city of Boston. The report of this committee—which was submitted recently—endorses the work now being undertaken in the schools of Boston.

Newark, Worcester, Lynn, Brocton, and several other larger cities are making local investigations of the subject of industrial education. In this work the co-operation of trade unionists is being sought, and much has been accomplished.

The Chicago Commercial Club, interested in the subject from a very different view point, last spring furnished funds to finance an investigation of foreign methods of industrial education and has sent Mr. E. G. Cooley, ex-Superintendent of Chicago Public Schools, abroad to spend two years studying the subject. He will study particularly the German trade schools and the question of the adaptability of German methods to the school system of Chicago.

#### Attitude of Manufacturers.

The attitude of the manufacturers toward the subject of industrial education is best shown in the 1910 report of the National Association of Manufacturers.

The National Association of Manufacturers first officially recognized the question in 1904, by the appointment, at the convention, of a committee, which reported to the 1905 convention.

The committee reported in favor of factory schools as a means of opposing organized labor. The recommendation stated, "When the great manufacturing establishments of this country shall maintain their own schools, strikes will be unknown in these establishments. When they shall educate their own workmen, these workmen will be loyal to the company, rather than to an outside organization."

The attitude in this respect has not changed in the succeeding conventions. The manufacturers have continued to favor factory or apprenticeship schools, whose policy they could dictate, and have appealed to philanthropists to establish schools for the training of recruits for the industries. They have looked with suspicion upon the efforts of organized labor in behalf of industrial education and have not shown any great desire to co-operate.

Their interest has been passive throughout. They professed themselves willing to support the Davis Bill if the words "trades and industries" were substituted for "mechanic arts." The Davis Bill was allowed to die and the suggested wording was incorporated in the Dolliver Bill, but no manufacturer appeared at the hearing to urge the passage of the bill.

The 1910 convention adopted the report of its committee, which advocated part-time or co-operative schools. They also declared in favor of trade schools which should make a marketable product and which should give a reasonable amount of mental culture, at the public expense.

Your committee calls attention to the reversal, in five years, of the position of the National Association of Manufacturers from appealing for philanthropic establishment of schools to demanding that schools be established for the training of the youth, at public expense.

#### Attitude of Organized Labor.

Organized labor has taken the same stand on the question of industrial education that it has always taken on the question of general education. It is a public function and should be provided for by public funds. No person should be denied the best possible preparation for his life's work because he is unable to pay a school tuition; neither should that person be obliged to be regarded as an object of charity and forced to get his training through the offices of philanthropically inclined persons. He is entitled to it and the State or nation should supply it equally to all. The machinist and the carpenter is entitled to training for his work as fully as the lawyer, the doctor, the teacher, or the business man.

Organized labor holds also that all education should be under federal control and subject to federal supervision and regulation; and therein we differ from the most recent stand taken by organized employers. While they endorse industrial education at public expense, they would have it under the



supervision and control of the manufacturers interested. Such a policy must eventually defeat, in part at least, the real purpose of trade training.

#### **Impetus to Movement.**

It is very gratifying to note the great impetus to the movement for industrial education. While it is not a new movement by any means, it has been a very much neglected one until recently. At the time of the appointment of the American Federation of Labor Committee on Industrial Education, in 1908, there were but very few schools pretending to give to the ninety per cent of our boys and girls that preparation for their life's work for which the regular public school courses fail to provide. During the years 1909-1910, however, a large number of public schools have engrafted some form of trade or vocational training upon their educational system.

The awakening is not confined to public schools. Employers are alert to the need and a large number of corporations have established some form of apprentice instruction. Several of the great railroads were already operating apprentice schools, others have followed their lead until in some form or other all of the more important lines give some instruction to their apprentices.

People gradually are coming to the opinion that industrial education is, like any other education, a public function, to be paid for by public funds. We concur in that opinion, but just here we should like to sound a note of warning. As the support of trade education in general is passing from private philanthropy to public funds, manufacturing interests are coming to control the administration and dictate the policy of those schools; and that we can not afford. For example, we can not afford to allow the Metal Trades Association to control the policy of the schools which are supported wholly from public funds. If education as a public function is to be a success, it must be free from the control of any private interest.

#### **Vocational Direction.**

The committee believes that one of the most important subjects before us is the matter of vocational direction. This question is being worked out by a Vocation Bureau in Boston which is achieving most gratifying results. Attention should be called to the fact that similar bureaus are being established in many of the large cities of the country.

These bureaus are voluntary organizations of public spirited men and women, representing educators, labor men, social workers, business men, and manufacturers, formed for the purpose of co-operating with business men, manufacturers, parents, teachers, young people, and the community as a whole, in stimulating young people to consider what vocation they are best fitted for, in pointing out the way to prepare for

such chosen vocation systematically, and in encouraging the purpose to follow the chosen life-work with intelligence and a progressive spirit. There is no fee or expense of any kind for the services of the bureaus.

"The Vocation Bureau does not attempt to decide for a person what he or she ought to do. Decisions must be self-made.

"The Bureau starts and guides the important business of personal and outside investigation. It helps with counsel, suggestion, sympathy, information, and practical directions as to sources of further light on particular problems.

"In the case of young people the Bureau puts together all the facts it can get showing what parents, teachers, and others who know the young applicant think about his or her possibilities. In close co-operation with the school teachers and others, the Bureau believes that young people growing up in the cities will stand a better chance in life with this stimulus and inspiration to select a life work. The mere earnest effort to select, the training to choose, is no small part of a real education.

"The Bureau does not favor or disfavor any particular vocations. It has no bias, academic, professional, industrial, or commercial.

"It does, however, intend to raise whenever need be, vocational storm-signals, warning against over-crowded pursuits, declining, from the applicant's situation, undesirable and possible dangerous occupations."

It intends to deal with facts about the vocations and educational foundations of the trades and professions. It is studying over one hundred vocations and is now preparing simple bulletins which teachers will use in order to inform themselves about the demands of the various occupations, and the conditions ~~and~~ success in them.

The present waste, unhappiness, and economic loss due to a system which relied upon stumbling upon a chance job must give way in time to forethought and enlightened choice. Resources will be organized in time to give such choice its opportunity. Both school and the world of work must join in time to furnish the workers the best possible investment of their individual capacities.

"Society willingly invests its young blood in the world of wage-earning, and in return it asks co-operation in protecting its most valuable assets. The demand upon the vocations for co-operation is not made in a spirit unappreciative of their character-building possibilities. Rather is this social challenge to vocational life a full recognition of the community's loss in the present abyss between life and a livelihood."

#### **Recommendations.**

Your committee recommends the continued advocacy of labor's bill for Vocational Education—known as the Dolliver Bill—which, as you will recall, provides for educational co-operation between the State and Federal governments and for State and Federal control and supervision of public industrial education.

It recommends, also, that the special committee appointed by authority of the Denver Convention be continued, and that that committee "be urged and authorized to prosecute their investigation, and to lend every assistance to the accomplishment of the extension and completion of comprehensive industrial education in every field of activity."

JOHN MITCHELL, Chairman,  
W. D. MAHON,  
H. A. VURPIA,  
WILLIAM J. KELLY,  
JOHN L. McNAMARA,  
W. V. PRICE,  
T. J. BUTLER,  
WILLIAM SCHWAB,  
JOHN SHERET,  
E. L. SMYTH,  
B. H. McDEVITT,  
F. J. ROTH,  
E. R. MURPHY,  
M. MITCHELL,  
ROBT. HESKETH, Secretary.

On motion, the report of the committee was concurred in, the vote being unanimous.

Delegate Walker (J. H.), obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution, which was numbered 148, and referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

#### Report of Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Golden, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Adjustment begs leave to submit for your consideration the following report upon the various matters referred to it:

Secretary Golden read that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Jewelry Workers' Jurisdiction," and the following resolution:

Resolution No. 7.—By International Jewelry Workers' Union of America:

Whereas, The annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Toronto, Ontario, Canada, November 8 to 20, 1909, referred Resolution No. 20, presented by the International Jewelry Workers' Union of America, to President Samuel Gompers for investigation and a final settlement; and

Whereas, A conference was called at New York City on June 23, 1910, by Organizer Hugh Frayne, representing the American Federation of Labor, and all interested organizations were notified and attended conference; and

Whereas, Decision rendered through conference and indorsed by the American Federation of Labor Executive Board, granting jurisdiction to the In-

ternational Jewelry Workers' Union of America over all metal parts of badges, buttons, medallions and novelties, not in conflict with Sheet Metal Workers' Union; and

Whereas, The Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers' Union refuse to withdraw their label from factories employing one to three of their members, while six to one hundred or more were eligible to membership in the International Jewelry Workers' Union of America, thereby hindering the organization of these factories; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers' Union be and is hereby ordered to immediately withdraw their label from factories manufacturing badges, buttons, medallions and novelties; and be it further

Resolved, That this Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled at St. Louis, Mo., 1910, do hereby indorse the decision of the General Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor granting jurisdiction to the International Jewelry Workers' Union of America over all metal parts of badges, buttons, medallions and novelties made in all metals other than tin and sheet iron.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Your committee recommends the endorsement of the report of the Executive Council in their approval of the agreement arrived at in the conference in New York City on June 23, 1910, between representatives of the following unions: Jewelry Workers' International Union, the International Brotherhood of Tip Printers, International Typographical Union, United Textile Workers of America, Badge Makers' Local Union 12249, New York City, Badge Makers' Local Union 11555, Jersey City, and Organizer Hugh Frayne, representing the American Federation of Labor. The representatives of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance were invited to be present but failed to attend. Your committee nonconcur in the resolution submitted by the Jewelry Workers' International Union, requesting the Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers' International Union to withdraw their label from those shops where it is in force.

Secretary Golden: I move the adoption of the recommendation of the committee. (Seconded and carried.)

The committee reported on that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Moving

Picture Machine Operators," and the following resolution:

**Resolution No. 13—**By the Delegates of the Theatrical Stage Employees' International Alliance:

Whereas, The Seventeenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Nashville, Tenn., 1897, pronounced in no uncertain phrases that all work done back of the curtain is to be done under and by the sole jurisdiction of the then National Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees—this, however, not to include either engineer and fireman; and

Whereas, Through the growth of outside unions to the work of the theatrical stage employees these outside foreign trade unions seek to arrogate to themselves the jurisdiction granted to the above National Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees; therefore, be it

Resolved, By this the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in session in the city of St. Louis, Mo., that they do reconfirm the decision rendered by the Seventeenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to wit: "That all work done behind the curtain line or proscenium arch of all theaters and places of amusement shall be done by the members of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees—this not to include engineers and firemen."

Your committee recommends that, inasmuch as both the Theatrical Stage Employees' and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers have filed briefs stating their claims as to jurisdiction, that the whole subject matter be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions that the President of the American Federation of Labor appoint a representative at the earliest possible date to bring about an adjustment of the matters in dispute between the two above-named organizations.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 14—**By Delegate J. J. McAndrews of the Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union No. 11959:

Whereas, The Chicago Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union No. 11959 has been duly organized and chartered by the American Federation of Labor; and

Whereas, The jurisdiction of the Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union has not been defined and no mention of said organization is made in the A. F. of L.'s instructions to organizers; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the jurisdiction of the Chicago Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union No. 11959 be and is hereby defined as follows: "That the Chicago Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union No. 11959 shall have the right to

operate all passenger and freight elevators installed in buildings, and to operate all elevators that carry passengers, furniture, freight and merchandise in buildings in the course of construction, when such buildings are tenanted," and be it further

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor instruct its organizers to organize into unions all persons engaged in the operation of elevators as above described in all cities where such unions are not already organized.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution, with the addition of the following: "That this shall not include the hoisting of such building material to be used on the premises."

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Secretary Golden stated that Resolutions No. 22 and No. 81 referred to the same subject, and would be reported on together.

**Resolution No. 22—**By Delegate L. F. Maire, of the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union:

Whereas, It is universally conceded that the organizations of labor are all striving to the one end, viz.: Bettered conditions and uplift of the toilers, and

Whereas, It is further conceded that no organization can sustain a healthy growth with any member of its concrete body rent asunder, and

Whereas, It is still further conceded that what is tonic for some is poison for others; therefore, be it

Resolved, That inasmuch as the carriage and wagon workers have evolved into the twentieth century automobile workers, and are still evolving into aeroplane workers, that the word automobile be incorporated as per adoption at Buffalo Convention; also that the word aeroplane be also incorporated and that the carriage and wagon workers as now constituted, be henceforth known as Carriage, Wagon, Automobile and Aeroplane Workers' International Union of North America; and be it further

Resolved, That its jurisdiction shall extend only to such crafts as are rightfully theirs, viz.:

Carriage, wagon, automobile and aeroplane body makers and woodworkers; carriage, wagon, automobile and aeroplane painters; carriage, wagon, automobile and aeroplane trimmers; carriage, wagon, automobile and aeroplane blacksmiths; carriage, wagon, automobile and aeroplane wheel makers; carriage, wagon, automobile and aeroplane spoke and hub makers; carriage, wagon, automobile and aeroplane flat spring makers; carriage, wagon, automobile and aeroplane bent stiff makers, such as shafts and fellos and all component parts of carriages, wagons, automobiles and aeroplanes in the rough.

In submitting this resolution, the movers recognize the various complex questions governing such jurisdictional awards and respectfully submit that they in no wise wish to encroach on the domain of sister international unions. They also wish to present for your earnest consideration the fact that, as an organization, the carriage and wagon workers can not exist and do your honorable body justice under its present status, and we earnestly appeal to you to right our wrongs. We ask only simple justice. Can you give less?

**Resolution No. 81—By Delegates W. J. Dougherty and C. N. Glover, of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers:**

Whereas, The International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, engaged in trade organization with the object of the thorough organizing of the men of this craft under one head, thereby making the uplift of the men of this trade a certainty instead of an uncertainty; and,

Whereas, The International Association of Carriage and Wagon Workers claims jurisdiction over the Blacksmiths and Helpers engaged in the carriage, wagon and automobile industry, to the detriment of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers and the blacksmiths and helpers engaged in the industry, therefore, be it

**Resolved, By the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers is the only organization having jurisdiction over the blacksmiths and helpers engaged in the vehicle industry.**

On resolutions 22 and 81 the committee reported as follows:

Owing to the fact that your committee is not fully acquainted with the changes that have taken place in the affairs of the International Carriage and Wagon Workers' Union, due in a great measure to a complete change in officers, etc., we recommend that the whole subject matter be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to call a conference of all parties in interest within ninety days with a view of clearly defining the lines of jurisdiction.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

**Secretary Golden:** The introducer of Resolution No. 22 agreed to drop the word "Aeroplane."

The question was discussed by Delegate Mairre, Delegate Dougherty and Delegate Skemp.

Delegate Mairre stated that he withdrew his opposition to the adoption of the recommendation of the committee.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried.

**Secretary Golden:** The Committee on Adjustment reported on that portion of the report of the Executive Council referred to it under the caption of "Elevators Constructors' Machinists," and on Resolution No. 28.

We have a great mass of stuff here in regard to the matter. It contains the action of the last convention, the report of the Adjustment Committee, the agreement submitted, and also the action of the Executive Council in its endeavor to carry out the agreement during the year. I want to know if the delegates desire to have this read in full.

**Secretary Morrison:** It is stated in the report of the second day's proceedings.

**Secretary Golden:** I will read the resolution.

**Resolution No. 28—By delegation of the International Association of Machinists:**

Whereas, The controversy existing between the International Association of Machinists and the International Union of Elevator Constructors is yet unadjusted, and

Whereas, The Committee on Adjustment at the Toronto Convention of the A. F. of L. favorably recommended a plan of amalgamation, which report of the committee was approved by the convention, and

Whereas, The International Union of Elevator Constructors refused to present the plan of amalgamation to its members, thereby preventing the carrying out of the wishes of the Toronto Convention, be it

**Resolved, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is authorized and hereby instructed to carry into effect the plan of amalgamation as recommended by the Adjustment Committee of the Toronto Convention and approved by the Toronto Convention on or before April 1, 1911, and on the latter date the charter of affiliation held by the International Union of Elevator Constructors be canceled.**

The report of the Adjustment Committee of the Toronto Convention was as follows:

Committee has carefully reviewed the report of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., the proposition of the International Association of Machinists for amalgamation and the evidence submitted. The proposition of the International Association of Machinists containing the terms of amalgamation is as follows:

1. The I. U. of E. C. to be known in the I. A. of M. as Elevator Constructors' District No. 67. Said district to have jurisdiction over all men engaged in elevator construction work on buildings or wherever elevators may be erected.

2. The present international officers of the I. U. of E. C. shall be the district officers and conduct the affairs of the district in accordance with the laws of the I. A. of M. The salary of the officers to be the same as now paid.

3. The I. A. of M. will grant charters and supplies free of cost to all unions in good standing in the I. U. of E. C., and assign them numbers in accordance with the list of lodges of the I. A. of M.

4. All money in the treasury or hands of other officers or in any way held as the money of the I. U. of E. C. shall become the treasury and money of Elevator Constructors' District No. 67, and be held for the purpose of conducting the financial affairs of that district.

5. All members engaged in the construction of elevators in buildings, or elsewhere, where same is to be used, shall carry their membership in a lodge connected with Elevator Constructors' District No. 67. Members of the I. A. of M. who may be employed now or in the future in the erection or construction of elevators, holding membership in another lodge, shall transfer to the lodge having jurisdiction over this work in the locality where the member or members may be employed in Elevator Constructors' District No. 67.

6. The I. A. of M. agrees to pay 50 per cent of the legitimate salary and expenses of all business agents now paid by and under salary of the I. U. of E. C., in accordance with the constitution of the I. A. of M., said business agents who have their offices in the same office as the business agents of the I. A. of M. are located in order that the unnecessary expense of conducting two offices may be avoided.

7. Whereas, The constitution of the I. A. of M. requires that members, to be entitled to strike or victimized benefits of \$6.00 per week to single men and \$8.00 per week, married men, shall be in three months' good standing to be entitled to same; it is hereby agreed that upon the amalgamation of the two organizations all members of the I. U. of E. C. transferring to the I. A. of M.

shall be immediately placed in good standing and entitled to strike and victimized benefits as provided for in the constitution of the I. A. of M.

8. All per capita tax of the A. F. of L. Building Trades Department, and such other departments or organizations as the consolidated organization may become attached to, shall be paid out of the general fund of the I. A. of M.

9. The Elevator Constructors' District No. 67, of the I. A. of M., can hold conventions, adopt laws to govern the district, and carry on the affairs of said district practically on the same lines as now being done by the I. U. of E. C., with the exception that all rules, regulations and laws adopted by Elevator Constructors' District No. 67 shall be in conformity with the general constitution of the I. A. of M.

10. All members of the I. U. of E. C., affiliated with the I. A. of M. shall pay to their local union at least \$1.00 per month dues, and each local lodge shall pay to the grand lodge the standard rate of per capita tax prescribed by our constitution, as follows: Journeymen initiation stamp, \$1.50; apprentice initiation stamp, 75c; reinstatement stamp, \$1.50; monthly due stamp, 55c; apprentice monthly due stamp, 25c; unemployed stamp, 20c. It being understood that the above per capita tax covers the subscription to the monthly journal, the same to be supplied to each lodge in proportion to the number of members in good standing. Each lodge affiliated to conduct its financial business in accordance with the constitution of the I. A. of M.

11. As the I. A. of M. levied a one day's assessment of \$2.50 upon each member for three years, covering the years 1908, 1909 and 1910, it is agreed that members of the I. U. of E. C. coming into the I. A. of M. during the year 1909 shall be exempt from payment of the 1908 and 1909 assessments.

12. The I. A. of M. agrees to give all members of the I. U. of E. C. in good standing at the time of amalgamation a credit of six months' good standing membership, so that they will be entitled to the death benefits of the I. A. of M. as soon as the amalgamation takes place.

13. All lodges of the I. U. of E. C. becoming part of the I. A. of M. shall be entitled to send delegates to the convention of the I. A. of M. on the same basis as all other lodges of the I. A. of M. are entitled to.

14. It is hereby agreed that all members of the I. U. of E. C. transferring to and becoming a part of the I. A. of M. shall be entitled to all benefits, privileges and assistance of the association, and the general officers of the I. A. of M. as is given all members and lodges of the I. A. of M.

In the judgment of your Committee on Adjustment, the interests of the machinists and elevator constructors

can best be protected by an amalgamation of the two international unions.

We, therefore, recommend that the terms proposed by the International Association of Machinists be accepted and adopted by the Elevator Constructors' International Union as a basis of settlement of the differences between those organizations; that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed to use its good offices without delay to consummate the amalgamation of the Machinists and Elevator Constructors' International Union; and that the Executive Council for the American Federation of Labor become a party to the plan of amalgamation and settlement, as a guarantee to the absolute fulfillment of its terms.

We, your committee, further recommend that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be authorized and instructed to take such action in the premises as may be deemed necessary to accomplish the desired result.

Secretary Golden: Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution. (Seconded.)

The question was discussed at length by Delegate Feeney, who spoke in opposition to the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Fry and Vice-President O'Connell spoke at length in favor of the recommendation of the committee.

The question was further discussed by Delegate Mangan, who opposed the recommendation of the committee; by Delegate Keegan, who spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee, and by Delegate Kelley (W. J.), who opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Vice-President Duncan discussed the matter at some length, and suggested ways in which the dispute between the organizations might be adjusted.

The question was further discussed by Delegate Feeney, Delegate Williams, who opposed the recommendation of the committee, and Vice-President Alpine, who spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Wilson (James): I do not rise to discuss the subject, but to offer a motion. I move that the entire matter be referred to the Executive Council; that they bring the contending parties together within ninety

days, with a view to bringing about amalgamation. (Seconded.)

Delegate McDonald (S. J.): I move that the motion be laid upon the table. (Seconded.)

President Gompers stated that the motion to table, if carried, would lay the entire subject matter on the table.

The motion to lay upon the table was lost.

Delegate Feeney: A point of information. Will that necessitate a roll call? Will the motion offered by Delegate Wilson require a roll call? It is that the matter be placed in the hands of the Executive Council for them to amalgamate the two unions. In that event it will mean the revocation of the charter. Does it not require a roll call to bring that about?

Secretary Morrison read the motion offered by Delegate Wilson.

President Gompers: That does not involve a cancellation or revocation of a charter.

Delegate Wilson: I introduced this motion to get away from the question of revoking charters.

Delegate Feeney: I am not afraid to let the matter go before the Executive Council. I believe we will get all the justice they are capable of giving us, but I am opposed to the time limit placed by this amendment. We may not be able within the next ninety days to effect any kind of an arrangement, and I would suggest that it be changed to ninety days after May 1, 1911.

Delegate Willson: That motion means that they be brought together within ninety days. It may take six months to bring about a settlement of the proposition.

Delegate Feeney: If it is understood that we will not be compelled within ninety days to amalgamate, I have nothing further to say.

President Gompers: In the proposition offered by Delegate Wilson there is no statement, no implication that amalgamation is compulsory at all.

Delegate Feeney: I am perfectly satisfied with that statement, Mr. President.

The motion offered by Delegate Willson was carried.

Delegate Miller (Owen) stated that the proprietor of the hall wished to

have it vacated at 5 o'clock, and suggested that the convention adjourn at that hour.

Delegate Keegan: I move that we adjourn at 5 o'clock, to reconvene Friday morning at 9 o'clock, and that we have an all day session Friday. (Seconded.)

Later the motion was divided, and the motion to adjourn at 5 o'clock was voted on and carried. The balance of the motion was withdrawn.

Following is the resolution introduced by Delegate Walker (J. H.) during the convention, and referred to the Committee on Resolutions:

Resolution No. 148—By Delegate Walker, of the United Mine Workers of America:

Whereas, The workers of the E-Z Opener Bag Co., White Oak Mills and Bag Factories, of Taylorville, Ill., are involved in a struggle for better wages and conditions, and

Whereas, They are pitted against a corporation with large financial resources, which is a bitter enemy of organized labor, and has done everything in its power to keep their employes from organizing to prevent the injustices imposed on them, and after submitting patiently for years to the mercy of the employer, and the fact being established that the company had no regard for their welfare, as their wages and conditions remained the same in the face of the increased cost of living for the last ten years, and

Whereas, The women and girls have been forced to work ten hours for 75 cents per day, and the men and boys ten to thirteen hours per day, for wages from 75 cents to \$2.00 per day, they demanded a nine-hour workday, with a 25 cent per day advance on all classes of labor, and full recognition of their union, and

Whereas, The company has absolutely refused to grant any of the demands, but has tried to break the strike and ignore their organization by trying to treat with the individual members, using intimidating and disheartening tactics. Their efforts were unsuccessful, and had the reverse effect: It solidified and made them more determined than ever to stay out until their demands are granted in full, and

Whereas, Their strike has been endorsed by the Taylorville Central Trades and Labor Assembly, and at a mass meeting of all the different members of the trades unions, we therefore appeal to the officers and delegates of the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to endorse their strike and render them the necessary assistance to obtain their demands; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, now assembled, do hereby endorse the strike of the Paper Mill Workers of Taylorville, Ill., and stand

ready to do everything in their power to help and assist them in their fight for justice.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Daly: During the absence of the delegates of the Metal Polishers, who are appearing before a committee, a resolution was adopted on which we desired to be heard. The resolution affects our organization. We would like to have the action of the convention reconsidered.

Delegate Ramsey: I move that the action on Resolution No. 7, pertaining to the Jewelry Workers and Metal Polishers, be reconsidered. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Furuseth: I move you that Resolution No. 7, together with all matters thereto, be recommitted to the Committee on Adjustment. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate McNulty: The Building Trades Committee is ready to report. We desire to be heard after the Adjustment Committee. I move that the report of the Building Trades Committee be heard immediately upon the conclusion of the report of the Adjustment Committee.

No objection being offered, it was stated that the report of the Building Trades Committee would be a special order at the close of the report of the Adjustment Committee.

Delegate Landers: A representative from the Central Body of Winnipeg, Canada, has arrived in this city. He had a matter he desired to lay before the Canadian delegates. We held a short session, discussed the matter, and I ask the unanimous consent of the convention to the introduction of a resolution in regard to the efforts of the Russian Government to extradite a refugee now in jail in Winnipeg.

Delegate Furuseth: I want to ask a question. Do they ask this convention to pass a resolution with a view of influencing the Government of Canada?

Delegate Landers: The motion asks that the delegates to this convention endorse the action of Canadian Trades Unionists who are fighting the extradition of this man.

W. H. Hoop, of Winnipeg, Canada, was given the privilege of the floor,

and made an eloquent plea for the endorsement of the resolution to be presented by the Canadian delegates:

Secretary Landers read the following resolution:

Resolution No. 149—By Canadian Delegates:

Whereas, The Russian Government seeks to create a precedent, in its endeavor to extradite one Sarva Fedorenko, a Russian refuger, and member of the first Russian Duma, now lying in jail at Winnipeg, Canada, which can be utilized at any time to seize and secure the extradition of workers who have given the best years of their lives for the freedom of their fellows during the many years the people of Russia have been struggling for political liberty, many of whom have in the past found asylum in the American Continent, and

Whereas, Organized labor in Canada, a goodly portion of the pulpit and press have declared that it would be a blot on the principle of constitutional government, if the said Fedorenko is allowed to be sent back, and

views with abhorrence the tyrannical power of the Czar in seeking to punish and exile to Siberia those who have worked for the cause of humanity, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled at St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 23, 1910, endorse the sentiment and expression of our Canadian Brethren in resisting all efforts of the Russian Government to extradite this member of the first Russian Duma, and one who has worked so faithfully for the cause of freedom; and be it further

Resolved, That W. H. Hoop, from Winnipeg Canada, a representative of organized labor who is assisting the Russian Freedom League be given ten minutes to address the convention on this matter.

Delegate Mahon moved the adoption of the resolution. The motion was seconded, and carried by unanimous vote.

At 5 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 12 o'clock noon, Thursday, November 24th.



## Ninth Day's Proceedings—Thursday, November 24, 1910.

The convention was called to order at 12 o'clock, noon, Thursday, November 24th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees:** DeVeaux, Noschang, Kline, Glover, Dougherty, Frankln, Tobin (J. F.), Kelly (J. P.), Dolan (C. T.), Duffy (Frank), Richardson (P. F.), Humphrey, Gengenback, Barnes, Conway, Feeney, Rickert, Bloch, Nestor, Moffitt, Maher, Cordell, McSorley, Fry, Price, Call, Lewis (T. L.), Perry, Hayes (F. J.), Walker (J. H.), Wilson (W. B.), Valentine, Weber, Winkler, Dold, Foster, Murphy (Patrick), Malley, Nelson, Roth, Berry, Tanquary, Carrigan, McHugh, Mitchell (M.), Evans (Jo), Brals, Teagarden, Hatch, Drake, Mikel, Skaggs, Pfleger, Taylor, DeNedrey, Whalen, Lee, Joyner, Cathon, Maddox, Jennings, Baum, Hudson, Courtenay, Knies, Kiefer, Andrick, Britt, Wentz, Kleyhauer, Nystrom, Wilson (G. F.), Smith (J. U. P.), Silger, Fear, Bramlette, Hippert, Coffey, Smith (O. P.), Zeigler, Hunter, Bell, McDonald, Anderson (A. C.), Cotter, Rizzie, Stafford, Voll, Skelley, Gaede, Neuman, Siebert, Eckert, White (G. T.), Swenson, Carter (C. A.), Bartholomew, Hubbard, Leibowitz, Greenbaum, Miller (Abraham), Lippert, Harris, Hudson, Goldstein, Nihil, Davis, Lorenzen.

Secretary Morrison read a telegram from F. J. Paxton, president Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, stating that he was joined by the governor of Georgia and the mayor of Atlanta in extending an invitation to the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in Atlanta, Georgia.

Similar telegrams were read from Robert F. Maddox, mayor of Atlanta; G. W. Cooper, secretary Atlanta Chamber of Commerce; the Metal Trades Council of Atlanta, the Hon. Hoke Smith, the Savannah Trades and Labor Assembly, the Tennessee Federation of Labor and the Chattanooga Central Labor Union.

Communications from the Central Trades and Labor Council of Rochester, New York, and from Hiram H. Edgerton, mayor of Rochester, contained invitations to hold the convention in that city in 1911.

A telegram from John D. Colpays, president of Washington Central Labor Union, contained an invitation to the

American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in Washington, D. C.

A communication from the secretary of the International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes was read, which contained an invitation to the delegates to accept the hospitality of the headquarters of that organization, Vandeventer avenue and Olive street.

An invitation was read from the Painters' District Council to an entertainment and lunch, given in honor of the members of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, who were delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

New York, November 15, 1910.

B. A. Larger, Planters Hotel, St. Louis: Prison Labor Committee through you, extend greetings to Federation, and desires co-operation in meeting prison labor problem.

LESLIE WILLIS SPRAGUE,  
Secretary.

Cleveland, Ohio, November 21, 1910.

American Federation of Labor, St. Louis, Mo.:

"Congratulations on Thirtieth Convention. Wish you success.

JOINT EXECUTIVE BOARD,  
Ladies' Garment Workers of Cleveland.

San Jose, Cal., November 17, 1910.

Samuel Gompers, President A. F. of L., St. Louis, Mo.:

The Farmers' Educational and Co-Operative Union of California, in second annual convention assembled, send fraternal greetings. May your deliberations result in the advancement of the interests of workers of every calling.

H. W. WRIGHTSON, President.

Secretary Morrison read a communication from Delegate James H. Anderson, in which he stated that he was incorrectly recorded in the tabulated vote on the substitute offered during the Electrical Workers' controversy in the fifth day's proceedings. He stated he

was reported as voting in the affirmative on the motion, but that he voted No, and desired to have it so recorded.

Secretary Morrison: The secretary is of the opinion the delegate was recorded as he voted, but I have no objection to the statement going in the minutes.

#### Report of Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Golden, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 37—By International Typographical Union Delegation:

Whereas, The jurisdictional question on single wrapping has been pending for some time; and

Whereas, The International President of the Brotherhood of Bookbinders' Union has absolutely refused to settle same in a labor court, and

Whereas, The International Brotherhood of Bookbinders have been chartering and maintaining a dual mailers' organization; be it

Resolved, That this convention go on record as declaring single wrapping part of the mailing trade, and under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union.

Secretary Golden: Your committee recommends that this matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, with instructions to determine the question as to who shall have jurisdiction over single wrapping mail matter.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 66 — By Delegate Homer D. Call, of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America:

Whereas, The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, whose charter of affiliation was granted in the year 1897, has jurisdiction over all persons employed in the meat industry, and

Whereas, There is at the present time small dual organizations posing as butcher workmen, to the detriment of the labor movement as a whole, in violation of the recognized and admitted jurisdiction of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, and which is injurious to the welfare and progress of the men engaged in the meat industry, therefore be it

Resolved, By the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the International Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America is the only organization having jurisdiction over the butcher work-

men, and recommend to all men engaged in the trade to affiliate themselves with their fellow-workmen by becoming members of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, and be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor notify all general and special organizers of the Federation to organize the men in the meat trade into the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

The committee recommended that the resolution be adopted and the recommendations contained therein indorsed.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Sullivan (J.): I understand it provides any one having anything to do with cutting and preparing meat must be a member of the butcher workmen. Our members are somewhat interested in this. We want this defined so that it will not arise in the future, and cause trouble. There is hardly an establishment of any size in the country where we have not a meat cutter in the kitchen.

Vice-President O'Connell: I will say in behalf of Brother Call, who is not here, that he made the statement before the committee that the purpose of the resolution was to provide for men who handle meat for sale. Your men prepare the meat for eating.

Delegate Sullivan: When we cut the meat we also get it ready for sale.

Vice-President O'Connell: It could not apply in that sense.

The motion to concur in the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Secretary Golden: Resolution No. 83, and that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Brass Molders," was referred to this committee. The two parties at issue have come to an agreement, and, instead of reading the resolution, I will read the agreement entered into.

The following agreement has been reached between the duly accredited representatives of the Metal Polishers, Brass & Silver Workers' International Union and the International Molders' Union of North America, as an adjustment of the question of jurisdiction over brass molders and coremakers.

1. That brass molders and core-makers will be turned over to the International Molders' Union of North America, and the International Molders' Union of North America will accept without any discrimination all members, except those who as previous members of the International Molders' Union of North America may have embezzled the funds of that organization, or have been duly found guilty of scabbing against the International Molders' Union of North America, in a strike sanctioned by the Executive Board of that organization.

2. That no initiation or reinstatement fee, or any penalty of any character be required of brass molders and coremakers transferred by the Metal Polishers, Brass and Silver Workers' International Union, to the International Molders' Union of North America, with the exception of those who would come under the specifications laid down in the first clause.

3. That the same amount of funeral benefits to which these members are now entitled in the Metal Polishers, Brass & Silver Workers' International Union be granted to such transferred members by the International Molders' Union of North America immediately upon their transfer.

4. That the brass molders and the coremakers shall have the right to regulate their own affairs in their locals, in accordance with the Constitution of the International Molders' Union of North America.

5. That if the brass molders and the coremakers, members of the Metal Polishers, Brass & Silver Workers' International Union, refuse to transfer to the International Molders' Union of North America, on the above specified conditions, that in such case their membership in the Metal Polishers, Brass & Silver Workers' International Union will be canceled by that organization.

6. That the provisions of this agreement providing for free entrance into the International Molders' Union of North America shall be in effect until March 1, 1911, after which no brass molder or coremaker will be entitled to any of the provisions as above set forth.

Signed on behalf of the Metal Polishers, Brass & Silver Workers' International Union:

T. M. DALY, International President.  
JOHN J. FLYNN, Vice-President.  
GEO. LEARY, Vice-President.  
ED. LEBERMAN, Vice-President.  
THOS. RUMSEY, Delegate, A. F. of L.

Signed on behalf of the International Molders' Union of North America:

JOS. F. VALENTINE, President.  
JOHN P. FREY, Editor.  
JOHN O'NEILL,  
WM. SCHWAB.  
JOHN F. DUNACHIE.

Secretary Golden: The committee recommends the ratification of the agreement entered into by the two organizations.

Delegate Daly: I move that the recommendation of the committee be adopted. (Seconded and carried.)

Resolution No. 119—By Delegates E. Frank Moorhouse, Samuel Kelly, Daniel J. Evans, J. Tazelaar, J. C. Skemp, of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

Whereas, The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America has jurisdiction over all men employed in the painting industry, including those engaged in painting, lettering and decorating cars, locomotives and other railroad equipment, stations and other buildings; and

Whereas, The Pittsburg Convention of the American Federation of Labor instructed the International Association of Car Workers to cease to admit painters and decorators to membership, and to transfer to the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, all members of said International Association of Car Workers engaged in any branch of the painting industry; and,

Whereas, A charter has been granted by the American Federation of Labor to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, an organization similar in structure, methods and objects to the International Association of Car Workers, both having jurisdiction over men employed in the building, repairing and inspection of railroad cars; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention hereby instructs the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen to cease admitting to membership men engaged in the different branches of the painting business, and further instructs said organization to transfer within a reasonable time all of its members so engaged to the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, they to be accepted by that organization without being required to pay any initiation fee.

Secretary Golden: No conference having been held by the representatives of the two organizations named in the resolution, your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor arrange for such a conference within the next ninety days; that he, or some representative he may appoint, shall preside over the conference, in an effort to bring about a satisfactory adjustment of the claims of the two organizations.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed at some length by Delegate Skemp, who offered the following amendment to the report of the committee: That the conference be for the purpose of providing for the future enforcement of the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Painters, and to determine the status of painters now members of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. (Seconded.)

The question was further discussed by Vice-President O'Connell, Delegate Gallagher, Delegate Vurpla, Delegate Flannery, Delegate Ryan (M. F.), Delegate Tazelaar, Delegate Adams and Delegate Skemp.

The amendment offered by Delegate Skemp was lost.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

**Resolution No. 136—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, William Neer, Anton J. Hermann, Lawrence A. Grace of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters:**

Whereas, The International Brotherhood of Teamsters find, in many sections of the country, that the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union have in their membership men who distinctly drive wagons; and,

Whereas, We believe they are entirely outside the bakery shop, and not bakers; and,

Whereas, Our charter grants us jurisdiction over all classes of drivers on all kinds of wagons; and,

Whereas, We have at the present time several local unions of bakery wagon drivers organized and chartered under our jurisdiction; be it

Resolved, That this convention instruct the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union of America to turn over to the International Organization of Teamsters, all drivers who are now members of their organization.

**Secretary Golden:** No conference having been held between the representatives of the Brotherhood of Teamsters and the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union relative to this matter, your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor arrange such a conference at the earliest possible date, with the object of bringing about a satisfactory agreement between the two organizations.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Later the committee recommended that the conference be called by the President of the American Federation of Labor.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 137—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, William Neer, Anton J. Hermann, Lawrence A. Grace, of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters:**

Whereas, The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, by a unanimous vote of their Convention, decided to change their name from International Brotherhood of Teamsters to International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers; and

Whereas, At the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Toronto, Resolution No. 155, making this same request of the Federation, was referred to the Adjustment Committee, who, in turn, referred same to the Executive Council; and

Whereas, The Executive Council have not given any decision on this matter, and as we believe we are entitled to immediate action, inasmuch as a large percentage of our membership are now engaged in operating automobiles in every branch of our trade, from passenger service to freight and building material service; and

Whereas, We have already chartered from our international over thirty local unions of chauffeurs and several locals of stablemen; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention grant us the desired request of changing our title and giving us the jurisdiction requested herein.

**Secretary Golden:** Your committee recommends that the change in the title requested by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters be endorsed by this convention with the understanding that it does not give any rights to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters to infringe on the jurisdiction claims of any other affiliated organization.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

**Delegate Ward:** The representatives of the International Union of Brewery Workers of America wish to serve notice that if the intended extension of jurisdiction as provided for in Resolution 137 carries with it any infringement or encroachment upon the jurisdiction now enjoyed by the International Union of United Brewery Workers of America over chauffeurs, stablemen and helpers employed in the brew-

ing industry, then and in that event only, will we protest against such extension of jurisdiction. Resolution No. 137 is identical with Resolution No. 155 introduced at the Toronto convention of the American Federation of Labor by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and this notice is of like nature to that served by the representatives of the brewery workers at that time.

I present the following protest:

St. Louis, Mo., November 18, 1910.

To the Adjustment Committee of the American Federation of Labor. Mr. James O'Connell, Chairman:

According to the fourth day's proceedings of the convention Resolution No. 137 introduced by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters asks for extension of jurisdiction over chauffeurs and stablemen and helpers, and a corresponding change of title. We, the undersigned representatives of the International Union of the United Brewery Workmen of America wish to serve notice that if the intended extension of jurisdiction as provided for in Resolution 137 carries with it any infringement or encroachment upon the jurisdiction now enjoyed by the International Union of United Brewery Workmen of America over chauffeurs, stablemen and helpers employed in the brewing industry, then, and in that event only, will we protest against such extension of jurisdiction. Resolution No. 137 is identical with Resolution No. 155, introduced at the Toronto Convention of the American Federation of Labor by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and this notice is of like nature as that served by the representatives of the Brewery Workers at that time.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed)

ED. F. WARD,  
JOHN SULLIVAN,  
A. J. KUGLER,  
JOSEPH PROEBSTLE,  
LOUIS KEMPER.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.): I had some hope of keeping off the floor of the convention the old fight between the brewery workers and the teamsters. In line with that hope I want to say that I am perfectly satisfied with the recommendation of the committee. We must have something in our charter to cover chauffeurs and stablemen. Every man in this convention understands that the horse is becoming almost a thing of the past, and that almost the entire teaming business is being done by automobiles. We have locals of stablemen. The stablemen are very close to

the teamsters. Whenever a teamster is sick or away from his work a stableman is put in his place. We have 2,000 chauffeurs on strike in New York. We have had a strike of chauffeurs in Chicago for several months. We are organizing them everywhere. We are willing to leave the jurisdiction as it now stands in order to avoid the unpleasant arguments that have taken place on this floor between ourselves and the brewery workers for years. We understand the jurisdiction, we believe the jurisdiction is that rendered by the Minneapolis convention. We decided last year to cease hostilities for one year on the recommendation of the Adjustment Committee. We are willing that that condition shall continue. We see no reason for a protest. We object to the brewery workers trying to prevent us from getting the change in our title, which we are entitled to.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Secretary Golden: On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Sheet Metal Workers—Stove Mounters," your committee, after hearing both parties, have decided to recommend that the title of the Stove Mounters' International Union be changed to "Stove Mounters, Malleable and Cast Iron Workers' International Union."

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted. (Carried.)

Delegate Frey: I move that this convention request both organizations to appoint a committee of two on each side to meet previous to February 1st for the purpose of determining some points of jurisdiction. (Seconded and carried.)

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "United Brotherhood of Carpenters—Amalgamated Wood Workers," the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends the adoption of the recommendation of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, namely: "That unless the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union comply with the decision of the Toronto Convention of the American Federation of Labor,

and become amalgamated with the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, on or before April 1, 1911, the action and decision of the Toronto Convention shall become effective on that date."

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed at length by Delegate Mulcahy, who spoke in opposition to the recommendation of the committee. Delegate Macfarlane spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee. Delegate Pratt opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Pratt: I move as an amendment that the same course be taken in regard to the Amalgamated Wood Workers and Carpenters as was taken in regard to the Elevator Constructors and Machinists, that is, that it be referred to the Executive Council and a further effort made to bring about an honorable amalgamation. (Seconded.)

The question was further discussed by Delegate O'Sullivan, Delegate Huber, Delegate Klapetzky, Delegate Kelly, Delegate Furuseth and Delegate Mulcahy.

The motion to refer to the Executive Council was carried.

**Resolution No. 138—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, William Neer, Anton J. Hermann, Lawrence A. Grace of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters:**

Whereas, The charter of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters gives them the sole right and jurisdiction to have in their organization all men driving wagons of all classes; and,

Whereas, There exists in the City of New York, Federal Union No. 9463, titled, Newspaper and Mail Deliverers; and,

Whereas, This Federal Union has in its membership from three to five hundred newspaper wagon drivers; be it

Resolved, By this convention, that the Executive Council stand instructed to notify this Federal Union No. 9463, and any other Federal Union, in any part of the country, that they be compelled, and are ordered, to turn all drivers over to the International Organization of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers.

Secretary Golden: No conference having been held between the two organizations named in the resolution, your committee recommends that such a conference be held,

with a view to arriving at a satisfactory agreement, and that the conference be called by the President of the A. F. of L.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.): I rise, not to object to the report of the committee, but this is not a jurisdiction between ourselves and any other international union, but between ourselves and the American Federation of Labor. The printers are most nearly connected with this question. I request that President Lynch of the International Typographical Union be present.

Vice-President O'Connell: The committee will accept that—that all interested parties be notified.

The question was discussed at length by Delegate Dunne, Vice-President Duncan, Vice-President O'Connell, Delegate Probst, Delegate Tobin and Delegate Grace.

Delegate Kugler: On behalf of the International Union of the United Brewery Workmen I object to the language contained in both Resolutions Nos. 136 and 138.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Dunne desired to be recorded as voting in opposition to the report of the committee.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Pavers and Rammers—Blue Stone Cutters—Granite Cutters," the committee reported as follows:

Secretary Golden: In lieu of this portion of the report of the Executive Committee, we recommend the ratification of the agreement entered into in New York City November 11, 1910, which is as follows:

#### **Agreement.**

New York, November 11, 1910.

Meeting of joint committees representing the Granite Cutters' Local Branch and the Amalgamated Blue Stone Cutters, Flaggers, Bridge and Curb Stone Setters, and General Organizer Hugh Frayne, acting as mediator, as per resolution adopted by the Building Trades Council on the report of the grievance committee in connection with the grievance of the Granite Cutters against the Blue Stone Cutters.

Those present at the meeting were as follows:

From the Granite Cutters—Wm. J. O'Brien, Jas. Sweeney, Lawrence Foley, W. Webster and S. Squibb.

From the Amalgamated Blue Stone Cutters—Edward Broderick, Daniel Murphy and James Urell.

General Organizer Hugh Frayne acting as chairman. Samuel Squibb, Secretary.

A general discussion of the grievances existing between both organizations was entered into in which all those present expressed their views. Two documents were read by Mr. Broderick, relative to the Amalgamated Blue Stone Cutters getting a national charter from the American Federation of Labor. The other in reference to the protest against granting an extension of charter rights by the American Federation of Labor to the Pavers and Rammermen which conflicted with the jurisdiction of the Amalgamated Blue Stone Cutters. Jurisdictions claimed by both organizations were freely discussed, after which both sides were made thoroughly acquainted with the general proposition. General Organizer Frayne then suggested the following:

We, the joint committee representing Local Branch of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America, and the Amalgamated Blue Stone Cutters, Flaggers, Bridge and Curb Stone Setters of America agree to recommend to our respective unions the following:

That the Amalgamated Blue Stone Cutters, Flaggers, Bridge and Curb Stone Setters of America, make application for a charter to the International Association of Granite Cutters of America, and that the same be granted under the following conditions:

That they be given full authority and jurisdiction over all the work which they now control, all contracts and agreements with employers governing their working condition, hours of labor and wages to remain in effect.

Motion by Brother Broderick of the Blue Stone Cutters and seconded by Brother Sweeney of the Granite Cutters that the recommendation of the joint committee be adopted and that same be recommended to our respective

unions for their endorsement and ratification.

Motion unanimously carried.

A motion then was made that all hostilities cease between the Granite Cutters and the Amalgamated Blue Stone Cutters and that both unions work in harmony pending the granting of the charter to the Amalgamated Blue Stone Cutters, Flaggers, Bridge and Curb Stone Setters of America.

Motion unanimously carried.

(Signed) for Granite Cutters.

WM. J. O'BRIEN,  
JAS. J. SWEENEY,  
LAWRENCE FOLEY,  
WM. C. WEBSTER,  
SAMUEL SQUIBB,

Secretary of Committee.

(Signed) for Blue Stone Cutters.

EDWARD BRODERICK,  
DANIEL F. MURPHY,  
JAS. H. URELL,

Hugh Frayne, General Organizer of the American Federation of Labor, representing the Building Trades Department.

Secretary Golden: Your committee recommends the ratification of the agreement.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed by Delegate Hannah, Vice-President O'Connell and Vice-President Duncan.

Delegate Hannah: I move as an amendment to the report of the committee that the agreement entered into or the negotiations, by the representatives of the two organizations and Organizer Frayne be construed to mean that the Blue Stone Cutters will make application to the Granite Cutters for a charter as Blue Stone Cutters only.

In discussing the question Vice-President Duncan stated that the convention could ratify the agreement or refuse to ratify it, but could not change or amend it in any way.

The question was further discussed by Delegate Cullinan, Delegate Abrahams, Delegate Woll, Delegate Klappetzky.

President Gompers: The motion offered by Delegate Hannah is out of order. It is an effort to construe an arbi-

tration award, an agreement not subject to definition, construction or modification in any degree.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was declared carried on a viva voce vote. A division was called for. The motion was declared carried by a vote of 125 in the affirmative to 11 in the negative.

Secretary Golden: That portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Jewelry Workers' Jurisdiction," and Resolution No. 7, were reported on yesterday by the committee. The matter was referred back to the committee in order to give a hearing to both sides, and to Organizer Frayne, who assisted in drawing up the agreement.

Resolution No. 7—By International Jewelry Workers' Union of America:

Whereas, The annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Toronto, Ontario, Canada, November 8 to 20, 1909, referred Resolution No. 20, presented by the International Jewelry Workers' Union of America to President Samuel Gompers for investigation and a final settlement; and

Whereas, A conference was called at New York City on June 23, 1910, by Organizer Hugh Frayne, representing the American Federation of Labor, and all interested organizations were notified and attended conference; and

Whereas, Decision rendered through conference and indorsed by the American Federation of Labor Executive Board, granting jurisdiction to the International Jewelry Workers' Union of America over all metal parts of badges, buttons, medallions and novelties, not in conflict with Sheet Metal Workers' Union; and

Whereas, The Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers' Union refuse to withdraw their label from factories employing one to three of their members, while six to one hundred or more were eligible to membership in the International Jewelry Workers' Union of America, thereby hindering the organization of these factories; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers' Union be and is hereby ordered to immediately withdraw their label from factories manufacturing badges buttons, medallions and novelties; and be it further

Resolved, That this Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at St. Louis, Mo., 1910, do hereby indorse the decision of the General Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor granting jurisdiction to the International Jewelry Workers' Union of America over all metal parts of badges, buttons, medallions and novelties made in all metals other than tin and sheet iron.

Your committee desires to submit its former report without change. The report is as follows:

Your committee recommend the endorsement of the report of the Executive Council in their approval of the agreement arrived at in the conference in New York City, on June 23, 1910, between representatives of the following unions: Jewelry Workers' International Union, the International Brotherhood of Tip Printers, International Typographical Union, United Textile Workers of America, Badge Makers' Local Union 12,249, New York City; Badge Makers' Local Union 11,555, Jersey City, and Organizer Hugh Frayne, representing the American Federation of Labor. The representatives of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance were invited to be present, but failed to attend. Your committee nonconcurs in the resolution submitted by the Jewelry Workers' International Union requesting the Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers' International Union to withdraw their label from those shops where it is in force.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed by Delegate Daly, Delegate O'Sullivan, Vice-President O'Connell and Delegate Golden (J.).

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Newspaper Solicitors' Union — San Francisco Call," the Committee on Adjustment reported as follows:

The decision rendered by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is as follows:

Toronto Canada, November 21, 1909.  
Andrew J. Gallagher, Secretary Labor Council, 318 Sixteenth street, San Francisco, Cal:

Your telegram as well as letters and other telegrams received relating to dispute between the Newspaper Solicitors' and Newspaper Carriers' Union and the San Francisco Call. The Executive Council decided that declaring a firm unfair in effect is similar to the declaration of a strike, therefore, no firm or its product should be declared unfair by a local trade union directly



affiliated to the American Federation of Labor until application has been made and approved by the Executive Council. The substance of this telegram was also telegraphed to the secretaries of the two unions interested.

(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS.

Your committee recommend that this convention endorse the decision rendered by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES O'CONNELL,  
HUGH STEVENSON,  
DAVID A. CAREY,  
JAMES P. MAHER,  
JOHN GOLDEN,  
WM. E. KLAPETSKY,  
MATTHEW WOLL,  
T. J. SULLIVAN,  
A. B. HIGGINS,  
THOS. J. DUFFY,  
C. O. PRATT,  
L. A. TANQUARY,  
JOS. A. FRANKLIN,  
C. W. WOODMAN,  
EMMETT L. ADAMS.

The question was discussed by Delegate Gallagher (A.), Delegate Woll, Delegate Lynch (J. M.), Delegate Jer-

ling, President Gompers, Treasurer Lennon and Delegate Furuseth.

Delegate Furuseth: I want to ask a question with reference to this: I do not for, one solitary minute, dispute the soundness of the rule that Federal local unions shall consult the Executive Council before levying a boycott, but the statement contained in their reasons for it, that a boycott has the same effect as a strike, I absolutely deny. For the purpose of this record, let me ask a question: You do not, then, intend that by the statement of the Executive Council a boycott would carry with it the right to call out union men who might be working for the boycotted firm?

President Gompers: Your statement is exactly correct. We had no such idea.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried.

At 6:30 p. m. the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 12 o'clock, noon, Friday, November 25th.

## Tenth Day's Proceedings, Friday, November 25, 1910.

The convention was called to order at 12 o'clock noon, Friday, November 25th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—DeVeaux, Glover, Klapetzky, Dougherty, Dolan (C. T.), Duffy (F.), Flynn (Thos.), Richardson, Humphrey, Barnes, Fay, Bechtold, Rickert, Moffitt, Maher, McArdle, Coakley, Call, Hannah, Doid, Smyth, Murphy, Nelson, Carrigan, McHugh, Mitchell (M.), Evans (Jo.), Teagarden, Drake, Mikel, Pfeiffer, DeNedrey, Lee, Joyner, Cathon, Maddox, Jennings, Hudson (Fred.), Courtenay, Klefer, Andrick, Britt, Wentz, Kleyhauer, Nystrom, Wilson (G. F.), Smith (J. U. F.), Fear, Bramlette, Hippert, Smith (O. F.), Howley, Abrahams, Zeigler, Bell (J.), McGearry, Leonard, Wood, Anderson (A. C.), Cotter, Rizzle, James, Stafford, Goodwin, Skelley, Gaede, Siebert, White (G. T.), Swenson, Carter, Bartholomew, Hubbard, Tveltmoe, Leibowitz, Greenbaum, Miller (A), Lippert, Harris (M. L.), Hudson (Mabel), Goldstein, Nihil, Davis.

**President Gompers:** The special order of business is the report of the Building Trades Committee, but as that committee is not here the Committee on Resolutions will continue its report.

### Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

As Resolutions No. 128 and No. 141 contain the same subject matter, the committee reports on them together.

**Resolution No. 128**—By Delegate Wm. O'Brien, of the Silver Bow Trades Council:

I, Wm. O'Brien, delegate from Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council, Silver Bow County, Montana, representing forty local unions or more, wish to enter a protest against the granting of a charter to the Western Federation of Miners, by the A. F. of L., under the conditions recommended by the Executive Council. My reasons for doing so are that it would work a hardship on, and be a detriment to every international mechanic working in and around mines, mills or smelters where quartz mining is carried on. In Silver Bow County alone the following unions would be affected:

Carpenters, with a membership of 350; 200 would be affected. Bridge and

Structural Iron Workers, membership 120; affected 100. Blacksmiths and Helpers, 274; 250 affected. Electricians, 100; 40 affected. Machinists, 375; 360 affected. Boilermakers, 60; 50 affected. Painters, 150; 30 affected. Total, 1,500; 1,030 affected.

The results would be similar in Great Falls or Anaconda, where the large smelting operations are carried on.

**Resolution No. 141**—By Delegates T. L. Lewis, J. H. Walker, Frank J. Hayes, John Mitchell, E. S. McCollough, Edwin Perry, W. B. Wilson of the United Mine Workers of America:

Whereas, The Western Federation of Miners have applied for a charter of affiliation to the American Federation of Labor, with similar jurisdiction to be accorded to them that is now accorded to the United Mine Workers of America.

Whereas, We believe that the Western Federation of Miners should be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and accorded the same rights and privileges as the United Mine Workers of America in their jurisdiction of men working in and around the mines, to be organized under the Western Federation of Miners.

Resolved, That it is the sense of the delegates representing the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Western Federation of Miners should be granted a charter of affiliation, with jurisdiction of employees working in and around the mines metalliferous under their present organization, and that the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to issue to the Western Federation of Miners a charter of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor on that basis. On behalf of United Mine Workers of America.

**Secretary Frey:** In addition to these two resolutions there is the subject matter contained in the report of the Executive Council referred to your committee.

Your committee has given careful consideration to Resolutions No. 128 and No. 141 and has heard parties for and against the issuance of the charter. We also fully considered the subject as

set forth on pages 4 to 10 of the Executive Council's report, second day's proceedings, wherein we find that at a conference held at Indianapolis, Ind., August 18, 1910, it was mutually agreed as follows:

1. That wherever locals of machinists under the International Association of Machinists now exist, their status shall not in any way be disturbed by claim to jurisdiction by the Western Federation of Miners.

2. That the officers of the organizations in this conference represented agree to aid to the fullest in furthering the mutual interests of all workers in and around the mines.

JAMES O'CONNELL,  
T. L. LEWIS,  
JOHN MITCHELL,  
CHARLES H. MOYER,  
W. W. WHITE,  
WILLIAM D. HUBER,  
SAMUEL GOMPERS.

It appears that a misunderstanding arose as to the meaning or interpretation of the language of Clause 1, resulting in correspondence which did not seem to settle the point at issue. This correspondence has a specific reference as to whether or not Paragraph 1 of the conference report applied to local unions of the I. A. of M. other than those that are situated in the mining camps.

President Moyer held that a local of the I. A. of M. for instance, in Salt Lake City, should not claim jurisdiction over machinists in the different mining camps of that State, but instead that Paragraph 1 "only applies to the local unions of machinists now existing in mining and smelting plants."

On the other hand President O'Connell of the I. A. of M. contended that the paragraph "means that where a lodge exists of the I. A. of M. and has members working in mines and smelters their status shall not be disturbed."

On the interpretation of the paragraph in question we find that the Executive Council after reviewing the correspondence between Presidents Moyer and O'Connell, decided and reported to this Convention as follows:

"We have had the correspondence and the Indianapolis agreement transmitted to us for consideration but have had no meeting for the discussion of the subject until our coming to this city. At this meeting we entered fully into the subject and our interpretation of the point of dispute is:

That the agreement reached at Indianapolis does not require any member of the International Association of Machinists working within the jurisdiction of a local thereof to become a member of the Western Federation of Miners."

The Executive Council has authorized the issuance of the charter to the Western Federation of Miners upon the agreement reached at Indianapolis, and this interpretation thereof.

Your committee examined the fundamental law of the American Federation of Labor on the subject of the application for this charter and found it in clause 1 of the report of the so-called Autonomy Committee, page 240 of the proceedings of the Scranton, Pa. Convention, as follows:

"As the magnificent growth of the American Federation of Labor is conceded by all students of economic thought to be the result of organization on trade lines, and believing it neither necessary nor expedient to make any radical departure from this fundamental principle, we declare that, as a general proposition, the interest of the workers will be best conserved by adhering as closely to that doctrine as the recent great changes in methods of production and employment make practicable. However, owing to the isolation of some few industries from thickly populated centers where the overwhelming number follow one branch thereof, and owing to the fact that in some industries comparatively few workers are engaged over whom separate organizations claim jurisdiction, we believe that jurisdiction in such industries by the paramount organization would yield the best results to the workers therein, at least until the development of organization of each branch has reached a stage wherein these may be placed, without material injury to all parties in interest, in affiliation with their national trade unions."

Your Committee submits that the application in question properly comes under the provisions of the above quoted clause 1, which specifically refers to the isolation of industries from thickly populated centers, etc., and therefore in a general way are in the same relative position to the American Federation of Labor as are the United Mine Workers of America and as nearly as the circumstances will permit, are entitled to similar recognition.

That there is some difference between the relationship of the United Mine Workers of America and the Western Federation of Miners is apparent, in that metal mining smelters and reduction plants have no similar counterpart in coal mining. This appears to have been in mind when the August 18, 1910, conference was held in In-

dianapolis, Indiana, and when a qualification to the application for this charter was recognized and signed by representatives of the metal miners, of the coal miners, of the machinists, and by President Samuel Gompers of the A. F. of L. Under these circumstances your Committee recommends that the decision of the Executive Council on this subject be endorsed with the addition of a few words to the second clause of its report, so that the clause will read as follows:

"That the agreement reached at Indianapolis does not require any member of the International Association of Machinists working within the jurisdiction of a local union thereof to become a member of the Western Federation of Miners. Said jurisdiction herein referred to to mean the city or mining camp where said local is situated."

That a charter be issued to the Western Federation of Miners with the qualification agreed to at the Indianapolis Conference as defined by the Executive Council in its report to this convention and our addition thereto.

Secretary Frey: I move the adoption of the report of the committee. (Seconded.)

Vice-President Mitchell: I move that the consideration of the committee's report be deferred until 3 o'clock and that it be made a special order of business at that time. (Seconded and carried.)

Secretary Frey, for the Committee on Resolutions, continued the report, as follows:

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate Albert Abrahams, for the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity:

Whereas, The American Federation of Labor, as set forth in the preamble of its constitution, has recognized that a struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the tolling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit, and it, therefore, behooves the representatives of the trade and labor unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

Whereas, The decisions of the United States Supreme Court and of the State courts in labor and injunction cases, based upon the United States Constitution, have conclusively shown that the Constitution of the United States is a wall for the protection of the capitalist interests as against the interests of the tolling millions.

Whereas, Article V of the Constitution of the United States provides that amendments to the Constitution may be made,

Whereas, The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated State Federations have devoted their energies to the enactment of national, State and territorial labor legislation, and to the embodying of provisions for the protection of labor in several State constitutions, and

Whereas, Logically and inevitably the next great step in the struggle of the oppressed to secure the recognition of rights to which the tolling millions of our country are justly entitled, is the demand and propaganda for a labor amendment to the United States Constitution, ordaining that "neither wage slavery nor voluntary servitude shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction," and embodying all legislative demands of the American Federation of Labor, which shall bring about the industrial emancipation of all toilers, therefore, be it

Resolved, By the American Federation of Labor in the Thirtieth Annual Convention assembled, that the time has arrived to crown the thirty years' work for labor legislation in our generation, as achieved by the American Federation of Labor, with the demand and propaganda for a labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States, to secure the industrial emancipation of all toilers.

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and hereby is instructed to frame a labor amendment to the United States Constitution and to inaugurate and encourage a movement leading to its adoption by the people of our country; and

Resolved, That for the purpose of defraying the expenditures to be incurred by the Executive Council in carrying out these instructions a one cent assessment be contributed by the membership of the American Federation of Labor to what shall be known as the Labor Amendment Fund.

The committee recommended nonconcurrency in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 120 be amended by changing the word "equitable" to "equity," and inserting "requested" instead of "instructed" in the last Resolve.

Resolution No. 120—By Delegates Matthew Woll, International Photo-Engravers' Union; Andrew J. Gallagher, San Francisco Labor Council:

Whereas, The American Federation of Labor has commendably interested itself in the righting of a wrong perpetrated upon the right of organized labor to advance the social and economic interest and welfare of its members through the unwarrantable exercise of the equity power of the federal judiciary, intensified by and through the operation and judicial interpretation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, by approving and seeking the enactment into law of a bill introduced by Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania, intended to regulate the issuance of restraining orders and injunctions and procedure thereon, and to limit the meaning of "conspiracy" in certain cases; and

Whereas, A similar violation of the right of organized labor to better the conditions of its members, right the wrongs and amend the grievances realized by them under the present industrial arrangement, is experienced and intensified by a similar unwarranted exercise of the equity power of the State judiciary; and

Whereas, A united agitation and concentration of effort and energy by all organized labor for the enactment of legislation in all States of the Union, similar to that contemplated in the said Wilson Bill, will arouse an increasing public interest, attract greater sympathy and support for organized labor in the amending of the deplorable conditions now existing, and serve to limit the equity powers of both State and Federal Courts in the issuance of injunctions; and

Whereas, The American Federation of Labor is well fitted, by reason of its Central and Federated Bodies, its affiliated International and Local Unions to undertake and intelligently direct this agitation and concentration of effort and energy; be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor include in its legislative policy the enactment of laws in all States of the Union, similar in purport to the said Wilson Bill, and to this end instruct its president and Executive Council to prepare or cause to be prepared, bills of a similar character to be introduced into the several State Legislatures through and by the means of the Central and Federated Bodies to the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

Resolved, That every affiliated Central and Federated Labor Body, each and every International and Local Union is hereby requested to exert every effort possible, and use whatever influence is in their power to secure the enactment of laws herein contemplated, this agitation, effort and energy to be under the direct supervision of the officers of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 131—By Delegate James Murray, Texas State Federation of Labor:

Be it Resolved, That it is the sense of this convention that the best interest of this federation can be best served by this convention by instructing the president and secretary to supply copies of the different laws now in existence and in force, relative to the employers' liability and workmen's compensation act, as well as copies of such bills as may be proposed dealing with this subject, to the various secretaries of the State Federations of Labor where such laws do not exist, and where it is intended to try to have such laws enacted, to the end that the best information may be at their command for their guidance in the presentation of bills before such legislative bodies as may have to deal with this subject.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Secretary Frey: The committee has two resolutions bearing somewhat on the same subject, and will be read together.

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate Ben Commons of International Street Railway Employees:

Whereas, The officials and engineers in charge of the construction of the Panama Canal have announced that it will be completed and open for commerce in 1915, and

Whereas, Practically the unanimous sentiment of the President of the United States and other officials, the members of Congress and the American people generally is that no celebration of the canal can produce such immediate and beneficial results as the holding of an exposition where the people of the world will be brought closer together through this union of the Atlantic and Pacific. The East and West will meet and confer with each other and exhibit the resources and products of their several countries; be it

Resolved, That we see in New Orleans the logical point for such exposition, by reason of its proximity to the canal and because it is the gateway for a large part of the import and export commerce of these United States with the countries south of us and with the world, easily reached from all points in this Continent, North, Central and South America, and in all respects

sulted to hold a great world's exposition, and we therefore indorse New Orleans as the best point at which to hold the world's Panama exposition in honor of the completion of the canal.

**Resolution No. 122—By Delegate Andrew J. Gallagher, of San Francisco Labor Council;** also introduced by the following delegates from California: Thomas Bone, Stockton; L. W. Butler, Los Angeles; Cyrus F. Grow, Los Angeles; P. W. Buckley, Oakland; O. A. Treitmoie, San Francisco; Frank A. Monaghan, San Francisco, Cal.; Andrew Furuseth, San Francisco, Cal.; Geo. W. Bell, Gas Workers No. 9840; Fred J. Grahame, San Francisco, Cal.:

Whereas, The citizens of San Francisco and the people of California have guaranteed by voluntary subscriptions and public appropriation, sufficient funds to make a world's fair, in commemoration of the completion of the Panama Canal, a success; and

Whereas, San Francisco has been approved and endorsed by a large number of commercial bodies, fraternal organizations and the chief executives of many States as the most fitting and proper place for such an exposition; therefore, be it

**Resolved,** By the American Federation of Labor that the City of San Francisco is hereby endorsed as the logical place for a world's fair, to be held in the year 1915, for the purpose of properly celebrating and commemorating one of the great achievements in human history—the completion of the Panama Canal; and be it further

**Resolved,** That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and is hereby authorized and directed to use all honorable means with the members of the House of Representatives and the United States Senate in order that they may, by the powers vested in them, officially select San Francisco as the place for a world's fair or exposition, to be held in the year 1915, in commemoration of the completion of the Panama Canal.

**Secretary Frey:** Your committee is of the opinion it would be unwise for this convention to participate in a contest between two great cities for the honor of holding the Panama exposition. We could only consider the question from the trades union standpoint and the effect which the exposition would have on the advancement and betterment of the labor movement. We do not believe it advisable to take part in the effort being made by large financial interests to secure the exposition for the prime object of the financial returns to be secured. We therefore recommend that

no action be taken by this convention as between the cities aspiring for the holding of this exposition.

**Resolution No. 135—By the Delegation of the Seamen's International Union:**

Whereas, We believe it to be of interest to the licensed officers on merchant vessels and to licensed marine engineers, as well as to the labor movement, that they, through their organization, should be affiliated to the labor movement, in the American Federation of Labor; therefore,

**Resolved,** That these two organizations be invited to join the American Federation of Labor, and that the president be instructed to so inform them.

**Secretary Frey:** Your committee recommends that the two organizations referred to in the resolution shall be invited to become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and that the question of the issuing of separate charters or their affiliation through amalgamation with organizations already chartered by the American Federation of Labor be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 139 be amended by inserting the words "continue more vigorously than ever the" in the resolution.

**Resolution No. 139—By Delegate B. A. Larger:**

Whereas, In nearly every State penal institution and reformatory the labor of the inmates is contracted for by unscrupulous manufacturers, who place the product of said convict labor in competition with that of free labor; and

Whereas, Such competition is unfair and unjust inasmuch as the product of convict contract labor is sold below the regular market price of the product of free labor, thereby throwing many wage earners out of employment; therefore, be it

**Resolved,** That the various State branches and central bodies be advised to continue more vigorously than ever the campaign of publicity to arouse the trade unionists and the general public to the end that convicts be employed at such labor that will not place their product in competition with that of free labor.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 140—By Delegates from the United Garment Workers of America:**

Whereas, Forty-five thousand unorganized workers in the clothing industry are out on

strike in the City of Chicago during the past eight weeks we, the delegates representing the United Garment Workers of America, who have been and are continuing to assist these people, feel it incumbent upon us to place the facts of this strike and matters pertaining to it before the delegates attending the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at St. Louis, Mo., November, 1910.

These workers were in the employ of the wholesale clothing firms of Hart, Schaffner & Marx, B. Kuppenheimer and about one hundred other ready-made and made-to-measure houses. The strike began in one of the pant shops of the firm of Hart, Schaffner & Marx as the result of a reduction of wages, said reduction was but one of previous reductions.

When the workers refused to submit to such cut in wages, and went out on strike, all of the other shops of the firm of Hart, Schaffner & Marx followed, and soon most of the workers in the entire clothing industry of Chicago left their shops, claiming that there were other matters that needed remedying that were of greater importance than wages. The complaints made were investigated by an impartial tribunal of citizens and publicists known as the Citizens' Committee, who has issued a public statement as to the correctness of these complaints. Some of the more flagrant are as follows:

1. Discrimination against and dismissals for belonging to a trade union.

2. Having to secure a pass from a foreman to get a drink of water, or go to the lavatory.

3. An unfair system of fines and charges for the use of soap in the wash rooms, needles, bobbins, etc.; a charge of 25 cents for oil cans which can be secured at wholesale for 5 cents; a charge of 60 cents for the loss of a silk spool, full or empty. When a spot is found on a garment the one in whose hands the garment is found is subject to a fine of a small or large amount to the extent of the compulsory purchase of the garment at retail prices. This, in spite of the fact that the garment in the course of section work may have passed through a dozen different hands.

4. In the cutting rooms "suit lengths," instead of bolts of cloth are furnished the cutters, out of which a full size suit is expected; the amount of goods furnished is in many instances, insufficient to get the suit out properly, and should the stripes not match with perfectness, or the cutter be short the smallest or shortest piece of goods, and have to apply to the foreman for the same, he is fined or charged for the same.

5. The clothing manufacturers of Chicago have what is known as the Clothiers'

Board of Trade or Association, and in order to secure employment in one of these houses an employee must first secure a pass or permission to work from said association, and must submit to a minute cross-examination of pedigree and pledge not to join a union.

6. Latterly, the entire system has been changed from week to piece work, and the prices paid are so low that the greatest speed is necessary to earn enough to keep body and soul together. The same class and amount of work is now required at piece work that was required formerly at week work, while the average week's earnings is greatly reduced. Again, all piece work employees are compelled to remain in the shop the full time, whether there is work for them to do or not.

7. Time clocks are subjects of grievance inasmuch as workers through a little oversight are deprived of wages actually earned. All workers are compelled to register both on entering or leaving employment, but should a worker neglect to register on leaving employment, in spite of the fact that his work slips, and foreman of his department can prove he had done his work, yet he is deprived of his wages.

These are but some of the grievances and tyrannies these people out on strike were subject to, and from which they seek redress.

An offer has been made for a partial remedy and adjustment of the controversy, and the ending of the strike; but those involved are standing out for a strictly union shop, and the reinstatement of all who went out. They are still standing firm, and are determined to win.

The United Garment Workers of America has had its entire force of organizers in the City of Chicago to organize, advise and assist the strikers to bring the strike to a successful issue.

Our organized members in Chicago are assisting the strike financially, by a weekly membership assessment. We have also sent out an appeal for financial aid to all of our affiliated unions in the United States and Canada, and we desire such moral or financial aid as lies in the power of the trade union movement in America, and to this end be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, endorse an appeal for funds which will be sent to all local unions for aid to win this strike, and that all delegates present give said appeal their hearty support when such reaches the union or central body with which they are affiliated.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed at some length, by Delegate Wheeler and Delegate Landers.

The motion to concur in the recommendation of the committee was carried.

The following substitute was recommended by the committee for Resolution 143, with the consent of the delegation of the Cigar Makers' International Union:

Resolution No. 143—By delegation Cigar Makers' International Union:

Whereas, For a period of more than four months 9,000 members of the Cigar Makers' International Union in the city of Tampa, Florida, have been forced out of employment by the members of the Cigar Manufacturers' Association, the efforts of this association being to disrupt the organization of the Cigar Makers as well as that of every other organization of labor in that city, particularly the organizations of the building trades, the purpose being to establish in Tampa the nonunion shop; and,

Whereas, In the efforts made in this direction by the Cigar Manufacturers' Association there has been organized what is known as the Citizens' Association, this latter Association having transgressed all law and order by constituting itself as an armed authority, having not only attempted to force the members of the Cigar Makers' International Union to return to work against their will, but having also threatened the lives of many of the members for refusing to return to work, thereby compelling many of them to leave Tampa; and,

Whereas, This self-constituted Citizens' Association has by force of arms closed the offices of the labor organizations of Tampa, has refused, until recently, to permit the officers of the various local unions of Cigar Makers to transact their business in a peaceful and lawful manner, and has had several officers of these local unions arrested and imprisoned on charges that are unwarranted and false, the authorities refusing to accept a bail bond, and denying the plea for a speedy trial; and,

Whereas, The Governor of the State of Florida, as well as the Mayor of Tampa, have refused to make more than a superficial investigation of the conditions arising from the action of this self-constituted Citizens' Committee; and,

Whereas, At all time during this difficulty the officers and representatives of the Cigar Makers' International Union have been ready and willing to confer with the Manufacturers' Association to bring about an amicable adjustment, but have met with a refusal by the said Manufacturers' Association; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this Thirtieth Annual Con-

vention of the American Federation of Labor hereby enters an emphatic protest against this unwarranted and uncalled for interference with the rights and liberties of the working men and women of Tampa; and, be it

Resolved, That this convention also emphatically protests against the action of the municipal authorities of Tampa by reason of their refusal to protect the rights of those citizens whose property was confiscated by the closing of the halls where their meetings were held; and, be it

Resolved, That this convention protests against the unwarranted arrests and incarceration of the officers and members of the unions of Tampa; and, be it further

Resolved, That this Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor calls upon the organizations herein represented and their members and friends to give all possible moral and financial assistance to our fellow working men and women of Tampa involved in this controversy, to the end that their organization may be maintained and their rights and liberties as American citizens upheld.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed at length by Delegate Tracy (T. F.), who gave a brief history of the strike and the conditions in Tampa that led up to it.

A motion was made and carried that Mr. Lanbias, a representative of the Tampa unions, be given the privilege of the floor to speak on the situation. Mr. Lanbias described the situation of the strikers and the difficulties under which the organization was laboring owing to the fact that their officers had been imprisoned and their members persecuted in various ways. He appealed to the delegates from national and international unions to acquaint their members with the conditions in Tampa and asked them to assist the strikers both morally and financially.

The question was discussed by President Gompers. President Gompers spoke of the condition of the Tampa unions after their offices had been closed, their officers imprisoned for conspiracy and denied the opportunity of paying out the benefits provided by the Cigar Makers' International Union. He stated that the lives of the imprisoned officers had been threatened by a self-constituted committee of citizens of Tampa, called the Citizens' Committee. President Gompers stated that he had written several times to the governor



of Florida asking him to make an investigation of the conditions prevailing in Tampa, but that no satisfactory response had been received.

Delegate O'Connell (J. J.) discussed the matter, and urged members of organized labor everywhere to patronize the blue label of the Cigar Makers' Union. He said if that advice were generally followed such occurrences as those related would be impossible.

The question was discussed at length by Delegate Commons, who described in some detail the conditions existing in Tampa, and the conditions that existed early in the year when he visited Tampa in behalf of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees. He stated that no help need be expected from the authorities in Tampa, and that no good legal talent could be employed by the strikers, as the Manufacturers' Association invariably offered greater inducements to attorneys to take cases on the other side.

Vice-President Hayes in the chair.

The motion to concur in the recommendation of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Resolution No. 144—By Delegates Joe N. Weber, Owen Miller, D. A. Carey, Joe F. Winkler, of the American Federation of Musicians:

Whereas, The United States authorities have repeatedly decided that musicians do not come under the provisions of the alien contract labor law, and

Whereas, In the past and at the present time orchestras and bands are imported into this country under contract, and

Whereas, The bands and orchestras so imported generally displace American musicians by contracting to work for pauper wages, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor considers the replacing of American musicians by foreign musicians under the circumstances as complained of, an injustice and hereby declares itself in full sympathy with all efforts of the American Federation of Musicians to have the alien contract labor law amended so as to afford the necessary protection to American musicians.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 145—By Delegate J. A. Franklin, of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers:

Whereas, There is a large and insistent demand for remedial legislation

having for its object the prevention of the large number of locomotive boiler explosions with their accompanying loss of life; the list of such explosions is becoming larger each year and the experience of other nations shows the only effective remedy is Government supervision of inspection of boilers; and

Whereas, There is now before the Congress of the United States a bill to provide for Federal supervision of locomotive boilers, which, if enacted into law, would greatly reduce the number of these appalling disasters by requiring more careful and frequent inspections, promptness in making repairs when defects are found and compel a discontinuance of the present practice on many roads of taking chances with defective boilers, by continuing them in service in order to overcome a shortage of engines even after their dangerous condition has been ascertained; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the delegates to the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in regular session assembled, do heartily approve the principle of Federal supervision of locomotive boiler inspection and direct that the Legislative Committee of this body do all in their power to assist in having this measure enacted into law at the coming session of Congress; and we request all affiliated bodies to aid in the matter; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these preambles and resolutions be sent to the President, Senators and Congressmen of the United States.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 146 be amended by striking out the following sections:

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor do, at this convention, resolve to celebrate the centennial anniversary of this great advocate of human liberty, and, be it further

Resolved, That we recommend to all affiliated international, central and local unions the educational effect that a general celebration of his birthday is bound to have on all the people of this country, as it will encourage a study of his life, work and character.

Resolved, That the Resolution Committee be requested to draw up suitable resolutions covering this matter, so that the day, or the Sunday previous, can be properly observed.

And that it be further amended by adding a new section, the amended resolution to read as follows:

Resolution No. 146—By Chas. D. Wheeler, Chicago Federation of Labor:

Whereas, The 29th of next November (1911) will be the one hundredth birthday of Wendell Phillips, and

Whereas, This greatest of all American agitators and reformers (if not the greatest of all the world's agitators and reformers) has been studiously ignored by the plutocratically controlled institutions and publications of our country, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor recommend to all trade union organizations the celebration in an appropriate manner, of the centennial anniversary of the birth of Wendell Phillips.

The committee recommended that the resolution as amended be adopted. The recommendation was adopted by unanimous vote.

Resolution No. 148 — By Delegate Walker, of the United Mine Workers of America:

Whereas, The workers of the E-Z Opener Bag Co., White Oak Mills and Bag Factories, of Taylorville, Ill., are involved in a struggle for better wages and conditions, and

Whereas, They are pitted against a corporation with large financial resources, which is a bitter enemy of organized labor, and has done everything in its power to keep their employees from organizing to prevent the injustices imposed on them, and after submitting patiently for years to the mercy of the employer, and the fact being established that the company had no regard for their welfare, as their wages and conditions remained the same in the face of the increased cost of living for the last ten years, and

Whereas, The women and girls have been forced to work ten hours for 75 cents per day, and the men and boys ten to thirteen hours per day, for wages from 75 cents to \$2.00 per day, they demanded a nine-hour workday, with a 25-cent per day advance on all classes of labor, and full recognition of their union, and

Whereas, The company has absolutely refused to grant any of the demands, but has tried to break the strike and ignore their organization by trying to treat with the individual members, using intimidating and disheartening tactics. Their efforts were unsuccessful, and had the reverse effect; it solidified and made them more determined than ever to stay out until their demands are granted in full, and

Whereas, Their strike has been endorsed by the Taylorville Central Trades and Labor Assembly, and at a

mass meeting of all the different members of the trades unions, we therefore appeal to the officers and delegates of the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to endorse their strike and render them assistance to obtain their demands; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, now assembled, do hereby endorse the strike of the Paper Mill Workers of Taylorville, Ill., and stand ready to do everything in their power to help and assist them in their fight for justice.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Convention City" the committee reported as follows:

Your committee heartily concurs in the sentiment as expressed in the Executive Council's report and recommends that delegates placing cities in nomination for the convention city should be called upon to submit to the convention a carefully prepared statement as to the facilities, hotel and hall accommodations which the cities contain.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Civil Service Employees Bridled," the committee reported as follows:

Your committee endorses the action which has been taken by the Executive Council, and recommends that continued and vigorous efforts should be made until all civil service employees are in the enjoyment of all the rights of citizenship.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Secretary Frey announced that the report of the Committee on Resolution was completed, with the exception of two resolutions which would be reported on later.

Delegate Urlick announced that Delegate Coffey, of the Lincoln, Nebraska, Central Labor Union, had been ill for several days, and desired that that fact be noted to account for his absence from the convention. He states that Delegate Coffey had been removed to the American Hospital, and requested that the local committee notify the Typographical Union of his illness so they might visit him from time to time while he remained in the hospital.

President Gompers announced that Secretary Morrison would make note of the matter mentioned.

### Report of Committee on Building Trades.

Delegate McNulty, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 18—By Delegates W. D. Huber, Frank Duffy, W. B. Macfarlane, Thomas Flynn, W. J. Kelly, Carl Young and A. M. Swartz, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

Whereas, The erection of the material known as hollow metal trim, sash and doors, metallic trim, sash and doors, and metal trim was awarded to the carpenters by the Hon. Wm. J. Gaynor, who had been selected as umpire in accordance to all the laws and requirements laid down by the Arbitration Plan, in the matter of arbitration between the sheet metal workers on one side and the Joint District Council of Carpenters on the other; and

Whereas, Our General Executive Board has ruled on several occasions that the U. B. of C. & J. of A. claims jurisdiction over the erecting and placing of all hollow metal sash, frames, doors and trim; and

Whereas, The carpenters have been erecting this material since it first appeared on the market, and are still erecting it in New York City, as well as in a number of other cities, for the reason that it is a strictly carpenters' proposition and requires the methods and skill of the carpenters to prepare the grounds in order to apply and properly execute the work; and

Whereas, Every effort is being made by the sheet metal workers and the Kalamazoo Association to deprive the carpenters of the erection of this material; therefore be it

Resolved, That we declare emphatically and unequivocally as a whole to retain the erection of steel and hollow metal trim, sash and doors, in accordance with the rulings of our General Executive Board; and be it further

Resolved, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the officers of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor be notified of our action, and that our delegates to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Building Trades Department are hereby instructed to carry out these resolutions.

Secretary McNulty: Your Committee on Building Trades finds that the subject matter of this resolution having been decided by a convention of the Building Trades Department is not properly before this Convention, and can not be brought properly before this convention except on an appeal, properly taken from the action of the Building Trades Department to the first court of appeals, the Executive Council. Therefore, your Committee non-concurs in the resolution, but in doing so desires to inform all interested parties that the non-concurrence therein does not in any way deprive them of their right to appeal in the proper manner.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 17—By Delegates W. D. Huber, Frank Duffy, W. B. Macfarlane, Thomas Flynn, W. J. Kelly, Carl Young and A. M. Swartz, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

Whereas, For some time past there has been considerable conflict between the organization of the U. B. and the Wood-wire and Metallic Lathers as to jurisdiction over the putting on of metal corner-heads and picture moulding; and,

Whereas, At a former meeting of the D. C. of St. Louis action was taken whereby said D. C. emphatically declared that all such work rightfully belonged to the carpenters, and for the purpose of establishing their claim by proof of the work being done throughout the country by carpenters, caused to be sent to the various district councils and local unions of the brotherhood, a circular asking information and facts regarding the placing of said work; in the great majority of replies received it was stated that carpenters claimed and did the work; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the D. C. of St. Louis, that we again reiterate our claim to the said work; and,

Whereas, By the changes in the methods of building construction and the introduction of metal trim taking the place of what was formerly made of wood and put in place by carpenters, the same having brought about a conflict as to jurisdiction, it is therefore

Resolved, That in all such cases where such trim is used that the carpenters claim the right to put it up and will oppose all claims made by any and all of the trades now claiming jurisdiction over the same. We also claim jurisdiction over trim made of wood pulp, straw board, asbestos, etc.; also the setting of all concrete forms, regardless of material used. Be it

Resolved, That the delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to present our claims to said convention, and work for their adoption before that body.

Secretary McNulty: Your Committee on Building Trades finds that the subject matter of this resolution having been decided by a Convention of the Building Trades Department is not properly before this convention, and can not be brought properly before this convention except on an appeal, properly taken from the action of the Building Trades Department to the first court of appeals, the Executive Council. There-

fore, your committee non-concurs in the resolution, but in doing so, desires to inform all interested parties that the non-concurrence therein does not in any way deprive them of their right to appeal in the proper manner.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 104—By Delegate Geo. F. Golden, of Illinois State Federation, Rock Island, Ill.:

Whereas, The introduction of metal and combination trim is taking the place of wood in the construction of all modern buildings, and

Whereas, The introduction of this trim is causing jurisdictional fights in the building trades and all such fights are detrimental to the organized labor movement; and

Whereas, The placing in proper position in the building, or in other words, the erecting thereof is done by the sole use of carpenters' tools, therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Twenty-eighth Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor in regular session assembled, that the erection of the above mentioned trim of right belongs to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and, be it further

Resolved, That the delegate elected to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to be held at St. Louis, in November, be, and is hereby instructed to use his influence and vote to this end.

Secretary McNulty: Your Committee on Building Trades finds that the subject matter of this resolution having been decided by a convention of the Building Trades Department is not properly before this convention, and can not be brought properly before this convention except on an appeal, properly taken from the action of the Building Trades Department to the first court of appeals, the Executive Council. Therefore, your committee non-concurs in the resolution, but in doing so, desires to inform all interested parties that the non-concurrence therein does not in any way deprive them of their right to appeal in the proper manner.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 94 — By Delegate Thomas Bone, of Central Labor Council, Stockton, Cal.:

Whereas, The International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers' L. U. 73,

of Stockton, Cal., is affiliated with this San Joaquin County Central Labor Council, also with the Stockton Building Trades Council, also with the State Building Trades Council, and all with the American Federation of Labor, and its members carry State Building Trades Council working cards, and

Whereas, Only four other local hod carriers' unions of the State will recognize B. T. C. cards (although there are many other hod carriers' unions in this State carrying the same B. T. C. cards) and said other unions require members of the local Hod Carriers' Union No. 73 to pay a new initiation fee and rejoin their union if they go into any other local jurisdiction, thus working a great injustice upon good and loyal union members, to the general detriment of all organized labor and particularly to the hod carriers, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled hereby declares itself in favor of a universal and interchangeable working card for all hod carriers' unions, and further recommends to the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor that steps be taken at the earliest possible moment to have such laws enacted as will bring about the desired results, with fairness and justice to the hod carriers of this State.

Secretary McNulty: Your committee on Building Trades took no action on this resolution inasmuch as Delegate Bone, the introducer thereof, appeared before the committee and stated that he desired to withdraw same. His request was concurred in by the committee.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council, under the caption, "Chicago Building Trades Situation," the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee on Building Trades partly approves of the results obtained by the Executive Council in uniting the building trades unions of Chicago under a charter of the Building Trades Department.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council, under the caption: "Paper Hangers—Painters," the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee on Building Trades concurs in the action of the Executive Council on this question and commends the Council on the splendid results obtained in the premises.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council, under the caption: "Hod Carriers and Building Laborers," the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee on Building Trades concurs in the action of the Executive Council on this question, and recommends that the subject matter be referred to the Building Trades Department, with instructions that the Department use its best efforts in organizing all hod carriers and building laborers under the banner of the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers' International Union.

On motion, the report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Victor R. Midgley. Vancouver Trades and Labor Council:

Whereas, In almost every locality where there is a local Building Trades Council there are some trades which refuse to join the local council; therefore, be it

Resolved, That Section 38 of the Building Trades Department by-laws, which states that all local unions shall be compelled to join the Local Building Trades Council, be strictly enforced; and be it further

Resolved, That any international organization that fails to compel their locals to join the local councils when notified by the secretary-treasurer or Executive Board of the Building Trades Department, shall be suspended until they obey the instructions of the Department.

Secretary McNulty: Your Committee on Building Trades recommends that this resolution be referred to the Building Trades Department.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 74—Communicated by the New York Building Trades Council:

Whereas, In almost every locality where there is a local building trades council, there are some trades who refuse to join the local council, therefore be it

Resolved, That Section 38 of the Building Trades Department by-laws, which states that all local unions shall be compelled to join the local building trades council be strictly enforced, and be it further

Resolved, That any international organization that fails to compel their locals to

join the local councils when notified by the Secretary-Treasurer or Executive Board of the Building Trades Department, shall be suspended until they obey the instructions of the Building Trades Department.

Secretary McNulty: Your Committee on Building Trades recommends that this resolution be referred to the Building Trades Department.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate Frank J. Weber, of Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wis.:

To the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:

Whereas, In almost every locality where there is a Local Building Trades Council there are some trades who refuse to join the local council; and,

Whereas, Such action is at all times detrimental and not to the best interest of the trades union movement; therefore, be it

Resolved, That any international organization that fails to compel their locals to join local councils when notified by the secretary-treasurer or Executive Board of the Building Trades Department shall be suspended until they obey the instructions of the Building Trades Department.

Secretary McNulty: Your Committee on Building Trades recommends that this resolution be referred to the Building Trades Department.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 113—By Delegate P. D. Drain:

Evansville Building Trades Council are asking the adoption of the resolution herein and a copy be given to the delegates who will attend the American Federation of Labor Convention, which will be held in St. Louis, November 14:

Whereas, In every locality where there is a local Building Trades Council there are some trades who refuse to join the local council, therefore, be it

Resolved, That Section 38 of the Building Trades Department by-laws, which states that all local unions shall be compelled to join the local Building Trades Council, be strictly enforced, and be it further

Resolved, That any international organization that fails to compel their

locals to join their local councils when notified by the secretary-treasurer or Executive Board of the Building Trades Council, shall be suspended till they obey the instructions of the Building Trades Council Department.

Secretary McNulty: Your Committee on Building Trades recommends that this resolution be referred to the Building Trades Department.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

#### **Dock and Bulkhead Builders.**

Your Committee on Building Trades considered the application for charter of the Dock and Bulkhead Builders and found that the jurisdiction claim of work conflicted with the jurisdiction claims of one or two affiliated organizations. The Committee, therefore, recommends that this matter be referred to the Executive Council with the recommendation that a meeting be arranged for all parties interested.

On motion the report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate John F. O'Flaherty, of Central Trades and Labor Union, East St. Louis, Ill.;

Whereas, In the city of East St. Louis, Ill., the local unions of carpenters, lathers, plasterers and painters have withdrawn from the Building Trades Council to work with and are at the present time doing so, with non-union plumbers, steamfitters, gasfitters, electricians and cement workers, contrary to Section 38 of the laws of the Building Trades Department,

Resolved, That any international union which does not compel its local organizations to affiliate with the Building Trades Council and Central Trades and Labor Union, be instructed by the American Federation of Labor, to revoke that local's charter, and on their failure, the international charter be revoked, until such time as they comply with said constitution. The said resolution to apply to all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Secretary McNulty: Your Committee on Building Trades recommends that that portion of this resolution relative to the Building Trades Department be referred to the Building Trades Department, and that portion referring to the Central Trades and Labor Unions be referred to the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Secretary McNulty: This completes the report of the Building Trades, and is respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM D. HUBER, Chairman,  
F. J. McNULTY, Secretary,  
MATT COMERFORD,  
M. O'SULLIVAN,  
D. D'ALESSANDRO,  
WILLIAM W. YOUNG,  
THOMAS J. WILLIAMS,  
WM. J. McSORLEY,  
FRANK FEENEY,  
RICHARD P. WALSH,  
F. C. GENGENBACK,  
FRANK M. RYAN,  
WM. J. TRACY,  
JOHN DONLIN,  
J. C. SKEMP,

Vice-President O'Connell: I desire the unanimous consent of the convention to the introduction of a resolution.

No objection being offered, Vice-President O'Connell introduced the following resolution:

Resolution No. 150—By the delegates of the machinists, boilermakers, blacksmiths and sheet metal workers' organizations:

Whereas, The members of the above organizations have been on strike for several months on the Missouri Pacific and Iron Mountain Railroads to secure shorter hours, better wages and improved conditions of employment, and

Whereas, Every honorable effort has been made to bring about an adjustment of the strike without success; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the delegates to the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we call upon organized labor and its friends everywhere to render all assistance possible to the organizations carrying on this strike by making it publicly known in every way, so that organized labor and its friends may avoid the dangers of traveling over railroads where danger to public and private interests is very great; and be it further

Resolved, That the delegates to this convention, in returning home, keep in mind the conditions existing on the above roads.

A motion was made and seconded that the resolution be adopted. (Carried by unanimous vote.)

Vice-President Alpine, acting as the referee appointed by President Gompers, as provided for in the following

resolution, reported that an agreement had been entered into between the parties in interest:

Resolution No. 133—By Delegates T. Healy, C. L. Shamp, Jos. W. Morton:

Whereas, The Twenty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Toronto, Canada, November, 1909, several conferences were held between the delegates representing the I. U. of S. E. and the I. B. of S. F. for the purpose of arriving at a satisfactory working agreement; and,

Whereas, These conferences have failed to bring about the desired result, and no settlement has been arrived at since that time; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the president of the American Federation of Labor request the delegates of the I. U. of S. E. to confer with delegates from the I. B. of S. F. in conference, and that he appoint a member of the Executive Council to act as referee for the purpose of bringing about a mutual agreement by and between the above-named organizations, and make a report of his findings to this convention.

#### Agreement.

Agreement entered into this 25th day of November, 1910, between the International Union of Steam Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, to the end that in the creation of agreements between the organizations herein mentioned, and the respective employers thereof, better understandings may prevail and the best interests of all be more generally protected. It is mutually agreed by the subscribers hereto, that if the following plan is faithfully adhered to by the organizations at interest, it will serve to effectually remove any and all disputes that have heretofore existed, or that may arise in the future, and we guarantee to carry into effect the full spirit and intent of this agreement mutually entered into.

Section 1. The I. U. of S. E. and I. B. of S. F. shall, through the directions of their respective international officers, cause to be created where local unions of both organizations exist, joint local conference boards of equal representation, which shall meet from time to time as the occasion may require, with the object in view of mutually protecting each other's interests and promoting the creation of joint agreements with their employers. This action shall be taken as soon as possible and not later than January 1, 1911.

Section 2. It shall be the duty of these joint conference boards to assist the international officers of the organizations herein mentioned with regard to the creation of agreements between employer and employee, as well as assisting in the settlement of disputes of any nature that may arise.

Section 3. In the event of disagreement between the conference boards already referred to, the international representatives of both organizations in dispute shall proceed to the scene of such dispute and endeavor to properly dispose of the same. In the event of failure with regard to settlement, the President of the American Federation of Labor shall appoint some member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to act as referee and the latter's decision shall be final and binding on all parties to this agreement.

Section 4. Since it is mutually agreed by both parties to this agreement, that the question of agreements between the organizations herein mentioned, and the employers thereof, as concerns the date of commencement and expiration of such agreements is primarily the cause for existing differences, it is, therefore, unanimously decided by the subscribers of this agreement, that in the future, when creating new agreements with their employers, the International Union of Steam Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, shall make such agreements jointly and these agreements shall be identical with regard to date of commencement and expiration.

Section 5. It is also further agreed, that both organizations shall assist each other in organizing steam plants, and members of the International Union of Steam Engineers who have the hiring of firemen, water-tenders, oilers or helpers, shall hire members of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, wherever possible.

I. U. of S. E.

MATT COMERFORD,  
JOHN L. McNAMARA,  
JOHN J. GLASS,  
JAS. G. HANNAHAN,

I. B. of S. F.

TIMOTHY HEALY,  
C. L. SHAMP,  
JOS. W. MORTON,

JOHN R. ALPINE,

Representing American Federation of Labor.

Vice-President Alpine: I move the adoption of the report of the committee and the ratification of the agreement. (Seconded and carried.)

#### Report of Committee on President's Report.

Delegate Wilson (W. B.), Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your committee have carefully considered the report of President Gompers, and herewith submit for your consideration our views and recommendations in connection therewith.

### Organization and Growth.

It is with pleasure that we note the continued growth and healthy condition of the American Federation of Labor and the different organizations of which it is composed.

Thirty years ago the American Federation of Labor came into existence. Twenty-two years ago it held an annual convention in this city. In the language of President Gompers: "The labor movement and the great cause of justice and humanity for which it stands, can only be understood and appreciated by the studious and by the retrospective view to be taken by the workers who will compare the situation and the condition of the wage-working masses then and now."

We may not be able to observe distinctly the progress that may have been made since yesterday, or the day before, but when we take a retrospective view over the period elapsing since we last met in this city and note the improvement that has taken place in the sanitation of mills, factories and mines, the enactment of laws for the protection of women and children, the better educational facilities which have been secured for the children of the workers, the laws for the protection of life and limb which have come into existence in the different States and the Federal Government, the reduction of the hours of labor in many lines of industry, the increase which has been obtained in wages even where the hours have been shortened, and the improved standard of living made possible by a combination of all of these accomplishments, we are forced to the conclusion that we have been making rapid strides forward, notwithstanding the criticism of those who see no material good in the trade union movement.

The accomplishment of this great work has been made possible by the earnest, intelligent work and self-sacrifice of many thousands of wage-workers, and we feel confident that the work yet to be accomplished will be dealt with in the same intelligent, aggressive and self-sacrificing manner which has made our past accomplishments possible.

We congratulate the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions upon the efficient corps of officers and organizers, paid and volunteer, who have so greatly contributed towards securing these results and upon whom, in a great measure the future growth of our movement depends.

We endorse the recommendation of the President to "Let every union member regard it as his mission to organize, to bring at least one fellow worker into membership of his trade union. Let the slogan be: Organize, Agitate, Educate."

The report of the committee was concurred in.

### Our Movement Not "Narrow."

We are in entire accord with the President when he says: "Trade unionism is not narrow." Trade unionism is as broad as human endeavor. It knows no distinctions of race, creed, color or nationality. It is the organized expression of human equality and protest against existing wrong. In a word, it is the concentrated movement of the workers for the establishment and maintenance of liberty, equality and justice.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

### American Federation of Labor Departments.

We agree with the President's recommendation: "That this convention authorize the selection of a special committee to give consideration to the subject of Departments, the relation of the Departments to the American Federation of Labor, how they can be practically extended and improved, to the end that the cause of labor may be the more effectively pursued and the promotion and advancement of the interests of the workers attain the greatest degree of success."

Your Committee believes that this work can not be performed in a satisfactory manner by any committee in time to report to this convention, and therefore recommends that a committee of five be appointed in accordance with the recommendation of the President, said committee to report to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

### Porto Rico.

We read with pleasure what the President has to say under this heading of the work attempted; of the work done. We are pleased to note that the higher officials in the island are in sympathy with the hopes and aspirations of the islanders to become citizens of the United States in the full meaning of that term.

We are in entire accord with the President in urging forward the organization of the working people, and their closer and more direct affiliation with the rest of the working people of our common country. We learn with pleasure of the earnest work of the members of Congress who are members of trade unions, and who, led by Congressman Wilson of Pennsylvania, accomplished such splendid results in the framing of laws for the government of the island.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

### Strikes—Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

We desire to compliment the officers of the organization and the lawyers associated with them for the able manner in which the charges against the



United States Steel Corporation were prepared and presented to the Department of Justice. We regret to learn that the attorney general, to whom the president had referred labor's charges, deemed it inexpedient "to take any action until the Supreme Court of the United States shall have decided the bills now under consideration by it from the judgments of the Circuit Courts in the proceedings against the American Tobacco Company and the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, respectively."

We look upon the United States Steel Corporation and its subsidiary companies as being one of the greatest combinations in restraint of trade existing anywhere in the United States; that it affects all classes of our people, from the owner of the tin dinner pail to the controller of the locomotive. Its ramifications extend in every direction and affect every walk in life. It collects tribute from the consumer by controlling the price and from the worker by controlling wages. In our judgment it is of much more importance to the people that the United States Steel Corporation should be compelled to conform to the anti-trust laws than that a special representative of the Department of Justice should waste its time in prosecuting a few Burley tobacco growers in Kentucky, who have committed no crime except that of seeking to protect themselves, if that be a crime, against the oppressive business methods of the Tobacco Trust.

We endorse the recommendation of the president that: "During the approaching sessions of the legislatures in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Alabama and elsewhere, that the State authorities be urged to institute thorough investigations and proceedings against the corporation in so far as it is operating illegally and improperly within the State or States, and it is further urged that the investigation be extended to the industrial and economic conditions prevailing among the workers in the industry."

And we further recommend that the Federal Government, either through the Department of Commerce and Labor, or by special committee of Congress, be urged to make a complete investigation of the operations of the United States Steel Corporation, not only in its iron, steel and tin plates, but also into its methods in the shipping industry on the Great Lakes.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

#### **Ladies' Garment Workers and Shirtwaist Makers.**

We desire to congratulate the workers upon their earnestness, their solidarity and their success, and to thank those who assisted for the help rendered. We trust that the same quality

and the same sympathy and determination that made these struggles a success, and built up the splendid organization which now exists may be employed in maintaining this organization for the further improvement and development of the workers in this industry.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

#### **Miners' Strikes and Others.**

We are pleased to note the almost general success of the United Mine Workers of America in the struggle entered into by it for increased wages last April, but regret that several thousand miners in what is known as the Irwin Field in Western Pennsylvania, have not yet secured a settlement of their strike.

Although but recently organized, "these men have made, and are still making, a splendid and heroic struggle for better wages and conditions, and for the right to organize for their protection and advancement."

In doing so, they have not only been compelled to meet the power of the great coal corporations that control these fields, but have also been subject to harsh treatment and numerous indignities at the hands of Pennsylvania's Cossack System. The so-called mounted constabulary of that State have been clearly demonstrated to be an adjunct of the employing classes and a menace to the peace of the commonwealth whenever labor disputes arise. The condition of these workmen before the strike commenced was deplorable beyond description, and the feeling of desperation growing out of that condition has been one of the principle main-springs of the heroic struggle they have conducted. It is a condition which no civilized country should tolerate, and which we hope no State in the Union will continue to tolerate when its people become acquainted with the facts.

We recommend that the legislature of the State of Pennsylvania be urged to repeal the law creating and maintaining the Cossack System, and, further, that the Governor of the State or the State Legislature, be urged to appoint a commission to investigate the conditions leading up to the strike in the Irwin Field, and those existing since its inception.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

#### **Directly Affiliated Locals.**

We note with pleasure what the President says in his report as to the strikes that our directly affiliated local unions have been engaged in and the splendid success attained. We recommend the continuation of giving such moral and financial assistance to these organizations in the future when they become

engaged in these difficulties. We heartily endorse the suggestion made by the President in the direction of organizing international unions in given industries from those directly affiliated local unions whenever the membership of the same warrants its being done.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

#### Anti-Trust Law and Injunctions.

We can not do better than re-affirm what was said by this committee and adopted by the Toronto Convention. It is as follows:

"Injunctions in labor disputes are innovations in our modern jurisprudence. The original purpose for which injunctions were issued was to restrain parties to any dispute about the title or damages to property from interfering with this property in question, until the courts had determined the property rights involved. These restraining orders were made returnable at the next term of court, or at the session of court where the cases were to be heard and determined, and consequently were never permanent, expiring by their own limitations when the court had convened to determine the questions at issue. That they are clearly intended to protect property rights, and property rights only, is demonstrated by the fact that the courts invariably insist upon a bond being furnished by the parties suing out the writ to indemnify the parties enjoined for any loss that may accrue to them by virtue of the writ having been issued. When such an order of court has been violated it is not a difficult matter for the court to determine the actual damages, if any, that have been sustained through the issuance of the injunction, thereby protecting the restrained parties against any unwarranted invasion of their rights, but when the court issues an injunction in a labor dispute, restraining persons in controversy with employers from doing those things that they have a legal and moral right to do, and as a result of that injunction the contest is lost to the workers, there is no court on earth that can determine the damage that has been sustained by the persons enjoined, and consequently they can not recover from the bond. When the court arrogates to itself the power to issue injunctions never contemplated by the rules of equity, and in direct violation of constitutional and statutory law, and assumes the right to issue injunctions for the purpose of enforcing criminal law, it departs from the domain of property rights and invades that of personal rights in a manner for which there can be no excuse except that the court thereby becomes the sole judge of the law and the fact, and, if the parties enjoined are declared guilty of contempt, the extent of the punishment. All of which is in direct violation of the fundamental laws of the land and the Anglo-Saxon concept of human liberty.

The great charter of human liberty, the Magna Charta of Great Britain, the basis upon which British and American freedom rests, in Clause 39 declares:

"No free man shall be taken or imprisoned, disseized, or outlawed, or banished or any ways destroyed, nor will we pass upon him, nor will we send upon him, save by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land."

The Bill of Rights enunciated by the British Parliament for the protection of the common people and signed by William and Mary upon their accession to the British throne as a condition upon which their title to sovereignty would rest, declares:

Paragraph 1. That the pretended power of suspending of laws, or the execution of laws, by legal authority, without consent of Parliament is illegal.

Paragraph 2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws by regal authority, as it hath been assumed, and exercised of late, is illegal.

The Declaration of Independence declares: "That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and it further assigns as one of the causes for the separation from the mother country and the establishment of an independent government, "for depriving us in many cases of the benefits of trial by jury."

The Constitution of the United States which creates our judiciary gives to it whatever power it can possibly exercise and limits its jurisdictions, says:

First amendment—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Sixth amendment—In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

Ninth amendment—The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Tenth amendment—The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Thirteenth amendment, Section 1—Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United

States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

It must be apparent to even the most casual investigators that the courts of the United States hold the same relationship to the Government of our country that the courts of Great Britain held and now hold to the legal power. No one will contend that any judge in Great Britain, either at the time of the adoption of our Constitution, or since that time, could have any greater power than that conferred by regal authority expressed by the Parliament and approved by the King. It naturally follows that our courts can have no greater power than that granted to them by the Constitution.

When the Constitution granted to our judiciary jurisdiction in equity, it could not have conveyed any wider authority than that which existed in English jurisprudence at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, and the quotations we have cited from the Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence, absolutely deny the right of equity courts to infringe upon personal liberty or existing law. Our government is not only one of delegated powers, but also of reserved powers. The same instrument that created the judiciary and delegated powers to it, reserves all the powers that are not thus delegated to the various States and to the people. When, therefore, any court assumes to exercise powers not delegated to it by the Constitution, it invades the rights specifically reserved by that document to the States and people; its action becomes void from lack of jurisdiction and should not be obeyed.

We are consequently in hearty accord with President Gompers when he says:

"When a judge so far transcends his authority and assumes functions entirely beyond his power and jurisdiction; when a judge will set himself up as the highest authority in the land, invading constitutionally guaranteed rights of citizens; when a judge will go so far in opinion, decision and action, that even judges of the courts of appeal have felt called upon to characterize his action 'unwarranted' and 'foolish'; under such circumstances it is the duty of the citizen to refuse obedience and to take whatever consequences may ensue.

"I repeat and emphasize this fact, that the doctrine that the citizen must yield obedience to every order of the court, notwithstanding that order transcends inherent, natural, human rights guaranteed by the Constitution of our country, is vicious and repugnant to liberty and human freedom, and that it is the duty, the imperative duty, to protest."

Notwithstanding the constitutional limitations mentioned, modern injunctions have taken three distinct lines, two of which are unconstitutional, arbitrary and unjust.

1. Injunctions are issued to protect property rights from irreparable injury where there is no remedy at law. That is the only province in which an injunction properly belongs.

2. Injunctions have unwarrantably been issued for the purpose of enforcing existing statutory and common law arbitrarily invading the jurisdiction of the legislatures and the law courts, thus wiping out of existence that protection against false accusations that free men have fought for and forced from the hands of autocratic kings and tyrannical governments and defended at the cost of their lives, from the days of Guthram the Dane to the present generation of man, the right of trial by jury.

When the legislative branch of the government has specified the punishment for any violation of law, it has provided what, in its judgment is an adequate remedy, and means of prevention, and having provided such remedy, no court has any right to step in over the head of the legislature and provide another remedy.

3. Modern American courts assume the right to issue injunctions interfering with the personal rights of man in exercising free speech, free press, peaceable assemblage, and in their personal relationship with each other. The rights of free speech, free press and peaceable assemblage are specifically guaranteed by the Constitution. They are the fundamental safeguards of a free people which neither courts, kings nor cajolery should be permitted to destroy. The personal relationship between man and man comes clearly within the jurisdiction of the law courts and has no place in the courts of equity, unless upon the assumption by the courts that man is property, an assumption repugnant to the sense of right of all civilized communities and specifically forbidden by the XIII Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. It is under this class of injunctions that the courts have assumed jurisdiction in the now famous Buck's Stove and Range Company case.

In this case, the court, in violation of the expressed terms of the Constitution, enjoins the right of free speech, free press and peaceable assemblage, in addition to proclaiming the false doctrine that patronage and good will in business is property.

Business is divided into two elements. The first element, the stock in trade is property beyond question. The second element, patronage and good will can not by any stretch of the imagination, or by any method of reasoning or logic be considered the property of the man engaged in business. If it is property at all, it can only be the property of the man who has the patronage or the good will to give.

We are pleased to note that upon an appeal to the Court of Appeals of the

District of Columbia, Chief Justice Shepard dissents from the decision of the majority of the court.

The division of opinion of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia in this case, together with the widely divergent opinions expressed by different federal courts in various parts of the country, making it practically impossible for even those that are learned in the law, not to mention the ordinary layman, to determine with any degree of accuracy the extent of the jurisdiction and powers of our courts in injunction cases, shows the imperative need that the Supreme Court should pass upon the entire subject matter involved. No better case has yet presented itself for that purpose than the *Buck's Stove and Range* case and the contempt proceedings growing out of it.

We, therefore, recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to take such steps as may be necessary to carry this injunction case, and the contempt cases growing out of it, to the Supreme Court of the United States in order that we may secure a decision that will define our rights in so far as it can be done in considering these cases, and we further recommend that the Executive Council be authorized to raise funds, either by assessment or appeal, if more be needed, to carry the former recommendation into effect. No matter what position the Supreme Court may take upon the cases at issue, our experience with injunctions during the past 30 years makes it necessary to secure such legislation as will clearly mark the dividing line between Equity Courts and Law Courts and prevent the Equity Courts from ever again usurping the powers of our legislatures and our courts of law.

We have examined H. R. 25188, introduced in the 61st Congress by Representative Wilson of Pennsylvania, and believe it will accomplish the results desired, if enacted into law, and that in addition it will remove the strained construction of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law made by the Supreme Court and destroy any possibility of making the said Sherman Anti-Trust Law apply to the laborer instead of to the product of his labor.

We recommend that this bill be endorsed, and every effort be put forth by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated branches to secure its enactment into law.

We deem it incumbent upon us to emphasize the warning of President Gompers against the so-called "Life-Savers" injunction bills, introduced for the various reasons enumerated. Most of these bills concede a statutory right to the courts which they do not now possess—to issue injunctions in labor disputes, and then provide a trial by jury in contempt proceedings. Our contention is that when an injunction is issued in a labor dispute, irreparable injury is done to the parties enjoined

and to the cause of labor, which no court can compute and no bond can indemnify. The remedy lies in remanding the courts to their proper functions in law and equity, as defined in the Wilson Bill.

Until some change has been secured in the practices of the courts, either through Supreme Court decisions, or legislative enactment, we recommend that every answer to a writ of injunction or a citation for contempt shall insist upon our constitutional right of free speech, free press, peaceable assembly and freedom from interference with our personal rights by the Equity Courts, and the denial of their authority to assume that anyone has a property right in man, his good-will or his patronage.

We can not pass from the consideration of this question without entering our earnest protest against the unjudicial and intemperate language of Justice Wright when passing sentence upon Brothers Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison.

We reindorse the Wilson Bill 25188 and recommend that it be introduced and its passage urged in every State legislature, and we further recommend that the President's admirable letter to Representative Moon of Pennsylvania, together with a copy of the Wilson Bill, H. R. 25188 be published in pamphlet form for general distribution.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

#### **Congress—Its Decadence and Renaissance.**

We endorse what the President says upon this subject and would urge upon the members of Congress to insist upon the House of Representatives maintaining the position it was intended to occupy by the founders of our Government, that is the mouth-piece of the people in expressing their desires for legislation and protecting them against the unwarranted, unjust and arbitrary encroachments upon their rights by the executive or judiciary. If this is done there can be no question about the renaissance of Congress.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

#### **House New Rule.**

We are pleased to note the change in the rules in the House of Representatives making possible a motion to discharge a committee from consideration of any public bill or joint resolution referred to such committee. We trust that this change will lead to the "lifting of the lid" which has been so firmly held down over labor legislation in the various committees to which it has been referred and we express the hope that the rules may be further amended so as to make the House of Representatives in fact, as it is in name, a house representative of the people.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

### **Summary and Status of Labor Legislation.**

We are pleased to note the progress that has been made in securing remedial legislation for the workers, but regret that the Postal Savings Bank Bill was so mutilated and changed as to make it a menace to the interests of the people.

While the law makes provisions for the acceptance of savings in certain postoffices, and thereby gives the security we have been asking for, its beneficence, in a great measure, is destroyed by placing in the hands of the Postal Savings Bank Commission the power to remove 30 per cent, and in the hands of the President the power to remove 65 per cent more of the savings from the communities in which they originate. The remaining 5 per cent goes into a reserve fund for the redemption of certificates of deposit.

We sympathize with the fear that the power to withdraw 95 per cent of the deposits from the community in which they originate will be used whenever it suits the interests of the money power to do so, thereby making the community from which it is withdrawn still more dependent upon the financial centers for the finances with which to transact their local business.

In reviewing the summary and status of labor legislation presented by the President, we note the bills that labor is interested in which have not yet been enacted by Congress, and urge that the Legislative Committee and the Executive Council use their utmost endeavors to have these bills enacted into law during the coming session.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

### **Hughes Amendment—Prosecution of Labor.**

Nothing could more clearly show the temper and disposition of the present Congress than its treatment of the Hughes Amendment exempting labor organizations from prosecution under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law.

The congressional debate upon the passage of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law in 1890, shows plainly that it was not the intention to bring either the organizations of labor or of agriculture within its scope. Indeed, an amendment offered in the Senate by the late Senator George, of Mississippi, was substantially in the language of the Hughes Amendment.

It was afterwards stricken out. It being contended that it was superfluous, as the bill without the amendment, did not include labor or agricultural organizations.

Before passing from the consideration of this matter, we desire to express our appreciation of the intelligent energy

of Representative Hughes, of New Jersey, in pressing in the House of Representatives this and other measures in which labor is interested.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

### **Irrational Antagonism to Organized Labor's Protest and Progress.**

We endorse the position of the President upon this subject.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

### **Extension of Eight-Hour Law.—Child Labor.—Labor of Convicts.—Employers' Liability.—Compensation.—Department of Labor.—Second-Class Mail Rates.—Insurance Laws and Trade Unions.**

We endorse the position taken by the President upon these subjects and commend him, the Executive Council and those associated with them, for their energetic and intelligent work in endeavoring to secure the enactment into law of labor's measures dealing with these subjects and we recommend that these efforts be continued. We further recommend that the different State Federations and central labor unions and the membership within the various States put forth every effort to secure the enactment of such legislation relative to insurance as may be necessary to prevent the interference with the rights of organized labor in the humane work in which our trade unions are engaged."

The report of the committee was concurred in.

### **Immigration—General and Asiatic.**

We are pleased to note in the President's report that: "Great interest has manifested among the representatives (in Congress) on the general subject" of immigration.

We hope that "the veritable flood of bills designed to check immigration" and the work of the Immigration Commission will result in the enactment of legislation which will protect the workers in this country from the unfair competition resulting from indiscriminate immigration.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

### **Asiatic Exclusion.**

We are pleased to note that through the efforts of Representative Hayes, of California, some progress has been made towards securing the exclusion of Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Hindoos and Malays from our shores, and express the hope that the work in this direction may be carried to a successful consummation at an early date.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

### Oklahoma Constitution—Constitutions of Arizona and New Mexico—Oregon.

We are well pleased at the progress made in protecting the interests of the people in Oklahoma and Oregon and trust that the constitutions of Arizona and New Mexico will do as well, if not better in that direction.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

### Labor's Practical Political Action.

The success which labor has attained in the recent political campaign has, in our judgment, been due to keeping steadily in mind that labor is partisan to a principle and not to a party; and if we are to continue to be successful, we must keep the same idea constantly in mind. Those we have supported in the recent campaign may or may not carry into effect the principles for which we stand. We must be ever vigilant to defend those principles, even though it becomes necessary for us to oppose those we have recently supported.

We heartily concur in the position of the President when he protests against labor being reduced to a "bargain-counter commodity," and we might add, any other commodity. Labor power is an attribute of life and as such is produced by life and stored up in man. It is a part of man and cannot be separated from him until by its exercise by him it flows from him and then ceases to be a part of him, but becomes instead a product of labor power or of man. While labor power remains stored up in man and is a part of him, it cannot be bought and sold without buying and selling the man of which it is a part.

When labor power is exercised by man it passes from him in the process, is no longer a part of him, but instead is a part of the products of his labor power. Then, and not till then, it becomes a commodity. Then, and not till then, when it is no longer a part of him, it is property. The ownership of one man by another man being repugnant to all conceptions of human right and human liberty, and labor power being created and stored within man, and a part of him ceasing to be labor power the moment it is used, becoming then the product of labor, we protest against the theory propounded by many economists and accepted by some courts and legislators, that labor is property or a commodity than can be bought and sold.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

### Labor's Rights and Its Economic Power.

We endorse the position of the President upon this subject.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

### Police Oppression—The "Third Degree."

We endorse what the President says speaking as follows: "While it is the very first maxim in criminal law that every man is presumed innocent of crime until proven guilty, the police 'sweat-box' proceedings are based on the idea that when a man has been arrested the presumption that he is guilty must amount almost to a certainty, and that if sufficiently frightened or put in pain he will tell the truth."

The President protests against this cruelty that has no warrant for its existence except the brute power of barbarism and the traditions derived therefrom.

The exercise of torture, mental or physical, is prohibited alike by law and by ordinary human feeling. Its practice on the part of the police is usurpation that must be stopped.

To this end we recommend to the State Federations and to city central bodies that they urge upon the legislatures of their separate States the enactment of such law as shall put an end to this barbarism perpetrated upon those accused of crime and guard the rights inherent in humanity and presumably sacred in every citizen.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

### Maintain Labor Day's Significance—Labor Sunday.

We endorse the statements made by President Gompers relative to the significance of Labor Day and Labor Sunday and the impetus given to the labor movement by their proper observance.

We recommend the continuance and extension of the same in accordance with the suggestions of the President.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

### International Secretariat.

We are pleased to learn that the correspondence growing out of our affiliation with the International Secretariat has already been productive of good to our movement, notwithstanding the misrepresentation of our movement made by the so-called Industrial Workers and other enemies to our movement. We hope that the closer relationship which must necessarily follow from the personal contact of our delegates with the leaders of the labor movement of Europe will be still more beneficial.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

### Vital Statistics.

We heartily endorse what the President states in his report relative to this subject. We fully realize that statistics of this character are not as complete and reliable as they should be, and thereby give the opportunity to evade laws already in existence, particularly the Child Labor Law.

We recommend that the International officers of our affiliated organizations and the officers of State Federations and Central Labor Unions endeavor in every way possible to carry out the suggestions made in the President's report.

### **Our Effective Corps of Organizers.**

We have already expressed our appreciation of the effective and intelligent work done by our organizers, and thoroughly endorse all that the President has to say upon this subject.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

### **The Labor Press.**

One of the most effective channels through which trade union propaganda is conducted is the bona-fide Labor Press of our country. Many of the editors of these papers are self-sacrificing enthusiasts in the cause of humanity. We commend the suggestions of President Gompers relative to the Labor Press to the careful consideration of all who are interested in the trade union movement or the "important social problems of the day."

The report of the committee was concurred in.

### **American Federationist.**

We heartily commend the American Federationist to our members and friends, realizing the advantages that can be obtained in the way of information and education from the contributed articles and editorials contained therein upon every phase of the labor movement. We note with interest the improvement in the magazine during the past year, and the high-class of articles contained therein, and recommend that this standard be continued. We also desire to impress upon the members and friends of organized labor the necessity of giving greater support to the magazine by subscribing for the same to a greater degree in the future than has obtained in the past.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council, under the caption, "Walters' Unions of San Francisco," referred to the Committee on President's report, the committee stated that no further action was necessary, as the matter had been decided and removed from the field of controversy.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council, under the caption, "Hatters' Case," the committee reported: Your committee endorses the action of the Executive Council, and recommends that it be authorized to continue to help in the Hatters' Case along the line it has heretofore proceeded.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council, under the title, "Injunction and Contempt Cases," the committee reported that the subject matter was covered in the report of the committee on the President's report, and that no further action was necessary.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

On that portion of the report of the committee, under the caption, "Injunction and Boycott Pamphlet," the committee recommended the endorsement of the pamphlet issued and that its distribution be continued.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council, under the caption, "Legislation," the committee reported that the subject matter was covered by the report of the committee on the report of the President, and recommended no further action.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Labor Representation Committee's Report," the committee reported as follows: We endorse the work that has been done by the Executive Council and the Labor Representation Committee toward securing labor representative in Congress and the State legislatures, and recommend that the work be continued.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

On that part of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Affiliation With International Secretariat," the committee recommended concurrence in the following recommendations of the Executive Council:

We recommend that a delegate be selected by this convention to attend the Congress at Budapest in 1911.

We also recommend that the following, which we authorized President Gompers to submit to the Paris Congress in 1909 and which the Congress referred to the forthcoming Congress and which was approved by the Toronto Convention, be an instruction to the delegate from the American Federation of Labor to the Congress of the International Secretariat at Budapest, 1911:

Resolved, That the International Trade Union Congress recommends to the trade union centers (General Federation of Congresses) of all countries the discussion of the proposition of establishing an international federation of labor, the autonomy of the trade union movement of each country being ordained and guaranteed, the purpose of the federation being for the protection and the advancement of the rights, interests and justice of the wage-workers of all countries and the establishment of international fraternity and solidarity.

Resolved, That it shall be the purpose of the labor movement of all countries to endeavor to the fullest extent to prevent the workers from one country being induced to emigrate to other countries during periods of industrial depression or when trade disputes exist or are in contemplation; that it shall be the duty of the recognized representatives of the labor movement of the country affected to notify the International secretary, who in turn shall at once communicate the situation to the representatives of the trade union movement of each country.

We also recommend that such delegate be instructed to secure action from the Congress that shall put an estoppel to the promulgation, at least through an official source, to the scandalous misrepresentation of the labor movement from one country into another.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 10—By the delegates of the International Longshoremen's Association:

Whereas, In view of the recent ruling of the Solicitor-General of Immigration that there was no law at the present in the statutes to prevent Chinese, Japanese, or other Asiatic members of the crew of foreign vessels from landing in this country and working the cargo of their respective vessels, and neither the Geary Exclusion Act or the Allen Contract Labor Law afford any protection to the waterfront workers; and

Whereas, All other crafts are afforded protection under these laws from the coolie invasion in their respective callings, except the longshoremen and seamen; and

Whereas, The above ruling of the Solicitor-General of Immigration is past distinction, as it protects only certain crafts and not all citizens of the United States; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, do hereby empower their Executive Council to prepare a memorial to Congress, to legislate either by statute, law or treaty, to the end that all Asiatics (laborers) be excluded from the United States and from the merchant marine of our nation as seamen and to rigidly investigate the rulings of

the immigration officials of the Pacific Coast making it possible, as is at present, the custom of admitting hordes of the lowest type of Hindoo coolies to the Pacific ports of the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That every delegate to this convention consider himself a committee of one to agitate this vital question in his home locality, for upon the completion of the Panama Canal this problem must be solved in the Gulf and Atlantic ports, as well as by their brothers on the Pacific Coast.

The committee reported that the subject matter had been dealt with in the report of the committee on the President's report, and that further action was unnecessary.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Flynn (J. J.): I believe the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor should make strenuous efforts in regard to the Contract Labor Law. We find that men come into this country at any time the bosses want them. The law at the present time is inadequate. All they need to do is to circulate the statement that labor cannot be secured in this country; that they cannot get men to work. They cannot get men to work ten hours a day for \$1.75. That same law covered the photographers when they were out on strike, because men would not work the hours and for the wages they wanted, but they brought men into the country. I believe a committee should be appointed by the Executive Council to try to have the law on contract labor amended.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 15—By Delegates W. D. Huber, Frank Duffy, Wm. B. Macfarlane, Thomas Flynn, W. J. Kelly, Carl Young, A. M. Swartz, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

The Sixteenth Biennial Convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, held in Des Moines, Iowa, in September, 1910, instructed its delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention to present the following report of a special committee appointed to consider the question of the payment of insurance or benefits by labor



organizations, to the end that some definite action may be taken to protect labor organizations in the payment of said benefits:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Sixteenth Biennial Convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, in Convention Assembled:

Brothers—We, your Committee on Insurance, desire to respectfully submit the following for your consideration:

Having carefully considered the various communications submitted by the general secretary in reference to the demands made by the legal representatives of claimants who have insisted that payment of benefit should be made, and when informed that such payment would be in violation of benefit laws of the United Brotherhood, have invoked the aid of the insurance laws of the several States in which they reside, by inducing the Insurance Commissioners of said States to bring action against the United Brotherhood and its members, in order to secure, if possible, said benefits. Said Insurance Commissioners having stated that the benefit system or laws as set forth in the constitution of the United Brotherhood at this time, was in violation of the insurance laws of said States, and, after having considered sections of said laws with reference to the benefit laws of the United Brotherhood governing the payment of death, disability and other benefits, we are of the opinion that there is a very great necessity for a change in said laws, if we are to avoid the continued threats, demands and litigation that may arise in the future upon the refusal of the general secretary to pay such claims as are in violation of the laws of the United Brotherhood.

Your committee would therefore recommend that all sections of the constitution pertaining to death, disability, and other benefits or claims be so changed that they can not be legally construed as being in violation of the insurance laws of any State, and that the words "beneficial members" be stricken out of our constitution and the words "members in good standing" be inserted; that the word "benefit" be changed to read "donation," and that all sections where reference is made to the payment of death, disability and other benefits shall be so arranged that they shall clearly define and show that the intent under our constitution shall be to make donations to members in all cases of death, disability and other benefits, and in similar amounts as at present stated in the constitution of the United Brotherhood.

We would further recommend that this matter of insurance be referred to the Committee on Constitution for their consideration as recommended, and that such recommendations as shall be made by said committee, if approved by convention, shall be referred to the members of the United Brotherhood for their approval or rejection

at the time that other amendments to the constitution are sent them.

We would also recommend that the general secretary and the General Executive Board continue their effort to maintain our laws and protect our organization and its members from all unjust demands or claims, where same has been made by the Insurance Commissioners of any State operating under such laws.

We would also recommend that the question of the payment of benefits, as the same may apply to other trade organizations, shall be referred to the American Federation of Labor at its coming convention, for the purpose of securing the co-operation of all trades represented, to the end that uniform insurance laws may be enacted in the several States, such as will protect all trade organizations and exempt them from the operation of the insurance laws of all States, and that will permit of their continuing the payment of benefits to their members without interference or litigation.

Respectfully submitted,

A. M. SWARTZ, Secretary,  
A. D. SLYE,  
LEONARD DIEDENRICHS,  
J. A. ROBINSON,  
M. C. TEBO,

Committee.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution was covered in the report of the committee on the President's report, and that further action was unnecessary.

On motion, the report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate Norval White, Jefferson City Trades and Labor Assembly:

Whereas, It is a well-known fact that the first Monday in September is set apart by many State governments to be observed as Labor Day; and

Whereas, The men of labor are losing sight of the importance of observing the day as it should be; therefore, be it

Resolved, By this Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at St. Louis, Mo., that all of the national and international unions so amend their constitutions so as to compel its local unions to take part in the Labor Day celebrations in the localities where they are held, so as to bring credit and not discredit to the labor movement; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to send each national and international union a circular letter within ninety days after this convention adjourns to carry out the request of this resolution.

The committee reported that the subject matter of Resolution No. 59 was covered in the report of the committee on the President's Report and that further action was unnecessary.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 77—By the delegation representing the Cigar Makers' International Union:

Resolved, By the American Federation of Labor, in annual session assembled, that we neither seek nor desire special privileges, but do desire an equal opportunity with all classes.

That we believe and hereby declare that successful and permanent government must rest primarily upon the recognition of the rights of men and the absolute sovereignty of the people.

That no man has natural authority over his fellowman. The basis of his authority is mutual agreement. In society the individual surrender is not to a particular person, but to all. His compensation is the acquisition of an equivalent right over every other member of this community. The people as a whole are sovereign and each individual participant in that sovereignty.

That the success and duration of representative government depends upon responsibility and accountability—the responsibility of the people for their laws and selection of their public servants and the accountability of the public servants directly to the people. Under popular government, meaning in its present evolution the initiative and referendum, and efficient direct primary, corrupt practices and recall laws, general welfare must be the basis of every law and goal of every public servant. The people are responsible for their laws, and the public servant is directly accountable to the people, the result being the necessitated development of both the electorate and the public servant.

That under delegated government, still in vogue in most of our States, the people have no voice in their legislation, thus restraining the development of the electorate, nor have they any voice in the selection of their public servants, thus debauching public service because of the direct accountability of the public servant to the political boss or special interest for his nomination.

That under the convention system every public servant knows the interest of the individual to whom he owes his nomination, hence his inclination to serve a selfish interest.

That under the direct primary law, the public servant is nominated, not by any known individual or interest, but by the composite electorate, hence

his inclination must be to serve the general welfare.

That we therefore urge organized labor throughout the United States to make the adoption of the initiative and referendum the issue in every campaign without regard to party lines until such amendment has been adopted and that then a campaign be commenced for adoption of the direct primary, corrupt practices act and recall.

That we urge every council of the American Federation of Labor to study and discuss the Oregon system of Popular Government as explained by Honorable Jonathan Bourne, Jr., in the speech delivered by him in the United States Senate, May 5, 1910.

That we urge all citizens to question candidates for legislative offices as to their attitude upon these questions and refuse to support any candidate, regardless of party, who is not pledged to every voter in his State to work and vote for the initiative and referendum, direct primary, corrupt practices act and recall, substantially in the form of the Oregon laws which have been demonstrated by practical experience to be the best thus far evolved by the brains of man.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate Thomas Bone, of Central Labor Council, Stockton, Cal.:

Whereas, The first Monday in September of each year has been, and is now set aside as labor's own day, and is so observed throughout the entire country by the members of organized labor, and

Whereas, Organized labor in general observes that day as a holiday, by resting from labor and by fitting celebrations, and

Whereas, Nearly all the national and international unions and associations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor make it compulsory for their members to refrain from work on said Labor Day, thereby causing them to lose a day's pay for that day; and

Whereas, The San Joaquin County Central Labor Council, representing some twenty-nine affiliated locals (and sixteen unaffiliated locals) has at all times been a willing and faithful observer of said Labor Day, its members, with the exception of one union, freely and strictly sacrificing the day's work and its accompanying wage and marching annually unpaid on the streets and otherwise faithfully and fittingly observing and celebrating the day, and

Whereas, It is our sincere belief that all unions should be required to parade on Labor Day without pay on an equal basis without exception, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the San Joaquin County Central Labor Council hereby urges the American Federation of Labor to use its best efforts to have the American Federation of Musicians so amend their constitution that their affiliated locals may be permitted to donate their services in parade on Labor Day, free of charge.

The committee recommended nonconcurrency in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 105—By Delegate Thomas Bone, Central Labor Council, Stockton, Cal.:

Whereas, It is absolutely necessary for the best interests of organized labor, that local unions shall have the right to complete autonomy and self-government in all local affairs, to the end that they may be in a position to meet and successfully combat any and all attacks that may be made upon local organized labor, and

Whereas, Local unions are at all times the best judges of their own local interests in the places where they exist, especially so in matters demanding their immediate attention and decisive action, and

Whereas, It is often the case that the very life of a local union depends upon the prompt and instant moral and financial support and assistance of the other local union in that locality, and

Whereas, Said prompt and instant moral and financial support and aid is often times denied and prohibited to local unions, which are forced by circumstances not of their own creation, to demand said local support in order to preserve their very existence, and

Whereas, The denial and prohibition of prompt and instant moral and financial aid and support to local unions in need of such help, is caused solely by certain unreasonable laws and restrictions of the national and international unions and associations with which the various locals are affiliated, to-wit:

First—The law refusing a local the right to declare a sympathetic strike (locally) without the consent of the national or international, with which it is affiliated.

Second—The law refusing the local the right to assess its members in time of local trouble, without the consent of the national or international with which they may be affiliated.

Third—The law refusing the local the right to place a special initiation fee on "rats" and "scabs" who have worked as strike-breakers; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the San Joaquin County Central Labor Council, representing some twenty-nine affiliated local unions, does hereby respectfully and earnestly urge that the American Federation of Labor (with which this body is affiliated) in regular annual convention assembled in St. Louis, Mo., take decided and prompt action, recommending and instructing the various national and international unions and associations

affiliated with said American Federation of Labor, to amend or strike from their respective constitutions and by-laws the above mentioned laws, to the end that locals may be in a position to successfully combat all sudden attacks of any kind that may be made upon them, and, be it further

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor be apprised of the fact that the San Joaquin County Building Trades Council (affiliated with the California State Building Trades Council, and the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor) and representing some twenty-six local unions, has by official action endorsed the above set of resolutions and concurred in this joint request to the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended nonconcurrency in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 147—By Delegates Matthew Woll, of International Photo-Engravers' Union, and Andrew J. Gallagher, San Francisco Labor Council:

Whereas, Local Photo-Engravers' Union of the City of Boston, Mass., with approval of the International Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A., in the ordinary and lawful conduct of its organization, solicited into membership craftsmen in this city, unaffiliated with our movement, and in so doing met with the combined and organized opposition of employers to such an extent that membership in the union was cause for their dismissal, notwithstanding their published statement of neutrality, and

Whereas, This combined and organized opposition of employers compelled members of the local photo-engravers' union to assert and protect their rights of association, affiliation and organization by endeavoring to collectively bargain and contract for a better working condition, viz.: reduction of working hours to forty-eight hours per week, payment of time and one-half for overtime, double time for Sundays and holidays, establishment of a minimum wage scale, regulation of apprentices, and protection of their right of association and organization, resulting in a strike, after several months' attempt to negotiate for these improved working conditions, and having made every possible effort to avoid friction, and

Whereas, The employers even before the strike became effective sought to prevent the strike by means of an injunction writ, and have since the calling of the strike secured a number of permanent injunctions not only declaring our strike illegal, because of our attempt to protect our right of association and of organization, and permitting us to defend this right by force of perfect organization, but denying us the right to continue the strike for any other purpose or purposes, such as the establishment of a minimum wage scale, payment of time and one-half for

overtime, double time for Sundays and holidays, and regulation of apprentices, and to this end have enjoined us from paying strike benefits directly or indirectly to our members, and

Whereas, The local union was, by order of court, not only compelled to call off our strike and stop paying strike benefits for any purpose, but the employers at the present time, by perverting our motives and misinterpreting our actions, are now attempting to prevent us from paying to members unemployed in this city, by reason of the employers refusing to treat with our members as a union for any purpose, "out of work benefits," by citing the local officers, the international president and international organizer into court for contempt of court for paying benefits to members unemployed, and asking for jail sentence for paying these unemployed benefits, and

Whereas, The success of employers in these proceedings has not only served to prevent the payment of strike benefits, and may serve the purpose of preventing us from paying out of work benefits, thereby laying the foundation for the complete destruction of the power, influence and efficiency of trades unions to enforce a better working condition for its members and prevent future attacks upon working conditions already established, and in addition can only serve the purpose of a precedent, and prove an incentive and encouragement for a still greater destructive exercise of the judiciary power in labor controversies.

Therefore, be it resolved, that the American Federation of Labor take cognizance of the conditions confronting the Photo-Engravers' Union in the city of Boston, and that of organized labor generally, protest this exercise of the equitable power of the judiciary, instruct its president and Executive Council to thoroughly inquire into the situation confronting the Photo-Engravers, and all organized labor, related in the fore part of this resolution, and take such action in this legal and industrial controversy as will secure to the Photo-Engravers and to all organized labor, the rights which rightfully and justly belong to the workers, and obtain for them the conditions of labor deemed fair, just and equitable.

The committee offered the following substitute for Resolution No. 147:

Whereas, The courts have invaded the rights of the Photo-Engravers in the City of Boston by the issuance of injunctions contrary to the letter and spirit of our law; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council be instructed to investigate the situation and render such help to the Photo-Engravers as, in their judgment, is necessary.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Woll: I want to add a little explanation, something I think the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the affiliated unions should know. While the court in restraining us from continuing our strike and compelling us to call it off based its decision on the union clause in our agreement, during the hearing the court said that our agreement also contained a clause wherein we ask that the foreman be a union man, and that even if we had not the closed shop, as interpreted by him in our agreement any strike to compel the foreman to be a union man was in the nature of a closed shop demand, and would also be illegal. He went further and stated that because we had in our contract an arbitration clause wherein we asked if any differences arose in our shop they might be submitted to arbitration, we could not force by strike a clause of that nature compelling an employer to submit any question of difference to arbitration. Even if he had not founded his ruling on the closed shop he had two others to fall back on to declare our strike illegal. In this case they have prevented us from paying strike benefits.

The question was discussed at length by Delegate Woll.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Willson: That completes the report of the Committee on President's Report, all of which is respectfully submitted.

ANDREW FURUSETH,  
JOHN S. WHALEN,  
OWEN MILLER,  
JAMES J. CREAMER,  
JAMES L. GERNON,  
JOHN A. MOFFITT,  
P. J. McARDLE,  
JOHN J. KEEGAN,  
GEORGE P. FOSTER,  
GEORGE BECHTOLD,  
THOMAS F. TRACY,  
W. B. WILSON,

Secretary Willson: I move the adoption of the report of the committee

as a whole. (Seconded and carried by unanimous vote.)

President Gompers: Our fraternal delegates from Great Britain have been in cable communication with the representatives of labor on the other side. As you know, Brother Brace is a member of Parliament of Great Britain, and he has been informed that the election in his district or division will occur on the 13th day of December. He is summoned home in order that he may give his attention, not to his interests, but to the interests of the people he represents. I am sure that he will take with him our very best wishes for his successful return. Having in mind the fact that Parliament has been dissolved and that the general elections will occur, and having in mind the Toronto resolutions in regard to the impending struggle of the workers and of the common people of Great Britain, I drafted two resolutions of a general character supplementary to the resolutions we adopted at Toronto. I shall read them, with your permission, and if permitted I shall ask for their consideration and adoption.

Resolution No. 151—Introduced by President Gompers:

Resolved, That the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at St. Louis, November 14 to 26, 1910, repeats its expressions of appreciation, commendation and encouragement to Britain's great commoner, Lloyd George, in the magnificent contest which he has led and is leading for the establishment of the principle that in any conflict between the rights of humanity and property rights, mankind must be accorded the first and best consideration.

Resolved, That America's parliament of labor extends to the toilers of Great Britain fraternal greetings and sincere good wishes in their great economic struggles and in their impending political contests, that immediate success and permanent triumph in the cause of Britain's common people and humanity in general may be the full measure of their efforts.

The motion offered by President Gompers was adopted by unanimous vote.

Fraternal Delegate Brace and Fraternal Delegate Turner addressed the convention at some length, regretted that they were forced to leave the convention before its close, and again expressed their appreciation of the kindnesses and courtesies that had been

shown them during the convention and during their stay in the country.

As the fraternal delegates retired from the convention all the delegates arose and remained standing until they had left the hall, sending them on their way with three hearty cheers.

The President stated that the hour for the special order of business had arrived, and the question of the affiliation of the Western Federation of Miners would be taken up.

Vice-President Duncan: The secretary will reread the report for information only, because the question is already before the house under a motion to adopt.

Secretary Morrison read Resolutions Nos. 128 and 141, and the matter in connection with the application for affiliation contained in the report of the Executive Council, and also read the report of the Committee on Resolutions on the matter.

Delegate Lewis (T. L.): I desire to offer an amendment to the report of the committee. I move to strike out all of the committee's report beginning with the last paragraph on page 3, and insert in lieu thereof the following: "That the Executive Council be instructed to issue a charter to the Western Federation of Miners, giving to them jurisdiction over all permanent workers employed in connection with metalliferous mines, mills and smelters." (Seconded.)

Delegate Walker (J. H.): I would like to offer a motion that has to do with the consideration of the proposition. I move that during the consideration of this question the four representatives of the Western Federation of Miners who are here be given the privilege of the floor for the purpose of discussion. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Lewis spoke at length in support of the amendment.

Delegate Ryan (F. M.): I wish to offer an amendment to the amendment. I do this because I have not had an opportunity to attend the conferences mentioned in the report of the Executive Council, and to preserve the rights of my organization.

I move as an amendment to the amendment that we substitute the

recommendation of the Executive Council for the committee's report, with the following addition: "That the recommendation of the Executive Council in the machinists' case shall apply to all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor." (Seconded.)

Delegate Ryan: I understand that at least half a dozen organizations did not have any chance to attend those conferences, and they should have been given that opportunity.

Delegate O'Brien asked for an explanation of the term "permanent workers," used in the substitute.

Vice-President Mitchell: The Western Federation of Miners, under this charter, if it is granted, will not claim jurisdiction over men doing structural work. If a carpenter, an iron worker or a machinist is sent to the plant to erect machinery or do construction work, to work sixty days, or even six months the Western Federation men say, he will not be asked to transfer his membership to the Western Federation of Miners. The word "permanent" must be understood in that connection.

Delegate Walker (J. H.), spoke at length in favor of the amendment.

The question was further discussed by Delegate Ryan (F. M.), who spoke in favor of the amendment to the amendment, and in opposition to the amendment and the report of the committee.

Delegate Kline discussed the matter at some length, and in concluding his remarks, said: "Some time ago I received a resolution from our Butte, Mont., lodge of blacksmiths. It was a protest against the Western Federation of Miners claiming jurisdiction over those blacksmiths at the present time, or that they were going to take them into their organization. We have also had complaints in different parts of the West where we had organized blacksmiths that the Western Federation had put up posters claiming they were a dual organization and they would try to put them out of business. These resolutions were sent to the American Federation of Labor, and it seems to me the Executive Council and the Committee on Resolutions has entirely ignored them, and today

we hear of the International Association of Machinists being protected by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and all the other organizations ignored. We do not intend to give the blacksmiths over to the Western Federation of Miners without a protest.

The question was further discussed by Vice-President Mitchell and Vice-President O'Connell.

Vice-President O'Connell stated that he had no objection to the admission of the Western Federation of Miners, that he would be glad to have them come back to the American Federation of Labor, but he protested against the American Federation of Labor giving jurisdiction over the machinists to any other organization. In concluding his remarks Vice-President O'Connell said he was in favor of the amendment offered by Delegate Ryan and considered it strictly in compliance with the laws of the organization.

Delegate McNulty, for the Electrical Workers, protested against the American Federation of Labor admitting the Western Federation of Miners without defining the jurisdiction and protecting the work of other trades.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.), for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, stated that if another conference were held the teamsters would expect to take part in it and reach an understanding that would protect their rights before a charter would be issued to the Western Federation of Miners.

President Moyer, of the Western Federation of Miners, discussed the matter at some length in a general way, and replied specifically to many statements that had been made by the speakers who had preceded him.

Vice-President O'Connell: In order that we may have a clear understanding, one that may be a guide to us now and in the future, I make this point of law: Section 11, of Article IX of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor says:

"No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any national, international, trade, or federal labor union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a

trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions."

I raise the point that this application is a trespass upon the affiliated organizations of the International Association of Machinists; that I have not given my written consent or consent in any way to the charter being granted. I ask the chair to rule whether the application for the charter and the consideration of it at this time is in order.

President Gompers: The chair will state that he is unprepared at this moment to rule on the point of order raised.

Vice-President O'Connell: Will you permit me to make a motion? I move that this convention adjourn to 9 o'clock tomorrow morning, and that the President in that time rule upon the motion. (Seconded.)

Delegate Furuseth: I move to amend by striking out the instructions to the President.

President Gompers: If the point of order is maintained the chair will make answer to it when he has had opportunity to think it over.

Delegate Lewis: I rise to a point of order on the motion made by Vice-President O'Connell.

President Gompers: A motion has been made that we adjourn to 9 o'clock

tomorrow morning. Before we adjourn the chair has a matter he thinks is necessary to bring before the convention. I am in receipt of a telegram from Ybor City, near Tampa, which reads as follows:

"Johnson, International Agent, ordered out of town by Citizens' Committee; demands protection.

(Signed):

"JOINT ADVISORY BOARD."

Mr. Johnston is the representative of the international Union located at Tampa as the agent of the Union for the purpose of endeavoring to bring about any adjustment possible with the employers. Of course, I refer to the Cigar Makers' troubles.

Secretary Morrison: I move that President Gompers be authorized in the name of the American Federation of Labor to send a protest to the Governor of Florida against the treatment being accorded representatives of labor in that State, and demand protection.

The motion offered by Secretary Morrison was seconded, and carried by unanimous vote.

At 6:40 p. m. the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9 o'clock a. m., Saturday, November 26th.

## Eleventh Day's Proceedings—Saturday, November 26, 1910.

The convention was called to order at 9 a. m., Saturday, November 26, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—DeVeaux, Kennedy, Koch, Glover, Dougherty, Dolan (C. T.), Duffy (Frank), Richardson (P. F.), Humphrey, Barnes, Fay, Monaghan, Healy, Bechtold, Meyer, Dyche, Wettengel, Nestor, Moffitt, Maher, Grahame, Gehring, Coakley, Vurpia, Price, Call, Perry, Valentine, Dunachie, Winkler, Carey (D. A.), Kelley (Samuel), Evans (D. J.), Carey (J. T.), Dold, Donlin, Smyth, Murphy (Patrick), Nelson, Roth, Berry, Mallin, Carrigan, Riley, Hart, Berry, McHugh, Mitchell (M.), Evans (Jo), Grimshaw, Teagarden, Carolan, Hatch, Drake, Mikel, Skaggs, Pfeiffer, DeNedrey, Lee, Eckenrod, Murray, Creamer, Berger, Joyner, Cathon, Maddox, Hirsh, Jennings, Baum, Hudson (Fred), Courtenay, Klefer, Andrick, Zepp, Britt, Wentz, Kleyhauer, Nystrom, Wilson (G. F.), Smith (J. U. P.), Silger, Laws, Fear, Bramlette, Hippert, Smith (O. P.), Fahey, McGill, Zeigler, Hunter, Bell, McGeary, Keough, McDonald, Wood, Niven, Cotter, Rizzie, James, Stafford, Goodwin, Skelley, Gaede, Siebert, White, Swenson, Carter (C. A.), Bartholomew, Hubbard, Leibowitz, Greenbaum, Miller (A.), Dunne, Lippert, Harris, Hudson (Mabel), Goldstein, Nihil, Davis, Lorenzen.

Secretary Morrison read communications containing invitations to hold the next convention in Atlanta, Georgia, from Local No. 23, Journeymen Barbers' International Union; from the Building Trades Council of Atlanta; from the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, and from the Georgia branch of that organization; from the Atlanta Federation of Trades, and Local Union 1004 Carpenters and Joiners of America.

Secretary Morrison read telegrams from Indianapolis, Indiana, inviting the convention to be held in that city, from Mayor S. L. Shank, former Mayor Bookwalter, the Commercial Club, Chief of Police Martin Hyland, and from Governor Thomas R. Marshall.

A communication was read from the Niagara Falls Bureau of Conventions, inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in that city.

The order of business pending at the time of adjournment, Friday evening, November 25, the consideration of the application for a charter of affiliation by the Western Federation of Miners, was deferred until the printed proceedings of the previous days' session could reach the hall.

### Report of Committee on Labels.

Delegate Tobin (J.) for the committee, reported as follows:

Your committee on Labels submits the several resolutions referred to it for consideration and report as follows:

The following recommendations are made in the opening of this report so as to cover the requirements of such of the resolutions as contain features that appeal to our judgment as deserving of favorable action by this convention.

Complaint being made that irregular methods in the use of the labels of the American Federation of Labor by employers and by locals to which labels are issued, your Committee reports in favor of instructing the officers of the American Federation of Labor to prosecute under the law any illegal use of the label, and to see to it that local unions receiving labels shall be required to safeguard the proper use of the same.

Your Committee suggests for the purpose of narrowing down the fixing or responsibility for careless or improper use of the label, that the number of the local to which the labels are issued shall be printed in red ink on each label.

We further recommend that wherever possible a cloth label be used and that it be stitched on neckties, suspenders and such other merchandise where it is possible or practical to have the label sewed or stitched in.

We also advise that labels shall be issued at the net cost price, and shall not be made a source of profit either by the



American Federation of Labor, or the locals to which they are issued.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee as far as read, be adopted.

The report was discussed briefly by Delegate Sullivan (J. L.), and Delegate Tracy (T. F.).

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate C. F. Russi, Jr., delegate from San Antonio Trades Council:

Whereas, It has been the custom of merchants throughout the country to cheat and defraud union men when demanding the union label on goods by removing labels that are glued on goods and placing them on non-union-made goods; therefore, be it

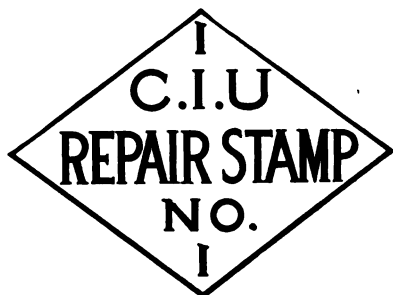
Resolved, That all labels issued by the American Federation of Labor be sewed on all union-made goods.

Chairman Tobin: Your committee reports adversely because of the manifest impossibility of carrying out the requirements of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in. (Carried.)

Resolution No. 35—By delegates of the Coopers' International Union:

Whereas, The Coopers' International Union having adopted a new label to be used on repaired slack barrels, respectfully requests the American Federation of Labor to give the same its endorsement; therefore, be it



Resolved, By the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the new label of the Coopers' International Union for repaired slack work as above depicted be, and the same is hereby endorsed.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate D. W. Robinson of Central Council, Portland, Ore.:

Whereas, The present method of labels, emblems, etc., existing in the affiliated organizations of the American Federation of Labor is very confusing; and

Whereas, It should be our desire as union men to cement the interests of all workers into as close and compact a relationship as possible, and

Whereas, We believe that the establishment of one universal label will result in much good to the entire labor movement; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Thirtieth Annual Convention that the Executive Council is hereby authorized and instructed to make a thorough investigation of the matter and report to the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Chairman Tobin: Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution because of its being impractical. It is our opinion that well established labels would suffer a serious setback and the difficulty set forth in the resolution would be overcome and all labels benefited if more energy and financial support was given to establish the obscure labels by the organizations controlling them.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in. (Carried.)

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates Henry Koch and Chris Kerker, of Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union:

Whereas, The label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America represents bread and other bakery and confectionery goods made under fair and sanitary conditions, honest wages, living hours, and by union men, and

Whereas, The label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America is the only proof of same, as it distinguishes union from nonunion; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, re-endorse the label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America; and be it further

Resolved, That every member of each affiliated union be and is hereby requested to ask for the union label on all products he or she may purchase, thereby showing or proving his or her loyalty to the cause of unionism in a substantial manner.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 72 was referred by the Committee on Labels to the Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate Samuel Leibowitz 12674, Mineral Water Workers:

Whereas, The label of the American Federation of Labor is being counterfeited by several manufacturers in the city of New York; and

Whereas, The counterfeiting of said label of the American Federation of Labor, is very detrimental to the progress and welfare of the different federal local unions of the American Federation of Labor in the City of New York; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the President and Executive Council be and are hereby instructed to take this matter up at once, and prosecute the offending manufacturers, and stop the counterfeiting of the label of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate John S. Whalen, of New York State Federation of Labor:

Whereas, There has been successfully carried on for a number of years by the Brooklyn Central Labor Union, what is known as the Union Label Fair, which has effectively promoted the sale of union-made goods. Realizing that the plan would be more effective if such fairs were held in different parts of the country and promoted by the American Federation of Labor, and through them the manufacturers of union-made articles throughout the country would be induced to exhibit; be it

Resolved, That we endorse the plan conducted by the Brooklyn Central Labor Union and recommend the same to the American Federation of Labor Convention, to be held in St. Louis, and that the delegate of this body be instructed to present the same to the convention for action.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 23 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 23—By Delegate T. J. Carolan, of International Brotherhood of Tip Printers:

Whereas, The value and utility of the union label as an organizing factor is firmly established among trades unionists, and

Whereas, The International Brotherhood of Tip Printers, who do gold, silver and metal printing and embossing in hats, caps, badges and novelties, has the greatest difficulty in organizing the tip printers in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago and other cities, because of the fact that the master tip printers have seen fit to lock them out for a number of years, and openly declared that no union man shall ever work in their shops again, a threat which they have lived up to to a man, and all because the tip printers had courage to ask a little more wages so as to keep themselves and families from want, and

Whereas, Some of the master tip printers have gone so far as to degrade their men by putting up a prize of \$10 every six months, and the man working the most flesh from his hands, and the largest amount of blood out of his veins is the winner of this miserable and degrading prize, and

Whereas, A very large amount of the printing done in the non-union shops is placed in union hats and caps, and this work comes from union hat and cap manufacturers, who send the printing to non-union shops to have it printed and then place it in their union goods, and

Whereas, We believe that we have a just right to demand from organized labor that it should see that all printing in union hats, caps, badges, etc., is strictly union and done by union men, bearing the label of the International Brotherhood of Tip Printers; therefore, be it

Resolved, That all organizations, national or federal, having in their organization members working on tip printing presses and doing work which rightfully belongs and comes under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Tip Printers, be instructed by this convention to surrender all such members who are doing tip printers' work and working on tip printing presses, to the International Brotherhood of Tip Printers.

Resolved, That we protest against the premium system and deplore the fact that workers are so blind as to lend themselves to the man-killing method pace-making which degrades the workers and reduces the wages of the average worker below the living point.

The committee recommended that the last Resolve be referred to the Adjustment Committee, and that the rest of the resolution be adopted as amended.

Delegate Kelley (W. J.): I move that the last Resolve be referred to the Executive Council. (Seconded and carried.)

The recommendation of the committee in regard to the rest of the resolution was adopted.

Chairman Tobin: This report was prepared several days ago while the various committees to which resolutions are referred were in active operation.

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate J. T. Carey of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers:

Whereas, A great bulk of news paper, book paper and writing papers are generally purchased in large quantities, over which the individual purchaser has no control; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall, immediately after the adjournment of the convention, communicate with the officers of the Newspaper Publishers' Association, in an endeavor to have all paper used by publishers who are members of said association bear the label of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, and, be it further

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, either by circular letter or otherwise, request that committees from all local unions, central bodies and State federations use their best endeavors, by the adoption of resolutions, communications or by conferences with all publishers in their respective localities to secure paper bearing the label of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers; and be it further

Resolved, That all national and international unions, local unions, central bodies, State federations and consumers of paper use their best endeavors to procure paper bearing the label of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers in all trade union publications and stationery used by them, and use their best endeavors to advance the use of paper bearing the label of the International brotherhood of Paper Makers.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 2—By the International Jewelry Workers' Union of America:

Whereas, The stock label of the American Federation of Labor denotes a strictly union-made article when appearing on same; and

Whereas, Badgemakers throughout the United States are using the A. F. of L. stock label on badges that bear non-union-made metal parts, thereby deceiving the purchasers of strictly union-made products; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at St. Louis, Mo., November, 1910, do hereby order badgemakers using A. F. of L. stock label to purchase union-made steel parts bearing the union label and all parts coming under the jurisdiction of the International Jewelry Workers' Union of America; and be it further

Resolved, That the A. F. of L. stock label be withdrawn from badgemakers not complying with this law.

Chairman Tobin: Inasmuch as the authors of the resolution did not appear before your committee or express a desire to be heard, we report non-concurrence in the resolution, because it seems impossible to meet the requirements of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in. (Carried.)

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates A. McAndrew and E. Lewis Evans, of Tobacco Workers' International Union:

Whereas, The promotion of the union label of each respective trade or craft in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor is one of the chief essentials of success,

Whereas, The Tobacco Workers' International Union has adopted a union label to distinguish the union from the non-union products on tobaccos, cigarettes and snuff, and

Whereas, The Tobacco Workers' International Union have been for the past fifteen years and at the present time are consistently engaged in a continual educational and agitation campaign to create a greater demand for tobaccos, cigarettes and snuff that bears the label of the Tobacco Workers' International Union; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the delegates to the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in St. Louis, November, 1910, realize it our duty to aid and assist with our moral support in creating a greater demand for union labeled tobaccos, cigarettes and snuff; and be it further

Resolved, That at the present time there are some two or three thousand brands of tobaccos, cigarettes and snuff on the market bearing the label of the Tobacco Workers' International Union, superior in quality and cleanliness to non-union brands; that we therefore assert that there can be no valid excuse for members of organized labor for purchasing non-union products with money earned under union conditions.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate Walter Gazzolo, I. A. B. P. and B. of A.:

Greeting: The International Alliance of Bill Posters and Billers, being a young organization, and desirous of bringing their labor in more common use amongst the various crafts who should use it; therefore, be it further

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, through which delegates at this convention instruct the affiliated local, both national and federal, and city central body, to see that the label of the International Bill Posters is placed on all advertising matter, such as cards and posters.

Chairman Tobin: Your committee recommends that the purposes of the resolution be carried out as far as practicable.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 107—By Delegate J. C. Skemp, of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, by request of Local Union 201, Albany, N. Y.:

Whereas, The private trade-marks placed upon goods by manufacturers are calculated to confuse or mislead those who desire to buy union goods, in some instances are designed for that purpose, and

Whereas, The increasing number of genuine union labels and devices to distinguish union-made products and union establishments are themselves confusing to union men and their friends who desire to patronize union labor, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Label Department of the American Federation of Labor devise and copyright a union label for general and universal use by all crafts affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and that upon the special label be provided a space for the insertion of the title of the organization issuing it and of the individual firm or corporation manufacturing the goods upon which it is placed, so that the intending customer may be fully informed as to the conditions under which the goods are produced.

Chairman Tobin: The committee non-concurs in the resolution, because it is believed that greater confusion would result if it were adopted.

On motion the report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate Thomas Bone, of Central Labor Council of Stockton, Cal.:

Whereas, The Union label on union made products and the demand for goods bearing said label is one of the most potent, if not the most powerful, weapons within the hands of members of organized labor for the betterment of the conditions of the wage-earners of the land; and

Whereas, There are at this time so many and so varied union labels of the different trades and crafts that a great many members of organized labor do not know the labels of the other crafts, and those outside the ranks of labor (whose sympathies are with labor) must of necessity be confused by such numerous labels and the work of the Label Leagues is greatly hampered by so many and so different labels, and believing that this confusion could and should be eliminated; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled, take action at this time to arrange for a joint committee with representatives from all national unions having emblems, labels or union signs, that some form of universal union label may be adopted for the use of all unions affiliated with said American Federation of Labor, and that this convention does now declare itself in favor of such a universal union label.

The committee recommended non-concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 96—By Edw. P. Baum, Belleville, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly; Thomas Rumsey, Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers' International; Frank Grimshaw, Stove Mounters' International Union:

Whereas, The Union Label of some of the trades working in the stove and foundry industry has been in a good many instances issued to companies who are unfair to other craft unions, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to confer with the International officers of all the International Unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department, with a view of establishing an allied Metal Trades Union Label.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 96 be referred to the Metal Trades Department.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Chairman Tobin: That concludes the report of the committee.

JOHN F. TOBIN,  
LOUIS KEMPER,  
MAX S. HAYES,  
MARTIN LAWLOR,  
J. J. HANDLEY,  
J. MAHLON BARNES,  
ED. ANDERSON,  
CHRIS KERKER,  
A. ROSENBERG,  
THOS. S. FARRELL,  
A. McANDREW,  
E. J. BRAIS,  
WM. CARR,  
WM. BRAUN.

Vice-President Duncan: For some time there has been a contention between the Structural Iron Workers and the Boiler Makers, and many efforts have been made to have a final adjustment. Among themselves they settled a great many things, but a few were left on which they could not agree. The presidents of both organizations came to me since this convention has been in session and asked that I agree to act as an arbitrator in these disputes. Both parties agreed that the arbitration would be final and binding and settle the disputes that have been going on between them. I have attended to the duty, and it is the wish of the two organizations as well as myself as arbitrator to make the decision a part of the records of this convention.

Mr. F. M. Ryan, International President  
International Association of Bridge  
and Structural Iron Workers:

Mr. J. A. Franklin, International President,  
Brotherhood of Boiler Makers  
and Iron Ship Builders:

Dear Sirs and Brothers:—

In accordance with your joint request that I should arbitrate certain points in dispute between your International Associations I accept the position of arbitrator and herewith render a decision on the points submitted for my arbitration which were as follows:

"As to the jurisdiction of each organization to the following work:

1. All sectional or other steel stocks erected in office buildings and hotels; all stacks erected in small power plants in connection with hotel or office buildings, and all extensions to such stacks in buildings herein mentioned.

2. All other steel or iron stacks, viz.: All stacks in connection with power plants, blast furnaces, rolling mills and manufacturing plants and all other power plants, not included in Section No. 1.

3. Repairs to stacks mentioned in Sections 1 and 2.

4. All connections between boilers and stacks (commonly known as breeching) built of sheet steel or iron. All trusses, supports or hangers for same."

I decide as follows:

Section No. 1. All sectional or other steel stacks erected in office buildings and hotels. All stacks erected in small power plants, in connection with hotel or office buildings. All extensions to such stacks in buildings herein mentioned shall be considered as structural iron workers work.

Section No. 2. All other steel or iron stacks shall be considered Boilermakers work viz.: All stacks in connection with power plants, blast furnaces, rolling mills and manufacturing plants and all other power plants, not included in Section No. 1 to be erected by Boilermakers.

Section No. 3. Repairs on the stacks awarded to the Structural Iron Workers, shall be done by Structural Iron Workers and repairs on stacks awarded to Boilermakers shall be done by Boilermakers.

Section No. 4. All connection between boilers and stacks (commonly known as "Breeching") built of sheet steel or iron, shall be done by Boilermakers. All trusses, supports or hangers erected for same to be done by Structural Iron Workers.

Respectfully submitted,  
JAMES DUNCAN,

First Vice-President American Federation of Labor Arbitrator.

Vice-President Duncan: I move that this award be ratified by this convention, and made part of the official proceedings. (Seconded and carried.)

#### Report of the Committee on Law.

Delegate Tazelaar, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 26, 1910.

The Committee on Law begs leave to submit for your consideration the following subjects which were referred to them, also the recommendations of the committee.

Resolution No. 1—By Hair Spinners' Union No. 12353:

Whereas, We consider the strike benefits paid by the American Federation of Labor

too small compared with the high cost of living, and we believe we can get better results in case of trouble by keeping the members together, because we find when the money runs low they become dilatory and indifferent to their obligation and duty; therefore, be it

Resolved, That Section 5 of Article XIII of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by striking out "\$4 per week for each member" and inserting "\$6 per week for each member."

The committee recommended non-concurrence in the resolution.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 25—By Delegate John B. Lennon of the Tailors' Union:

Amend Section 1 of Article III, to read:

Section 1. The convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a. m., on the second Monday in August, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding convention.

The committee recommended that the third Monday in November be substituted for the second Monday in August.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Wilson (James): I move as an amendment to the report of the committee that the convention of the American Federation of Labor shall meet annually at 10 o'clock a. m., on the second Monday in June, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding convention, beginning with 1912. (Seconded.)

The question was discussed at length by Delegate Wilson (J.), Treasurer Lennon, Delegate Young, Delegate Furuseth, Delegate Lavin, Delegate Keegan, Delegate McCullough (E. S.), Delegate Mahon and Delegate Flannery.

On motion debate was closed.

The amendment offered by Delegate Wilson was lost, 45 votes being cast in the affirmative and 136 in the negative.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was lost.

Vice-President Huber in the chair.

Resolution No. 84—By Wm. J. Tracy, United Association Plumbers, etc.:

Whereas, The organizers of the American Federation of Labor are

compelled to visit all sections of the country in the interest of our movement, and

Whereas, The organizers are continuously required to meet the constantly increasing expenses of hotel and other accommodations, the present allowance of \$2.50 per day being inadequate, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council is hereby instructed to allow the organizers not less than \$3.50 per day for hotel expenses.

Secretary Tazelaar: The committee finds that the matter is now covered by the constitution of the Federation, Section 7, Article IX, and therefore recommends the same favorably to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 118—By Delegate Geo. F. Golden, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

Whereas, It is universally conceded by the trades unionists that the State branches of the American Federation of Labor are important factors in advancing the welfare of organized labor, both in the industrial field and in securing legislation favorable to the workers; and,

Whereas, It is extremely difficult, without the active co-operation of the American Federation of Labor, to secure affiliation of all local branches of the national and international organizations, thereby throwing the burden of financing the State Federations upon a portion of the union men and women of the several jurisdictions. With a united membership much more effective organizations would be placed in the field at a smaller individual cost than at present and the work of the State Federations be more nearly in accord with the theory advanced for the formation of such bodies; therefore, be it

Resolved, That Article X, Section 1, of the Constitution be amended to empower the secretary of the American Federation of Labor to collect one-half cent per capita per month, on the full membership of all trades affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the same to be forwarded to the secretaries of the various State Federations on a pro rata basis of the union men in their jurisdiction.

The committee recommended non-concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 124—By Victor L. Berger, of Wisconsin State Federation of Labor. Affiliation of Locals with Central Bodies:

Whereas, It is now universally acknowledged by the trade unionists throughout

the United States that the State Federations of Labor are an important factor to obtain favorable legislation and other benefits for the toilers; and

Whereas, Under the present law of the American Federation of Labor it is found to be impossible for the international unions to compel their local unions to join State Federations, thereby failing to contribute their share of the labor and expense required in the enactment of protective laws for the toilers; therefore, be it

Resolved, That Section 2 of Article XI, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be abolished, and the following section substituted:

"The national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall, on or before the first day of May, 1911, notify their local unions that they must, within sixty days after notification, join the chartered central labor bodies and departments in their vicinity, also join the chartered State Federation of Labor in their respective States. Any local union failing to carry out said instructions within sixty days after said instructions are received, shall have its charter revoked by the national or international union with which said local is affiliated."

Secretary Tazelaar: Your committee recommends non-concurrence, offering the following substitute:

1. "That the Executive Council be, and are hereby directed to communicate with the Executive Officers of all National and International Unions requesting them to urge all local unions to affiliate with State Federations and City Central Bodies and Departments, and at the same time request all affiliated International and National Unions to adopt laws requiring every local union to affiliate with State and City Central Bodies and Departments, a communication also to be forwarded to all conventions of National and International Unions affiliated with the Federation, and when it is possible the Council shall send a representative to such convention and urge this matter upon the attention of the delegates.

2. "The secretaries of all State and City Central Bodies are requested to notify the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor of the non-affiliation of local unions of the affiliated National and International Unions."

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 126—By Delegates E. Frank Moorehouse, Dan J. Evans, Sam Kelly, Jacob Tazelaar, J. C. Skemp, Delegates of Brotherhood of Painters, and Decorators, and Paper Hangers of America:

International or national organizations affiliated with the American Fed-

eration of Labor, and in good standing, shall not be discriminated against when applying for membership in any of the departments where such trades or organizations have been granted jurisdiction over the work which the department controls.

On applications for admission the department shall issue a certificate of affiliation without delay.

Secretary Tazelaar: Your Committee on Law recommends non-concurrence in this resolution and offers the following substitute:

"That while each department should be permitted to determine the character of their membership through the affiliation of national and international unions, we still hold that all laws of the American Federation of Labor must be observed, and that departments failing or refusing to admit to membership any national or international union making application, shall give to the American Federation of Labor the reasons for so doing and the grounds upon which such affiliation is denied."

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Your committee also recommends that Section 1 of Article X be amended by striking out the words "one-half" and insert in lieu thereof the words "three-fourths," so that the section would read:

#### Article X.—Revenue.

Section 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of three-fourths of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, ten cents per member per month, five cents of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout; Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen (18) years of age, two cents per member per month; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed by Delegate Mahon, who opposed the recommendation of the committee.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was lost.

**Secretary Tazelaar:** That completes the report of the committee.

**Delegate McDevitt:** Resolution No. 91 was submitted to the Committee on Laws, and has not been reported on.

The committee stated that a report would be made on Resolution No. 91 later.

**President Gompers:** The proceedings of yesterday's session are here. The consideration of the application for a charter by the Western Federation of Miners will be taken up. The secretary will read the matter under consideration.

**Secretary Morrison** read the report of the committee on Resolutions No. 128 and No. 141, and the various motions pending.

**President Gompers:** The chair desires to ask whether Delegate O'Connell presses his point of order for a decision.

**Vice-President O'Connell:** That was my purpose in making it.

**Delegate Lewis (T. L.):** Last evening I raised a point of order, but was not permitted to state it, according to these references. I desire to state it now.

**President Gompers:** The chair submits that there can be no point of order on a point of order.

**Delegate Lewis:** I am not going to raise a point of order on the point of order. The point of order I was making last evening was on the motion made by Delegate O'Connell, offered to instruct the President of this convention to make a ruling. The point of order I was going to make is to this effect:

Delegate O'Connell himself was a party to the conference in Indianapolis, a party to the tentative agreement. He considered the application as a member of the Executive Council. The report of the Executive Council was considered here, the resolutions bearing on this subject were introduced. Later on the matters were referred to a special committee, and a motion was made to adopt the report of that committee. An amendment was entertained by the chair, after I asked if an amendment was in order. Delegate O'Connell discussed the question. Then he raised the point on the law.

**President Gompers:** The instructions contained in the proposed motion of Delegate O'Connell were not adopted by this convention. I therefore had no instructions in regard thereto.

On the point of order raised by Delegate O'Connell the chair has this to say: The

point of order is based upon Section 11, Article IX of the constitution of the A. F. of L., reading as follows:

"No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any national, international, trade, or federal labor union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions."

The question involves the point of whether a charter can be issued to the Western Federation of Miners with the claim of the delegate of the International Association of Machinists that its jurisdiction is being trespassed, and that it has not given its consent to the issuance of the charter. The constitutional provision quoted as a barrier was adopted in the convention of the American Federation of Labor in the year 1900. The following year the convention of the American Federation of Labor appointed a special committee for the purpose of more clearly defining the policy of our Federation upon the question involved, and as developed by the results of the operation of Section 11, Article IX of the Constitution. That special committee reported to the convention of 1901, and that report was adopted. That declaration of the 1901 convention contains the following:

"We realize that it is impossible to define the exact line of demarcation where one trade or form of labor ends and another begins, and that no hard and fast rule can be devised by which all our trade unions can be governed or can govern themselves.

"We emphasize the impossibility of the establishment of hard and fast lines; but if history and experience in the labor movement count for aught we urge upon our fellow workmen that toleration and forbearance which are proverbial of our movement; for, without the recognition and application of these qualities any decision we may formulate will be futile. We therefore, recommend as follows:

"As the magnificent growth of the American Federation of Labor is conceded by all students of economic thought to be the result of organization on trade lines, and believing it neither necessary nor expedient to make any radical departure from this fundamental principle, we declare that, as a general proposition, the interests of the workers will be best conserved by adhering as closely to that doctrine as the recent great changes in methods of production and employment make practicable. However, owing to the isolation of some few industries from thickly populated centers where the overwhelming number follow one branch



thereof, and owing to the fact that in some industries comparatively few workers are engaged over whom separate organizations claim jurisdiction, we believe that jurisdiction in such industries by the paramount organization would yield the best results to the workers therein, at least until the development of organization of each branch has reached a stage wherein these may be placed, without material injury to all parties in interest, in affiliation with their national trade unions."

Then the declaration proceeds to state that this declaration shall not change decisions of the American Federation of Labor regarding jurisdictional claims heretofore made. That declaration of the 1901 convention has not been changed by the American Federation of Labor. It was a deliberate act of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, and, fully conscious of the existence of Section 11 of Article IX of the constitution; and, in so far as that declaration is concerned, it is a modification of and a construction upon Section 11 of Article IX of the constitution.

The chair holds that it is for this convention to determine the limitation upon which a charter may be issued to the Western Federation of Miners, but that the point of order, as raised by Delegate O'Connell, is not sustained.

Vice-President O'Connell: This is the first time in the history of the American Federation of Labor since I have been connected with it, that I have been compelled to take an appeal from the decision of the chair, and I do so.

President Gompers: Vice-President O'Connell takes an appeal from the decision of the chair. He has the floor.

Vice-President O'Connell made an extended statement in regard to his taking the appeal.

President Gompers made a statement of his reasons for declaring the point of order raised by Vice-President O'Connell not sustained.

The decision of President Gompers was sustained by a vote of 146 in the affirmative to 48 in the negative.

Vice-President O'Connell: I ask for a roll call, Mr. President.

President Gompers: On the appeal?

Vice-President O'Connell: Yes, sir.

President Gompers asked if a sufficient number of delegates desired a roll call to order it.

Secretary Morrison stated there were 387 delegates seated, and it would require 39 delegates to ask for the roll call in order to warrant its being called.

President Gompers: A sufficient number has not asked for the roll call. The question recurs on the status of the case before the house.

Delegate Furuseth: I am not going to discuss the merits of the case, but there is something I would like to bring to the attention of the convention. I would like to make a motion and then make a statement afterwards as to why I do so.

I move that the whole question at issue be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to try to bring about an amicable adjustment, to the end that the Western Federation of Miners may obtain a charter without overriding the principles of the American Federation of Labor. (Seconded.)

The question was discussed at some length by Delegate Furuseth.

Delegate Comerford, of the Steam Engineers, stated that he had no objection to reference of the matter to the Executive Council, but desired to take part in any conference that might be called.

Similar statements were made by Delegate Shamp, of the Stationary Engineers, and Delegate Collins, of the Electrical Workers.

Delegate Hayes (F. J.) discussed the question at some length, and opposed reference to the Executive Council.

Vice-President Duncan discussed the question, and spoke in favor of the adoption of the motion to refer to the Executive Council.

Delegate Flynn (J. J.) discussed the question, and favored the motion to refer to the Executive Council.

Delegate Lewis (T. L.) discussed the question at some length, and opposed the motion to refer to the Executive Council.

On motion debate was closed, by a vote of 110 in the affirmative to 13 in the negative.

Delegate Walker (J. H.): I believe this matter is of such vital importance that we should have a roll call vote.

President Gompers: On the motion to refer?

Delegate Walker: Yes.

More than one-tenth of the delegates indicating a desire to have a roll call, Secretary Morrison proceeded to call the roll, with the following result:

Ayes—Noschang, Fischer (Jacob), Kalpetzky, Anderson (Ed.), Gazzolo, Kline, Glover, Dougherty, Franklin (J. A.), Flynn (Jos.), Flynn (T. H.), Glockling, Tobin (J. F.), Hallinan, Higgins, Chatterton, Kelly (Margaret), Butterworth, Ryan (F. M.), Butler (J. T.), Kelly (J. P.), Huber, Duffy (F.), Macfarlane, Young (Carl), Flynn (Thos.), Kelly (Wm. J.), Swartz, Young (W. W.), Kelso, Goelnitz, Gengenback, Gompers, Tracy (T. F.), Smith (J. T.), Barnes, Licht, Conway, Manning, Braun, Scoby, McNulty, Collins (P. W.), Fay, Monaghan, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Glass, McNamara, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Walsh, Mangan, Flannery, Smith (Fred), Rickert, Larger, Landers, Hayes (D. A.), Crist, Thorp, Wettengel, Moffitt, Lawlor, Maher, D'Alessandro, Kirby, Cordell, McArdle, McSorley, Stevenson (E. T.), O'Connell, Fry, Keegan, Handley, Price, Rumsey, Daly, O'Sullivan, Butler (T. J.), Bray, Skemp, Tazelaar, Moorehouse, Kelley, Evans (D. J.), Carey (J. T.), Wilson (James), Gernon, Woll, Alpine, Murphy (Patrick), Tracy (W. J.), Malley, Malin, Furuseth, Olander, Hart, Higgins, Lennon, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Hermann, Neer, Grace, Golden, Flemming, Williams, Lynch, Morrison, McCullough, Mulcahy, Golden, Cullen, Chrisman, Marquardt, Sheehan, Flynn (J. J.), Grant, O'Brien, Wheeler, Riley (J. H.), Benson, O'Flaherty, Mueller, Carter, Sliger, Fear, Skemp (Mrs.), Smith (V. B.), Sanarens, O'Connor (John), Guye, McGeary, Russi, Leonard, Anderson (A. C.), Cotter, Kennedy (J. H.), Adams, Voll, McAndrews, Brice, representing 7,792 votes.

Nays—Kerker, Koch, Kemper, Proebstle, Sullivan (John), Ward, Kugler, Mair, Hinder, Konenkamp, Bechtold, Altman, Meyer, Rosenberg, Dyche, Bloch, Duncan, Smith (A. M.), Bianchi, Marshall, Kenahan, Sullivan (T. J.), Sullivan (Jere L.), Griffin, Hesketh, Farrell, O'Neal, Leyshon, O'Connor (T. V.), Kelleher, Dolan (T. J.), Sanderson, Buckley, Pegg, Vurpla, O'Donnell, Lewis (T. L.), Perry, Mitchell (John), Hayes (F. J.), Walker, Wilson (W. B.), McCullough (E. S.), Valentine, Frey, O'Neill, Schwab, Dunachie, Weber (J. N.), Miller (Owen), Winkler, Carey (D. A.), Sheret, McGivern, Donlin, Smyth, Duffy (T. J.), McDewitt, Berry, Murphy (E. P.), Taylor (W. H.), Carr, Sultor, Fevler, Perham, Quick, Ramsay, Tanquary, Ryan (M. F.), Adames, Gallagher (J. J.), Paquin, Carrigan, Riley (J. F.), Mahon, Commons, Pratt, Hurley, Marsh, Gavlak, Barry, Grimshaw, Hawley, Brais, Lindola, McAndrew, Evans (E. L.), Hayes (M. S.), Stevenson (H.), Butler

(L. W.), Faulkner, Donoghue, Lavin, Murray, Case, Buckley (James), Baum, Knies, Urlick, Drain, Fredericks, Anderson (J. H.), Murphy (Frank), Grow, Weber, Hunter, Huplits, Jerling, Robinson, Holt, Gallagher (A. J.), McDonald, Niven, Woodmansee, Dumaw, White (Norval), Bone, Shanessy, Midgley, Troester, Downey, Neuman, Eckert, Partelow, Bell, Wykes, Zerbarini, Dunne, Lawine, Lorenzen, representing 7,107 votes.

Not voting—DeVeaux, Kennedy (A. J.), Dolan (C. T.), Richardson, Humphrey, Nestor, Grahame, Gehring, Coakley, Call, Hannah, Dold, Foster, Nelson, Roth, Boecke, McHugh, Mitchell (M.), Evans (Jo.), Teagarden, Carolan, Curtis, Hatch, Drake, Mikel, Skaggs, Jones (J.), Pfleger, Taylor (Miss Z. J.), DeNedrey, Hartvigsen, Hertenstein, Leary, Whalen, Kummer, Powell, Lee, Eckenrod, Creamer, Berger, Joyner, Cathon, Maddox, Hirsch, Jennings, Jones (S. G.), Hudson (Fred), Courtenay, Murphy (M. A.), Klefer, Andrick, Zepp, Britt, Wentz, Kleynauer, Nystrom, Burke, Wilson, Smith (J. U. P.), Laws, Bramlette, Hipert, Coffey, Smith (O. P.), Howley, Dingersen, Fahey, McGill, Abrahams, Zeligler, Draper, Bell (J.), Keough, Peters, Wood, Rizzle, James, Stafford, Goodwin, Morris (E. C.), Skelley, Gaede, Siebert, Grassell, White (G. T.), Swenson, Carter, Bartholomew, Hubbard, Bohm, Tveltmoe, Leibowitz, Greenbaum, Miller (A.), Lippert, Harris, Collins (P. J.), Hudson (Mabel), East, Goldstein, Nihl, Davis, Brace, Turner, Pettipiece, representing 529 votes.

#### Executive Council Supplementary Report.

St. Louis, Mo., November 26, 1910.

To the officers and delegates of the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Greeting:—In view of the very grave misrepresentation by the press of the statement upon the negro question, made by President Gompers in an address which he delivered in this city on the evening of November 17, and in addition to the refutation which he made on the floor of this convention on the following day, we feel that it is due the American Federation of Labor and the great cause of labor which we represent that we, as your duly constituted officers, should take cognizance thereof.

Numerous telegrams and letters, newspaper clippings and editorials, from every section of the country, all protesting against the declaration which he was alleged to have made, have been received by President Gompers, thus demonstrating that the misrepresentation of his statement has been given wide publicity, something which is not only a grave injustice to him but a great wrong to our cause, the organized labor movement of the country, which this convention of Federated labor has the honor to represent.

It is inconceivable that in view of President Gompers' record of long years of life devoted to the cause of the wage-earners, of those who toll, that he, and through him the American Federation of Labor, should be placed before the world in the position of declaring that any class of wage-earners, no matter of what race, creed, sex or nationality, should be "read" out of the labor movement.

So far from closing the doors of the organized labor movement against any wage-earner, no matter of what creed, of what color, of what nationality, of what calling, of which sex, the American Federation of Labor annually exerts its efforts and spends large sums of money in spreading the gospel of trade unionism among all who toll in the endeavor to bring them within the beneficent fold of the trade union movement every toiler of every trade and calling without respect to color or sex, religion or nationality. Reference to the report of our secretary from year to year, showing the amounts spent annually in organization work will confirm us in this statement.

The conventions of the American Federation of Labor have repeatedly declared for the organization of all wage-earners without regard to class, race, creed, religion, sex or politics. This declaration is embodied in some of the literature which is kept constantly on hand at our headquarters and which is widely distributed from year to year.

The Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, Article 11, Section 6, provides that:

Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Local Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union Movement to do so.

There are now affiliated to the A. F. of L. under that provision a number of local unions of colored workmen and a number of city central bodies composed entirely of the representatives of local unions of colored workmen. There are a number of colored workmen, members in good standing of the unions of their trades, holding commissions as organizers for the A. F. of L. They keep in constant touch with headquarters, and are doing good work among the toilers of their race.

President Gompers has accepted an invitation to address the colored people of the First Baptist church of this city tomorrow evening so that there may be afforded still further opportunity of correcting the great wrong which has been done him and our movement.

In view of all this we recommend that this convention shall again reiterate its often repeated declaration that the American Federation of Labor, in its endeavor to organize all the

toilers of our country so as to protect and advance their rights and interests, knows no race, no color, no creed, no nationality, no political party.

Fraternally submitted,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
JAMES DUNCAN,  
JOHN MITCHELL,  
JAMES O'CONNELL,  
DENIS A. HAYES,  
WILLIAM D. HUBER,  
JOSEPH F. VALENTINE,  
JOHN R. ALPINE,  
H. B. PERHAM,  
JOHN B. LENNON,  
FRANK MORRISON,

Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Feeney: I move that the report as read be adopted, that copies be furnished the local press of St. Louis and the Associated Press, and that the American Federation of Labor request that as much publicity be given to it as was given to the statement attributed to President Gompers. (Seconded.)

Delegate Sullivan (J. S.): I move, as an amendment, that Delegate Feeney include all the other press associations.

Delegate Feeney: I will include all press associations.

Vice-President Perham in the chair.

The question was discussed by Delegate Sullivan (J. S.), Delegate Gallagher (J. J.), Delegate Wilson (W. B.) and Delegate Furuseth.

The motion offered by Delegate Feeney was carried by unanimous vote.

#### Report of Committee on Boycott.

Delegate Lynch (J. M.), secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 19—By Delegates W. D. Huber, Frank Duffy, W. B. Macfarlane, Thomas Flynn, W. J. Kelly, Carl Young and A. M. Swartz of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

Whereas, The Homestake Mining Company, which company owns and operates one of the most valuable gold producing properties in the United States or in the world, and employs several thousand working men of different craft in the operation of its mines and mills, on November 24, 1909, declared a lockout against employees on account of their affiliation with various labor unions, as will be shown and fully explained by the following card:

Lead, South Dakota, November 24, 1909. I am not a member of any labor union, and in consideration of my being employed by

the Homestake Mining Company, agree that I will not become such while in its service. (Signed by employee.)

Whereas, The members of Local Union No. 1440 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, together with the members of all other labor organizations, have been discriminated against by the Homestake Mining Company since its declaration of this lockout, which became effective on November 24, 1909; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the delegates of the Sixteenth Biennial Convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, in convention assembled, declare the Homestake Mining Company, whose works are located in South Dakota, to be a non-union concern and that we pledge our moral and financial support and assistance to all union men who may be involved in or affected by the lockout of the Homestake Mining Company; and be it further

Resolved, That our delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to present the cause of the lockout men in South Dakota before said convention and to solicit the aid and assistance of the American Federation of Labor in the cause of our Brothers who are maintaining this struggle against oppression and greed, to the end that organized labor may not be defeated, and that our brothers shall not be forced nor compelled to forfeit any rights of citizenship or to violate their honor as men.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, with the suggestion that effort be made to adjust the difficulties, and if unsuccessful, to take such further measures as may be advisable.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 48—By Delegates James M. Lynch, of International Typographical Union; George L. Berry, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; Robert Glockling, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Matthew Woll, International Photo-Engravers' Union; James J. Freel, International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union:

Whereas, Arrangements have been made to print the eleventh edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica in a non-union printing office in Chicago, Ill.; and

Whereas, Many trades unionists and sympathizers were purchasers of former editions of the Encyclopedia Britannica; therefore, be it

Resolved, That all friends and sympathizers with organized labor and members of trade unions who contemplate purchasing the eleventh edition

of the Encyclopedia Britannica immediately write the promoters thereof requesting that the mechanical work thereon shall be performed in a strictly union printing office, and in event of refusal to accede to such request that the promoters and publishers be informed that members of organized labor can not consistently patronize a non-union publication.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate Archie Grant, United Trades and Labor Council, Erie County, N. Y.:

Whereas, The Larkin Soap Company, of the city of Buffalo, N. Y., is having practically all its printing done without the union label, keeping one of the largest printing offices in that city in operation under non-union conditions; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, instruct its Executive Council to take this matter up with the Larkin Company, and use its good offices in assisting the Printing Trades Council of the city of Buffalo in having the Larkin Soap Company's printing done under union conditions.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 62—By Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union:

Whereas, The Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America has been engaged in a severe contest with the American Baking Co., composed of the following branches: Heydt, Condon, St. Louis, Freund, Welle-Boettler, Hauck-Hoerr and the Home Bakeries of St. Louis, Mo., and

Whereas, Said trust controls a large portion of the baking industry, thus making it difficult for the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America to successfully push a boycott against each branch of the American Bakery Co. and all brands of bakery products made by the trust, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, through its officers and organizers, give special aid and assistance to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America in pushing a boycott against each individual product or brand of goods made by the American Baking Company, and, be it further

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor request by circular letter all affiliated unions, federal unions,

central bodies, state federations and National and International Unions to give a helping hand to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America by vigorously pushing a boycott against the unfair products sold in their respective localities, and, whereas, the above resolutions were adopted by the twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth conventions and referred to the Executive Council for action, be it further

Resolved, That the above recommendations be carried out by electing a committee at this convention, who, with the representatives, shall try and settle the differences, and report back to this convention as to their action and recommendations.

Secretary Lynch: Your committee recommends that the proposition be referred to the Executive Council, with the suggestion that if possible the firm shall be interviewed immediately following the adjournment of the convention.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 64—By Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union:

Whereas, The fight against the McKinney Bread Co., of St. Louis, Mo., as endorsed and re-endorsed by annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor; and

Whereas, The McKinney Bread Co. still refuses to make a settlement with the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America, and

Whereas, The twenty-eighth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor made an effort to bring about an adjustment of the long-standing controversy, and if not successful that a vigorous campaign be started to make their declaration of unfairness effective, therefore be it

Resolved, That the thirtieth convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm and place upon the unfair list the McKinney firm of St. Louis, Mo., and if not successful in bringing about successful endeavors satisfactory to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America, and whereas, the above resolutions were adopted by the twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth conventions and referred to the Executive Council for action, be it further

Resolved, That the above recommendations be carried out by electing a committee at this convention, who, with the representatives, shall try and settle the differences, and report back to this convention as to their action and recommendations.

Secretary Lynch: Your committee recommends that the proposition be re-

ferred to the Executive Council, with the suggestion that if possible the firm shall be interviewed immediately following the adjournment of the convention.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 65—By Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union:

Whereas, The Drexler Baking Co., of Springfield, Mass., and the Schultz Baking Co., of New York and Hudson County, and the Fleishman Baking Co., of New York, have declared open war upon our members of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union, who are doing all within their power to uphold and defend their constitution, and

Whereas, Mr. Drexler, of Springfield, Mass., is vice-president of the Massachusetts Master Bakers' Association and Mr. Schultz of the pool of the Master Bakers' Boss Association, of New York and New Jersey, which in the name of master means nothing but bringing about a slavish condition; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, through its president, officers and organizers, give special aid and assistance to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America in bringing about a suitable settlement, and be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor request, by circular letter, all affiliated unions, federal unions, central unions, state Federation, national or international unions to give a helping hand to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union in trying to bring about a settlement, and if not successful, that a vigorous campaign be inaugurated against the products, which are everything but fair.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 67—By Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union:

Whereas, The Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America has been engaged in a severe contest with the American Baking Co., composed of the following branches: Heydt, Condon, St. Louis, Freund, Welle-Boettler, Hauck-Hoerr and the Home Bakeries, of St. Louis, Mo., and

Whereas, Said trust controls a large portion of the baking industry, thus making it difficult for the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America to successfully push a boycott against each branch of the American Bakery Co., and all brands of bakery products made by the trusts, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, through its officers and organizers, give special aid and assistance to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America in pushing a boycott against each individual product or brand of goods made by the American Baking Company, and be it further

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor request, by circular letter, all affiliated unions, Federal Unions, Central Bodies, State Federations and national or international unions, to give a helping hand to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America by vigorously pushing a boycott against the unfair products sold in their respective localities, and whereas, the above resolutions were adopted by the twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth conventions and referred to the Executive Council for action, be it further

Resolved, That the above recommendations be carried out by electing a committee at this convention who, with the representatives, shall try and settle the differences, and report back to this convention as to their action and recommendations.

Secretary Lynch: The foregoing proposition is a duplicate of Resolution No. 62, of which disposition has just been made.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate Frank Grimshaw, of the Stove Mounters' International Union:

Whereas, The Favorite Stove and Range Company, of Piqua, Ohio, in January, 1908, imposed a change of conditions in the mounting department, embodying a reduction in day wages and piece prices, and an increase in the hours of labor from nine to ten, and because the Stove Mounters' Union No. 23, affiliated with the Stove Mounters' International Union, would not accept these conditions the company declared that no more would a union of stove mounters be tolerated, and

Whereas, Stove Mounters' Union No. 23 was endorsed in its position by the Stove Mounters' International Union, by the Piqua Trades and Labor Council, and by the Ohio State Federation of Labor, and

Whereas, This strike was being prosecuted with apparent success until in June, 1909, a circular letter was issued by Local No. 94, International Molders' Union, of Piqua, Ohio, under seal and signed by five officers of said local, in which the action of our organization in prosecuting a strike against the Favorite Stove and Range Company is

condemned, and untrue statements made regarding the standing of said company with organized labor, and

Whereas, Our efforts to bring about a settlement of this trouble are practically nullified by the circulation of the aforesaid false statements, which are still being issued to the detriment of our cause, and

Whereas, This matter has been brought to the attention of the International Molders' Union and the Metal Trades Department without any relief as yet being received, be it, therefore

Resolved, By this the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that this matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, for the purpose of investigation, and if the statements herein made are found to be true that action be taken as the facts warrant, and that the position of the Stove Mounters' International Union in its controversy with the Favorite Stove and Range Company be endorsed; and that an effort be made by the Executive Council to bring about an adjustment of this long standing controversy.

Secretary Lynch: Your committee recommends that the third and fourth paragraphs be stricken from Resolution No. 88, and that in its amended form it be referred to the Executive Council for such action as the Council may deem expedient.

It was moved and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Wheeler and Delegate Carr.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 111—By Delegate Geo. F. Golden:

Whereas, Organized labor has ever jealously guarded the ethics and principles of the cause that has proven so decided a factor in the development of modern civilization, and

Whereas, The aforesaid ethics have invariably found expression in the religious observance of contractual provisions in existence between employer and employee, and

Whereas, In many instances the employer has flagrantly ignored similar duties incumbent upon him by a deliberate disregard of all contract requirements, thereby meriting the rebuke of all honest minded people, and

Whereas, The Inter-Ocean, a daily newspaper of the city of Chicago, has been guilty of breaking faith with the Chicago Allied Printing Industry in that city, by discharging its web pressmen and operating that department with non-union help, and

Whereas, The Inter-Ocean management insolently declined to recede from its arrogant position upon the solicitation of committees from both the Chicago Federation of Labor and the Chicago Allied Printing Trades Council, necessitating the withdrawal of the union label privileges heretofore enjoyed by the publication and placing the same on the unfair list, and

Whereas, The above recited action logically demands similar action by the central body representing the toilers of the State of Illinois to the end that they may not unconsciously render aid to an admitted enemy of organized labor; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the delegates of the Illinois State Federation, in regular session assembled, denounce the perfidy of the Chicago Inter-Ocean in its deliberate violation of contract provisions and declare it unfair to organized labor because of such action, and, be it still further

Resolved, That the Chicago Inter-Ocean be placed on the "We don't patronize list," of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and the secretary be instructed to acquaint every affiliated union and central body with the action taken.

Secretary Lynch: As the foregoing proposition is worded, it conveys no definite request to this convention, but your committee assumes that the intent is to ask this convention to indorse a boycott on the Chicago Inter Ocean. The Chicago Inter Ocean press room is under the jurisdiction of the I. P. P. and A. U., an international union, affiliated with this Federation. Your committee believes that any request for a boycott such as is outlined in the proposition under consideration should come from the international organization directly concerned. Your committee recommends, therefore, that Resolution No. 111 be referred to the Executive Board of the I. P. P. and A. U. for the consideration of that board.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 130—By Delegates representing Cigar Makers' International Union:**

Whereas, For some time past there has been displayed in various localities moving pictures that pretend to represent instances that occur in so-called strikes, that are not only unwarranted, but are base misrepresentations; and

Whereas, It is self-evident that the scenes produced have emanated from those who are unfriendly to the cause of labor, and their purpose is to prejudice the minds of the general public against our movement by falsely and maliciously misrepresenting it by these pictures; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor places itself on record as condemning such pictures as being untruthful representations of labor's cause, and declaring that those who are interested in providing them have this object in view; and be it further

Resolved, That we urge our members and friends to use all legitimate means in their power to discourage the exhibition of such moving pictures that falsely pretend to represent instances in connection with our movement.

Secretary Lynch: Your committee concurs in the foregoing resolution, and recommends its adoption by the convention. Your committee further urges that central bodies and local unions give consideration to the subject covered by Resolution No. 130, and that where local exhibition in moving picture theaters is given to pictures of the character described in the resolution, committees be appointed to protest to the local management, and, if this protest be ineffective, that such further measures, through publicity avenues and otherwise, be resorted to as will direct public attention to this moving picture falsehood and the reasons underlying its perpetration.

The disapproval of trade unionists should also be given to those actors whose mediocre ability and craving for a laugh at any cost, are always attested by such expressions as "I can't do it, I'm a union man," or "Impossible; I belong to the union," horse play that is rewarded by the momentary approval of that portion of an audience whose easily excited risibilities are evidence of an undeveloped intelligence.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 102—By Delegate Chas. D. Wheeler, of Chicago Federation of Labor:**

Whereas, The convention of the American Federation of Labor in regular session at Toronto, Canada, disposed of the proposition dealing with the controversy existing between the Printer Roller Makers' Union 10638, American Federation of Labor and the Samuel Bingham Sons Manufacturing Company, both of Chicago, Ill., by referring same to the Executive Board; and

Whereas, The Samuel Bingham Sons Manufacturing Company has, through its agents, taken advantage of the lack of definite expression and action by the American Federation of Labor to spread a distorted version of the actual facts in the case best suited to serve their interests; and

Whereas, Every effort on the part of the Chicago Printer Roller Makers' Union 10638, aided by the Chicago representatives of the American Federation of Labor, to secure an amicable adjustment of the situation, has been met by a defiant attitude on the part of the representatives of the Samuel Bingham Sons Manufacturing Company; and

Whereas, It is the aim and object of Chicago Printer Roller Makers' Union 10638, in its plea for equity and justice, to acquaint the delegates to this convention in brief form with the exact status of the controversy through the medium of the attached pamphlet; and

Whereas, The facts as therein stated undoubtedly warrant compliance by the convention to the request of its affiliated local, the Chicago Printer Roller Makers' Union 10638, to place the firm of Samuel Bingham Sons Manufacturing Company on the unfair list; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor in regular session assembled in condemnation of the methods employed by the Samuel Bingham Sons Manufacturing Company to justify their maintenance of non-union conditions in their printer roller making establishments and that the firm's persistent and arrogant declination to settle the controversy on a basis consistent with honor and equity demands that the firm of Samuel Bingham Sons Manufacturing Company be placed upon the unfair list and all affiliated unions be officially notified of such action.

Secretary Lynch: Your committee recommend that the foregoing resolution be referred to the Joint Conference Board of the international unions of the printing trade, with the request to that board that it use its influence to establish amicable relations between the Samuel Bingham Sons Manufacturing Company and Chicago Printer Roller Makers' Union No. 10638, of the American Federation of Labor, and that this board make report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Secretary Lynch: Your committee reiterates the sentiment so often expressed by the previous committees that the boycott should only be resorted to after all efforts at adjustment had failed, but that, when instituted, it should be made so effective that speedy agreement between the firm and union will follow. It should be borne in mind that in the multiplicity of boycotts lies the safety of the unfair manufacturer and purveyor. One boycott assiduously

prosecuted and pressed to final victory is better than one hundred boycotts apathetically maintained. The boycott is a means to an end, and not simply the expression of a grievance. Resorted to on this basis, persistently maintained, given wide publicity, it will achieve its object, and thus make for the advancement of the union's cause.

Your committee reaffirms the report of the Committee on Boycotts to the Toronto convention, which, together with the speech of Vice-President Mitchell following the adoption of that report, has since been printed and given wide circulation. Your committee would recommend the continued circulation of a pamphlet containing that report and the speech alluded to as label propaganda. Respectfully submitted,

DENIS A. HAYES, Chairman,  
PETER GOLDEN,  
CHAS. DOLD,  
JERE. L. SULLIVAN,  
VICTOR L. BERGER,  
JUDSON O'NEAL,  
J. J. CHATTERTON,  
S. J. KONENKAMP,  
JACOB FISCHER,  
LAWRENCE A. GRACE,  
C. W. FRY,  
SAMUEL L. LANDERS,  
JAMES M. LYNCH, Secretary.

On motion, the final section of the report of the committee was adopted, and the report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

#### Report of Committee on Law.

Delegate Tazelaar, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate R. A. McDevitt, of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters:

Whereas, The credentials of Brother Jules Scarcerioux, a bona-fide member of Local Union 45, National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, were rejected by the Central Labor Union of Trenton, N. J., in which jurisdiction said local union is situated, on the ground that Brother Scarcerioux had shown an active interest in the "Industrial Workers of the World;" and

Whereas, This action of Trenton's central body was appealed from to President Samuel Gompers, and said action by him sustained upon what, to Local Union No. 45, seems untenable grounds; therefore, it is

Resolved, That this convention is appealed to to hear the evidence in the



case, and the question decided on its merits.

Secretary Tazelaar: It was almost too late to get a meeting of the committee, but the committee has been individually polled on Resolution No. 91, and the expression is in favor of referring to the Executive Council. We therefore recommend that it be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Secretary Tazelaar: That completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted by

JOHN B. LENNON, Chairman.  
T. L. HUGHES,  
JOHN H. WALKER,  
R. E. WOODMANSEE,  
P. J. FLANNERY,  
M. F. RYAN,  
ALEX. BLOCH,  
LEE M. HART,  
C. L. SHAMP,  
JOHN A. VOLL,  
JOHN MANGAN,  
ALEX. R. SMITH,  
J. TAZELAAR, Secretary.

Secretary Tazelaar: I move the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole. (Seconded and carried.)

Vice-President Mitchell: The Committee on Law referred Resolution 47 to the Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 47—By Delegates A. Miller and M. Greenbaum, of Neckwear Cutters' Union 6939 and Neckwear Makers' Union 1106:

Whereas, In the city of New York the neckwear cutters and the neckwear makers are well organized and are enjoying higher wages and shorter hours than any other part of the country; and

Whereas, There are several large cities throughout the country that are yet practically unorganized, namely, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Baltimore, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Louisville, Buffalo and Rochester; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the president be, and is hereby instructed to have all organizers of the American Federation of Labor pay special attention to the above-named cities, for the purpose of thoroughly organizing them, with the object in view of forming a National organization.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive

Council, and that the parties interested be given a hearing.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

President Gompers: In compliance with the authorization of this convention a telegram was sent to the Governor of Florida, and an answer received. The secretary will please read:

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

November 25, 1910.

Hon. A. W. Gilchrist, Tallahassee, Fla.:

The delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, representing the wage-workers of all parts of our country, learned with the deepest indignation that the agent of the Cigar Makers' International Union, Mr. J. C. Johnson, has been ordered deported by a "vigilance" committee, or so-called Citizens' Committee, of Tampa. I was instructed by unanimous vote of the convention to enter protest to you against such a procedure, and to demand that you, as Governor of Florida, protect in their lawful and constitutional rights, those citizens of the United States within the State of Florida. Mr. Johnson is the representative of the Cigar Makers' International Union, has been, and is, authorized to bring about a peaceful adjustment of the present controversy between the cigar makers and the manufacturers. He is a peaceful and law-abiding citizen, and his exile, expulsion, or deportation from Tampa is an outrage.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

President American Federation of Labor.

Tallahassee, Fla., Nov. 26, 1910.

To Hon. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, St. Louis:

Your telegram received. Have instructed Tampa officers to prevent violation of law.

ALBERT W. GILCHRIST,

Governor.

President Gompers: The chair will say he has no further information by telegram. The morning papers state that Mr. Johnson is not now in Tampa, but has been forced to go to Jacksonville. That is the way the law is carried out in Florida.

#### Report of Committee on Secretary's Report.

Delegate Evans, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

We, your committee on secretary's report, beg leave to submit the following report:

In comparing the report submitted by the secretary and that of the treasurer, together with the auditor's report, we find the report of the secretary to be correct in every detail, and take occasion to highly commend the secretary for the efficient manner in which the records of the office of the American Federation of Labor must be kept to admit of extensive detail exhibited in the report he has submitted, covering, as it does, every department committed to his care.

In reviewing the figures exhibiting the receipts and disbursements for the publishing of the American Federationist, we desire to call attention to the economy of management during the current year beginning October 1, 1909. At that time there was shown a deficit of \$2,554.84. September 30, 1910, the report presents a surplus of \$705.31.

We cannot refrain from congratulating the American Federation of Labor upon the fact that the secretary's report, despite the ceaseless efforts of our opponents to negate the work of the organization of our fellow craftsmen yet unorganized, shows a net increase of over 200,000 members distributed among the various affiliated unions over that of last year.

A source of congratulation arises from the fact that the issuance of charters to newly organized unions nearly doubled during the year just closed over that of last year, there being issued last year 176 and this year 334. While the work of organization may have been more costly, we may feel ourselves amply paid by the result.

We direct attention to the splendid beneficiary features that have grown up within our national and international unions, as set forth in the report of the secretary. During the year just closed there has been returned to the membership of the various affiliated unions in benefits, for injuries received and in cases of death, the magnificent sum of \$2,341,075.14.

We feel that this showing is especially worthy of mention, and commend the establishment of beneficiary features to the favorable consideration of those of our affiliated unions in whose laws there is now no such provision.

Your committee indorses the report of the Secretary in its entirety, and recommends its adoption by this convention.

T. A. RICKERT, Chairman,  
J. F. McHUGH,  
WM. J. ADAMES,  
ADOLF KUMMER,  
F. A. MONAGHAN,  
E. LEWIS EVANS, Secretary;  
FRANK GRIMSHAW,  
WM. A. NEER,  
MARTIN GOELLNITZ,  
WM. J. PFLEGER,  
J. E. HARTVIGSEN,  
GEO. LEARY,  
M. B. POWELL,  
P. F. SHEEHAN.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in. The motion was carried by unanimous vote.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Ladies and Gentlemen—Your committee on treasurer's report beg leave to report the following:

We have carefully examined the treasurer's report, and have compared the same with the report of the Auditing Committee, and find the report, as submitted to this convention, to be correct.

We take this opportunity of commending Treasurer Lennon for the careful manner in which he has conducted the affairs of his office, and, especially so, for the safeguarding of the funds of the American Federation of Labor.

Respectfully submitted,

BEN COMMONS, Chairman;  
WM. O'BRIEN,  
I. H. BRATTON,  
J. F. O'FLAHERTY,  
SOL MUELLER,  
C. A. PATTERSON,  
JOS. FLYNN,  
CARL YOUNG,  
ROADY KENEHAN,  
J. J. GLASS,  
F. J. WETTENGEL,  
E. F. THORP,  
J. A. DYCHE,  
PAUL BIANCHI,  
C. N. GLOVER, Secretary.

On motion, the report was adopted.

**Report of Special Committee Appointed to Adjust Differences Between The United Carpenters and The Amalgamated Carpenters.**

Delegate Keegan, for the special committee, reported as follows:

To the President and Delegates to the Thirtieth Annual Convention:

Your committee appointed to consider the difference existing between the U. B. of C. & J. of A. and the Amalgamated Carpenters, beg leave to submit the following report.

At the Toronto Convention the following appeal from the decision of the Building Trades Department was received from the Amalgamated Carpenters.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegates Herbert Crampton and James Reid of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners:

Whereas, The Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners is a self-sustaining, autonomous and independently financed international union, affiliated with National Congresses, Councils, and Executive bodies of Labor in the various countries in which the society operates, more especially the American Federation of Labor, with which affiliation has been complete for nearly twenty years; and

Whereas, The income for American districts has been for the past two years \$321,842.80, and the expenditure, for strikes and lockouts, unemployed benefit, sick benefit, death benefit, accident benefit, tool insurance, traveling benefits, superannuation benefits, and assistance to other trades of \$158,852.86; and

Whereas, At the second convention of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, Tampa, Florida, October, 1909, a recommendation following a report upon a local matter of dispute was presented and referred to as a plan, which in substance was as follows: "To wrest from the Amalgamated Society its autonomy and organic entity," to place all its funds in the hands of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, this plan was not endorsed by the Tampa Convention; and

Whereas, A so-called minority report introduced by one member of an Adjustment Committee at the Tampa Convention was passed by a viva-voce vote despite the fact that a substitute motion was duly made and seconded, the said minority report having for its object the ordering of international officers to do and perform certain acts contrary to the Constitution of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, beside imposing conditions and time of consolidation so vaguely

presented as to prevent intelligent action thereon; and

Whereas, These destructive acts can only have been conceived by minds in collusion for the purpose of obtaining the dissolution or disintegration of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners to be followed by inroads upon other bona-fide organizations, their autonomy and their funds; therefore, be it

Resolved, By this 29th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the Executive officers of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor be instructed, and they are hereby instructed to desist from further attempting to consolidate the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners with any organization or to send, or cause to be sent, any committee to confer with the general officers of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners under the conditions laid down in the minority report referred to.

The Toronto Convention referred the matter to the Executive Council, establishing the Council as the first court of appeal.

We find from the records of the Executive Council as well as their report to this convention that owing to the fact that the Amalgamated Society asked that the matter be not taken up until October of this year. The committee further reports that owing to a pressure of business at that time of the year that it was impossible for them to take action thereon.

Your committee therefore recommends that the matter be referred back to the Ex-Council for their consideration and decision.

In the matter of suspension of Amalgamated Carpenters' charter asked for by the U. B. of C. and J., your committee refers the entire matter to this convention without recommendation.

**Committee,**

THOS. V. O'CONNOR,  
JNO. J. KEEGAN,  
JOHN F. TOBIN,  
WM. J. MCSORLEY,  
A. J. KENNEDY,  
THOS. J. CURTIS,  
F. M. RYAN,  
T. J. O'DONNELL,  
J. TAZELAAR,  
DANIEL J. TOBIN,

Delegate Keegan: I move that the matter of the appeal be referred to the Executive Council, and that the matter of repeal of charter be referred to this convention. (Seconded.)

Delegate McSorley: I move that the entire subject matter be referred to the Executive Council for them to bring both parties together. That carries with it the charges for the repeal of the charter as well as the appeal.

The matter was briefly discussed by Delegate Kelley (W. J.), and Delegate Ryan (F. M.)

The amendment offered by Delegate McSorley was carried.

#### Report of Committee on Education.

Delegate Olander, for the committee, reported as follows:

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council, under the caption, "At Peace With the Buck's Stove and Range Company," the committee reported as follows:

Your committee has noted with decided pleasure and interest that part of the Executive Council's report contained under the heading "At Peace with the Buck's Stove and Range Company." The successful termination of the industrial phase of this long-standing controversy, resulting in the establishment of union conditions and wages for the workers employed by the company, must necessarily be a source of gratification to the labor movement of our country.

We congratulate the new management of the Buck's Stove and Range Company for its exhibition of fairness and good judgment in agreeing to the settlement, and we compliment this Federation, the President and the Executive Council, and the affiliated unions, upon the results obtained.

Perseverance, determination, and above all an understanding of the justice and correctness of our cause, have brought about the settlement with the company. Your committee desires to express its belief that continued exercise of the same virtues, applied to the questions now before the courts arising out of this and similar cases, will bring about a complete recognition of the justice and legality of our contentions by the courts and legislative bodies of our country.

The industrial settlement with the Buck's Stove and Range Company we believe to be satisfactory to all concerned, and we therefore agree with and approve of the report of the Executive Council "that the company, like all other employers fairly disposed toward organized labor, is entitled to the courtesy, consideration and patronage of all."

Further, We desire to report we have learned that the anti-trade union forces in the United States have endeavored to visit their severe displeasure upon the present management of the Buck's Stove and Range Company for its action in effecting a friendly adjustment of all questions which had arisen between it and organized labor. Personal attacks have been made upon the present management of the Buck's Stove and Range Company, in which they were accused of being the enemies of the employers' best interests, and unfaithful to the

principles upon which our country is founded. Pamphlets have been widely distributed by some anti-trade union association with the evident purpose of prejudicing retail dealers and the public against the product of this firm. In view of the efforts being made to injure the Buck's Stove and Range Company, because of its friendly attitude towards organized labor and its public avowal that workmen were entitled to all of the rights and benefits which follow united action, which are enjoyed by employers of labor. We recommend that every legitimate effort be made by organized labor to overcome the antagonism now being directed at the Buck's Stove and Range Company.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Uniform Laws to Protect Human Life," the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends approval of that part of the Executive Council's report entitled, "Uniform Laws to Protect Human Life." In the matter of uniformity, however, we believe it is not the intent to sacrifice more progressive measures in some States simply because it is difficult to obtain consideration of equally progressive legislation in other States. Desirable uniformity may be best attempted, we believe, by having the Executive Council draft model bills to be submitted to the various State Federations of Labor and city central bodies, along with full explanation of same, for the information of such bodies, and upon which the efforts to secure progressive legislation can be based with desirable uniformity. We recommend that this be done.

In the matter of workmen's compensation acts, your committee desires to express its opinion that extreme care should be used to prevent bills having in view the enactment of such legislation from being so drafted as to become proposals for reducing the present legal liability of the employers. Beyond this your committee does not deem it necessary to discuss the matter at this time, owing to action having already been taken by this convention instructing the Executive Council to secure legal advice upon the subject.

We recommend that city central bodies which have not already selected a local legislative committee, be requested by this Federation to select such committee without delay.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Investigation of Women and Child Labor," the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends approval of the part of the Executive Council's report under the title "Investigation of Women and Child Labor," and that the desired authority be given

by this convention to continue the efforts to secure the establishment of a special department in the Bureau of Labor for such investigation purposes.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Conservation of Natural Resources," the committee reported as follows:

The subject of "Conservation of Natural Resources," contained in the Executive Council's report, your committee believes to be of vast and growing importance, and that it will develop until its principle demand will be for the conservation and improvement of the moral and physical lives of our people. We report favorably upon the recommendation of the Executive Council that the Federation Committee be continued during the coming year.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 30—By John S. Whalen, delegate, New York State Federation of Labor.

Whereas, New York State has a model law regulating state prison labor.

Whereas, There does exist in many States of the Union convict labor;

Whereas, This convict labor is a menace to free labor of this and other states; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention recommend to the American Federation of Labor Convention to use its best efforts for the passage of a federal law abolishing prison labor; and be it further

Resolved, That the Legislative Committee be instructed to secure the passage of a bill to the end that each individual article made in a penitentiary, reformatory or state prison shall be stamped.

On Resolution No. 30 the committee reported as follows:

Your committee believes that the end sought therein, so far as it applies to the Federal Government, may best be obtained by the enactment into law of the prison labor bills, as endorsed by the American Federation of Labor, and which are now before Congress, known as H. R. 12000 and H. R. 12001.

We recommend that such State Federations as have not already familiarized themselves with the aforesaid bills, do so at once.

We further recommend that the matter of obtaining legislation to compel proper marking of all prison-made goods offered for sale as intended by the resolution, be referred to the various State Federations of Labor in order that such State organizations may inaugurate efforts to secure proper legislation upon the subject.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

This completes the report of the Committee on Education, and it is respectfully submitted by the committee:

JOS. F. VALENTINE,  
V. A. OLANDER,  
JAS. J. FREEL,  
A. M. SWARTZ,  
E. S. McCULLOUGH,  
ANDREW J. GALLAGHER,  
JOHN ROACH,  
O. P. SMITH,  
CHAS. H. LEE,  
FRANK KEOUGH,  
P. F. RICHARDSON,  
J. P. KELLY,  
MARGARET KELLY  
ERNEST BOHM,  
JAS. B. DRAKE,

Committee on Education.

On motion the report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

Vice-President Perham: The Committee on Local and Federated Bodies beg leave to report upon that part of Resolution No. 75 referred to it, which reads as follows:

Resolved, That any international union which does not compel its local organizations to affiliate with the Building Trades Council and Central Trades and Labor Union, be instructed by the American Federation of Labor, to revoke that local's charter, and on their failure, the international charter, be revoked, until such time as they comply with said constitution. The said resolution to apply to all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee non-concurs in the resolution, for the reason that the subject was passed upon and adversely decided by this convention when it considered the report of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

This completes our report, which is signed by

H. B. PERHAM,  
CHARLES D. WHEELER,  
W. D. MAHON,  
FRANK T. HAWLEY,  
FRANK GEHRING,  
M. W. KELLEHER,  
M. E. LICHT,  
E. F. WARD,  
JOHN T. BUTLER,  
SAM DE NEDREY,  
GEORGE F. GOLDEN,  
HARRY DE VEAUX,  
C. T. DOLAN,  
CHARLES LAVIN.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed by Delegate O'Flaherty, Delegate Grow, Delegate Gehring and Delegate Hawley.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried.

Secretary Morrison: Resolution No. 112 has not been reported on. It was referred to the Committee on Law. The secretary of that committee states that the delegates who introduced it, the Painters' delegation, are satisfied to allow it to be referred to the Executive Council.

**Resolution No. 112—By Delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:**

Whereas, The American Federation of Labor recognizes that the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America has jurisdiction over all painters and decorators, including those employed in the painting and decorating of railroad cars, engines and other equipment, and

Whereas, In order to secure proper consideration for the demands of its members employed by railroad companies it is necessary that the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America have direct representation upon committees to confer with the railroad officials regarding wages, hours and conditions of labor, and

Whereas, Such representation can be properly and effectively secured only through the affiliation of the said brotherhood with the Railway Employees' Department of the American Federation of Labor, and

Whereas, Said brotherhood has made application for admission, accompanied by the initiation fee, and no action has as yet been taken upon its application, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Railway Department of the American Federation of Labor be advised that the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America is eligible to admission to membership and requested to seat its delegates at its coming convention.

On motion Resolution No. 112 was referred to the Executive Council.

#### **Report of Committee on Resolutions.**

Secretary Frey, for the committee, reported as follows: Your committee desires to offer the following resolutions from the committee:

**Resolution No. 152—By Committee on Resolutions.**

Whereas, The rapid changes which are taking place in our industries, and the increasing number of women who have entered into competition with men as breadwinners, has made it more essential to their rights that the ballot should be placed in their hands.

Resolved, That this convention reaffirm the previous actions of conventions of the American Federation of Labor endorsing the principle of female suffrage.

The resolution was adopted by unanimous vote of the convention.

**Resolution No. 153—By Committee on Resolutions.**

Resolved, That the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, take this method and opportunity of expressing its appreciation of the cordiality of the welcome which was extended by the city's chief executive and the governor of the State,

That the local committee on arrangements and entertainments are entitled to our sincere thanks for the efforts which were made on their part, previous to the convention, for the convenience and comfort of the delegates, and for their constant efforts since the convention began its sessions, to make our sojourn in their city such as to recall pleasant memories, after our departure.

That the local committee, the wives and daughters, of St. Louis trade unionists, and the organized women of the city have won our admiration for their careful and attentive interest in the comfort and social enjoyment of the lady delegates, and other ladies in attendance at this convention.

That the many social and fraternal organizations of St. Louis, whose hospitality was most generously extended to our delegates, have added to their previous reputation as exceptionally successful entertainers.

That our appreciation and thanks are due to the St. Louis Street Car Company for its kindness in placing its cars at the disposal of our delegates, for transportation to and from the convention hall.

That we give our sentiments of keenest pleasure and appreciation to the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra for the masterly and inspiring music with which its members entertained the delegates upon the opening day of this convention.

That the delegates to this convention have indicated their qualification to truly and ably represent the great trade union movement of this country during our sessions.

The resolution was adopted by unanimous vote of the convention.

Secretary Frey: That completes the report of the convention, which is signed by the entire committee:

JAMES DUNCAN, Chairman,  
JAMES WILSON,  
B. A. LARGER,  
D. D. MULCAHY,  
EDWIN PERRY,  
ROBERT GLOCKLING,  
JOHN T. SMITH,  
PATRICK MURPHY,  
T. V. O'CONNOR,  
GEO. B. HOWLEY,  
THOMAS FLYNN,  
EDWARD MCGIVERN,  
M. A. MURPHY,  
JOHN P. FREY, Secretary.

Secretary Frey: I move the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Keegan obtained permission for the introduction of a resolution, and presented the following:

Resolution No. 154—By Delegate J. J. Keegan, of International Association of Machinists:

Whereas, The working people of our country are the principal sufferers of poor and unsanitary dwellings and tenements; be it

Resolved, That this Thirtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor recommend to the Legislative Committee of the various affiliated State Federations of Labor, the drafting and presentation to their respective legislatures, bills looking to the improvement of the regulations governing the building of renting houses and tenements, to the end of having renting houses and tenements built with more regard for the health of the occupants, by compelling that renting houses, and tenements, be built from plans assuring more air, more light, more room, as well as looking to general sanitary improvements.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Sullivan (J. L.): I have no desire to prolong the sessions of this convention, but I am surprised that some of the delegates interested in this matter did not introduce a resolution in regard to a bill before our law-making body in Washington. The bill is entitled, "Net Contents of Container Bill." Every man and woman in the country is interested in it. Inasmuch as no resolution has been offered, if it is possible for the President to advise the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor to take cognizance of this matter, I would like to have him do so.

President Gompers: The President of the American Federation of Labor suggests that Delegate Sullivan communicate the substance of his suggestion to the officers of the American Federation of Labor, and I am sure that, no matter who are the officers, if the bill has any merit, it will be considered. The constitution of the Federation gives the Executive Council the authority to initiate legislation, or to work in the interests of such legislation.

Vice-President Perham stated that the Railway Department of the American Federation of Labor had held two meetings in St. Louis during the two weeks of the convention, but had not completed its

business. He stated that the meeting of the department would be adjourned to January 10, 1911, and that the meeting would be at the Saratoga Hotel, Chicago, Ill. He requested that all those having business with the department who wished to appear before the meeting be in Chicago at that time.

#### **Election of Officers, Fraternal Delegates and City in Which to hold the 1911 Convention of the A. F. of L.**

Delegate Mahon (W. D.) in the chair.

Delegate O'Connor (T. V.): I desire to nominate Samuel Gompers for President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

There being no further names presented, nominations were declared closed. On motion of Delegate McNulty the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Samuel Gompers for President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Secretary Morrison complied with the instructions of the convention, and President Gompers was declared elected to serve for the ensuing term.

In response to requests for a speech President Gompers made a brief address in which he thanked the delegates for their continued confidence in him, as shown by his unanimous re-election.

Delegate Miller (Owen), in behalf of the trades unionists of St. Louis, presented to President Gompers a handsome silver-mounted cigar case, suitably inscribed.

President Gompers thanked the trades unionists of St. Louis for the gift, and reviewed briefly his acquaintance with and his interest in those who comprise the organized labor movement of St. Louis.

Delegate Frey placed in nomination for first vice-president James Duncan of the Granite Cutters.

No further names being presented, nominations were declared closed. On motion of Delegate Flannery the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James Duncan for First Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Secretary Morrison complied with the instructions of the convention, and

the chairman declared Vice-President Duncan duly elected to serve for the ensuing term.

President Gompers in the chair.

Treasurer Lennon placed in nomination for Second Vice-President John Mitchell of the United Mine Workers of America. There being no further nominations, the chairman declared that nominations were closed.

On motion of Delegate Mahon the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John Mitchell for Second Vice-President. Secretary Morrison complied with the instructions of the convention, and the chair declared Vice-President Mitchell duly elected to serve for the ensuing term.

Delegate Collins placed in nomination for Third Vice-President James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists. No other names being presented, nominations were declared closed. On motion of Delegate Sullivan (T. J.), the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Vice-President O'Connell for the office of Third Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and the chairman declared Vice-President O'Connell duly elected to serve as Third Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate McSorley placed in nomination for Fourth Vice-President, Denis A. Hayes, of the Glass Bottle Blowers. No other names being presented, nominations were declared closed. On motion, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Denis A. Hayes for Fourth Vice-President for the ensuing term. Secretary Morrison complied with the instructions of the convention, and the chairman declared Vice-President Hayes duly elected to serve for the ensuing term.

Delegate Tveitmo placed in nomination for Fifth Vice-President, William D. Huber, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. No other names being presented, nominations were declared closed.

On motion of Delegate Pratt, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for W. D. Huber for Fifth Vice-President. Secretary Morrison complied with the instructions of the con-

vention, and the chairman declared Vice-President Huber duly elected to serve for the ensuing term.

Delegate Wilson (James), placed in nomination for Sixth Vice-President, Joseph F. Valentine, of the International Molders' Union of North America. No other names being presented, nominations were declared closed, and the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Joseph F. Valentine for Sixth Vice-President.

Secretary Morrison complied with the instructions of the convention, and the chairman declared Vice-President Valentine duly elected to serve for the ensuing term.

Delegate Ryan (F. M.), placed in nomination for Seventh Vice-President John R. Alpine, of the International Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers. No other names being presented, nominations were declared closed.

On motion of Delegate Leonard, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John R. Alpine for Seventh Vice-President. Secretary Morrison complied with the instructions of the convention, and the chairman declared Vice-President Alpine duly elected to serve as Seventh Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Tanquary placed in nomination for Eighth Vice-President Henry B. Perham of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers. No other names being presented, nominations were closed. On motion, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Henry B. Perham for Eighth Vice-President. Secretary Morrison complied with the instructions of the convention, and the chairman declared Vice-President Perham duly elected to serve for the ensuing term.

Delegate Landers placed in nomination for Treasurer John B. Lennon, of the Journeyman Tailors. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Brals and Delegate Altman.

No other names being presented, nominations were declared closed and the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John B. Lennon for Treasurer for the ensuing term. Secretary Morrison complied with the instructions of the convention, and the chairman declared Treasurer Lennon duly elected to serve for the ensuing term.



Delegate Ryan (M. F.) placed in nomination for Secretary, Frank Morrison, of the International Typographical Union. The nomination was seconded by Delegate McCullough (T. W.), Delegate Wheeler and Delegate Carr.

On motion of Delegate Moorehouse the official stenographer, Mrs. East, a delegate to the convention, was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Morrison for Secretary for the ensuing term.

The instructions of the convention were complied with and the chairman declared Secretary Morrison duly elected to serve for the ensuing term.

Upon being declared elected each of the officers in turn made a short address in which he thanked the delegates for the honor of the unanimous re-election.

Delegate Wilson (W. B.) placed in nomination for fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress William B. Macfarlane of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

Delegate Lavin placed in nomination William J. Tracy, of the International Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers. Delegate Tracy declined the nomination.

No other names being presented, nominations were declared closed, and the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William B. Macfarlane. Secretary Morrison complied with the instructions of the convention, and the chairman declared Delegate Macfarlane duly elected fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Delegate Sullivan (J. L.), placed in nomination for fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress, Owen Miller, of the American Federation of Musicians. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Furu-  
seth and Delegate Murphy.

Delegate Lynch (J. M.), placed in nomination Daniel J. Tobin, of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. The nomination was seconded by Vice-President Alpine and Delegate Flannery.

Delegate Commons placed in nomination W. D. Mahon, of the Amalgamated Associa-

tion of Street and Electric Railway Employed. Delegate Mahon declined the nomination, and seconded the nomination of Delegate Miller.

Secretary Morrison proceeded with the roll call on the election of fraternal delegate. The roll call resulted as follows:

For Miller—Kerker, Koch, Gazzolo, Franklin (J. A.), Flynn (Jos.), Flynn (T. H.), Glockling, Higgins, Chatterton, Kemper, Proebstle, Sullivan (John), Ward, Kugler, Butterworth, Young, Kelso; Cigarmakers' delegation (216 votes); Konenkamp, Braun, Scoby, Bechtold, Crist, Duncan, Smith, Bianchi, Kenehan, Sullivan (J. L.), Griffin, Hesketh, McArdle, O'Neal, Leyshon; Longshoremen's delegation (52 votes); Pegg, Vurpia, O'Donnell, Daly, Rumsey, Butler; Mine Workers' delegation (779 votes); Weber (J. N.), Miller (Owen), Winkler, Carey (D. A.), Smyth, Berry, Murphy (E. P.), Taylor (Wm. H.), Carr, Sultor, Feyler, Perham, Quick, Ramsay, Tanquary, Carrigan, Riley (J. F.), Mahon, Commons, Pratt, Hurley, Furu-  
seth, Olander, Marsh, Gaviak, Grimshaw, Brais, Lennon, Lindola, Carolan, McAndrew, Evans, Mulcahy, Taylor (Miss (Z. J.), Hertenstein, Donoghue, Chrisman, Leary, Murray, Case, Buckley, Baum, Murphy (M. A.), Grant, O'Brien (Wm.), Zepp, Riley (J. H.), O'Flaherty, Drain, Mueller, Carter, Anderson, Murphy (Frank), Smith (V. B.), Sanarens, Weber (F. J.), O'Connor (John), Guye, Jerling, Peters, Russi, McDonald, Niven, Dumaw, White, Kennedy, Shanessy, Adams, Troester, Eckert, Grassell, Partelow, Bell, Zerbarini, Dunne, Brice, Lorenzen; representing 4,626 votes.

For Tobin—Fischer (Jacob), Noschang, Klapetzky, Anderson (E.), Halinan, Ryan (F. M.), Butler (J. T.), Kelly (J. P.), Huber, Duffy (F.), Macfarlane, Young, Flynn (Thos.), Kelly (W. J.), Swartz, Malre, Goellnitz, Gengenback; Cigarmakers' delegation (216 votes); Licht, Conway, Manning, Hinder, McNulty, Collins, Fay, Monaghan, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Glass, McNamara, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Walsh, Mangan, Smith (Fred), Rickert, Larger, Altman, Landers, Meyer, Rosenberg, Dyche, Bloch, Hayes (D. A.), Thorp, Wettengel, Moffitt, Lawlor, Maher, D'Alessandro, Kirby, Cordell, Marshall, Sullivan (T. J.), Farrell, McSorley, Stevenson (E. T.); Longshoremen's delegation (156 votes); O'Connell, Fry, Keegan, Buckley, Handley, Price, Bray; Mine Workers' delegation (1,558 votes); Valentine, Frey, O'Neill, Schwab, Dunachie, Skemp, Tazelaar, Moorehouse, Kelley (Samuel), Evans (D. J.), Wilson (James), Gernon, Sheret, Woll, Foster, McGivern, Donlin, Alpine, Murphy (Patrick), Tracy (W. J.), Malley, Ryan (M. F.), Adames, Gallagher, Faquin, Hart, Barry, Higgins, Hawley, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Hermann, Neer, Grace, Golden, Flemming, Williams, Lynch, Morrison, Hayes (M. S.), Stevenson (H.), McCul-

lough, Butler (L. W.), Faulkner, Cullen, Hartvigsen, Lavin, Lee, Sheehan, Benson, Sliger, Fredericks, Grow, McGeary, Gallagher, Leonard, Woodmansee, Midgley, Tveitmo, Lawine; representing 9,883 votes.

Not Voting—DeVeaux, Kline, Kennedy, Glover, Dougherty, Tobin (J. F.), Kelly (Margaret), Dolan (C. T.), Richardson, Humphrey, Flannery, Nestor, Grahame, Gehring, Coakley, Call, O'Sullivan, Carey (J. T.), Hannah, Dold, Nelson, Duffy (T. J.), McDevitt, Roth, Mallin, Boecke, McHugh, Mitchell, Evans (Jo.), Teagarden, Curtis, Hatch, Drake, Mikel, Skaggs, Jones (J.), Golden, Pfeiffer, DeNedrey, Whalen, Kummer, Powell, Eckenrood, Creamer, Berger, Joyner, Cathon, Maddox, Marquardt, Hirsh, Jennings, Jones (S. G.), Hudson (Fred), Courtenay, Knies, Flynn, Kiefer, Andrick, Wheeler, Britt, Urick, Wentz, Kleyhauer, Nystrom, Burke, Wilson (G. F.), Smith (J. U. P.), Laws, Fear, Bramlette, Hippert, Skemp (Mrs.), Coffey, Smith (O. P.), Howley, Dingersen, Fahey, McGill, Abrahams, Zeigler, Hunter, Draper, Huplits, Bell, Robinson, Holt, Keough, Wood, Anderson (A. C.), Cotter, Rizzle, Bone, James, Stafford, Goodwin, Voll, Morris (Miss E. C.), McAndrews, Skelley, Gaede, Downey, Neuman, Siebert, White, Swenson, Carter, Bartholomew, Hubbard, Bohm, Wykes, Lelbowitz, Greenbaum, Miller, Lippert, Harris, Collin (P. J.), Hudson (Mabel), East, Goldstein, Nihil, Davis, Brace, Turner, Pettipiece; representing 919 votes.

Delegate Miller: I move that the vote be made unanimous for Delegate Tobin. (Seconded and carried.)

Vice-President Duncan placed in nomination for Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress William J. Tracy, of the International Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers. No other name being presented nominations were closed and the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William J. Tracy. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and the chairman declared William J. Tracy duly elected fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

President Gompers placed in nomination for delegate to the conference of the International Secretariat to be held in Budapest in 1911, First Vice-President James Duncan.

No other names being presented, nominations were declared closed, and the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Vice-President Duncan. Secretary Mor-

risson complied with the instructions of the convention, and Vice-President Duncan was declared duly elected as delegate to the International Secretariat.

Each of the newly elected fraternal delegates made a short address, in which he thanked the convention for the honor conferred upon him.

President Gompers in the chair.

When nominations for cities in which to hold the next convention were called for Delegate Whalen placed in nomination the city of Rochester, New York. Delegate Gallagher (J. J.) placed in nomination Atlanta, Georgia. Delegate Adams placed in nomination Washington, D. C.

Delegate Jones, Delegate Moorehouse and Delegate Gallagher seconded the nomination of Atlanta, and spoke in favor of that city.

Delegate Leonard and Delegate Whalen spoke in favor of Rochester, New York.

A roll call on the question of a convention city was taken, with the following result:

For Rochester—Gazzolo, Tobin (J. F.), Hallinan, Higgins, Chatterton, Kelly (Margaret), Kemper, Froebste, Sullivan (John), Ward, Kugler, Huber, Duffy (F.), Macfarlane, Flynn (Thos.), Goellnitz, Gengenback, Gompers, Tracy (T. F.), Smith (J. T.), Barnes, Hinder, Braun, McNulty, Collins (P. W.), Fay, Monaghan, Feeney, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Flannery, Smith (Fred), Thorp, D'Alessandro, Kirby, Cordell, Sullivan (T. J.), Griffin, Heskeith, Farrell, McSorley, Stevenson; Longshoremen's delegation (104 votes); Machinists' delegation (189 votes); Daly, Rumsey, O'Sullivan; Mine Workers' delegation (779 votes); Molders' delegation (100 votes); Musicians' delegation (200 votes); Painters' delegation (127 votes); Sheret, Alpine, Murphy (Patrick), Tracy (W. J.), Malley, Perham, Quick, Ramsay, Tanquary, Furuseth, Marsh, Hart, Barry, Higgins, Williams, Carolan, Donoghue, Leary, Whalen, Lee, Midgley, Dunne, Knies, Sheehan, Flynn (J. J.), O'Brien, O'Flaherty, Mueller, Anderson, Keough, Carter, O'Connor, Peters, Jerling, McGeary, Leonard; representing 5,357 votes.

For Atlanta—Noschang, Fischer (Jacob), Klapetzky, Anderson (Ed), Franklin (J. A.), Flynn (Jos.), Flynn (T. H.), Glockling, Brewery Workmen's delegation, (160 votes); Butterworth, Ryan (F. M.), Butler (J. T.), Kelly (J. P.), Young (Carl), Kelly (W. J.), Swartz, Young (W. W.), Kelso, Maire, Licht, Conway, Manning, Konenkamp, Scoby, Connerford, Hannahan, Glass, McNamara, Walsh, Mangan, Rickert, Larger, Altman, Landers, Meyer, Rosenberg, Dyche,

Bloch, Hayes (D. A.), Crist, Duncan, Smith (A. M.), Bianchi, Moffitt, Lawlor, Maher, Marshall, Kenehan, Sullivan (J. L.), Longshoremen's delegation, (104 votes); Machinists' delegation, (189 votes); Pegg, Vurpia, O'Donnell, Butler (T. J.), Bray, Mine Workers' delegation, (1,558 votes); Molders' delegation (400 votes); Musicians' delegation, (200 votes); Painters' delegation, (508 votes); Woll, McGivern, Donlin, Smyth, Berry, Murphy (E. P.), Taylor (W. H.), Carr, Sultor, Feyler, Ryan (M. F.), Adames, Gallagher, Paquin, Carrigan, Riley, Mahon, Commons, Pratt, Olander, Gaylak, Brals, Lennon, Lindola, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Hermann, Neer, Grace, Golden, Flemming, McAndrew, Evans (E. L.), Lynch, Morrison, Hayes (M. S.), Stevenson (H.), McCullough, Mulcahy, Taylor (Miss Z. J.), Hertenstein, Chrisman, Lavin, Woodmansee, Buckley, Marquardt, Baum, Murphy (M. A.), Grant, Wheeler, Benson, Drain, Silger, Skemp (Mrs.), Murphy, Guye, Robinson, Holt, Russi, Gallagher, Shanessy, Kennedy (J. H.), Eckert, Partelow, Bell, Tveitmoie, Brice, Lawine, Lorenzen, representing 8,739 votes.

For Washington—Machinists' delegation (191 votes), Foster, Adams representing 206 votes.

Not voting—DeVeaux, Kennedy (A. J.), Kerker, Koch, Kline, Glover, Dougherty, Dolan (C. T.), Richardson, Humphrey, Bechtold, Wettengel, Nestor, McArdle, O'Neal, Leyshon, Grahame, Gehring, Coakley, Price, Call, Carey (J. T.), Wilson (James), Gernon, Hannah, Doid, Nelson, Duffy (T. J.), McDevitt, Roth, Malin, Hurley, Boecke, McHugh, Mitchell (M.), Evans (Jo), Grimshaw, Hawley, Teagarden, Curtis, Hatch, Drake, Mikel, Butler (L. W.), Faulkner, Skaggs, Jones, Golden, Pfeiger, DeNedrey, Cullen, Hartvigsen, Kummer, Powell, Eckenrod, Murray, Cotter, Creamer, Case, Berger, Joyner, Cathon, Maddox, Hirsh, Jennings, Jones (S. G.), Hudson (Fred), Courtenay, Klefer, Andrick, Zepp, Britt, Riley (J. H.), Urlick, Wentz, Kleyhauer, Nystrom, Burke, Wilson (G. F.), Smith (J. U. P.), Fredericks, Laws, Fear, Bramlette, Hippert, Coffey, Smith (O. P.), Grow, Smith (V. B.), Sanarens, Weber, Howley, Dingersen, Fahey, McGill, Abrahams, Zeigler, Hunter, Draper, Huplits, Bell, McDonald, Wood, Niven, Anderson, Dumaw, Rizzie, White (Norval), Bone, James, Stafford, Goodwin, Voll, Morris (Miss E. C.), McAndrews, Skelley, Gaede, Troester, Downey, Neuman, Siebert, Grassell, White (G. T.), Swenson, Carter, Bartholomew, Hubbard, Bohm, Wykes, Zerbarini, Leibowitz, Greenbaum, Miller (A.), Lippert, Harris, Collins (P. J.), Hudson (Mabel), East, Goldstein, Nihil, Davis, Brace, Turner, Pettipiece, representing 1,126 votes.

Delegate Whalen: I move that Atlanta be made the unanimous choice, and hope the delegates will have a pleasant time in that city.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Adams, and carried.

President Gompers: Every report, resolution, recommendation or suggestion that has come before this convention has received the earnest consideration of the delegates. There are many gatherings of men and women in which things that are thought inconvenient or unacceptable are suppressed by reference to a committee, where they are killed and buried. The American Federation of Labor has this record, that, no matter what opinion may be held by a delegate, if he expresses it in the form of a resolution it is given consideration by the convention. We realize the thought and the principle that that country is best, that organization is best where the greatest freedom obtains and where the rights of the minority are guaranteed. I am sure it must be a source of great gratification to all of us to know that after our two weeks' sessions, to which the delegates have given assiduous and earnest attention, we are prepared to close this convention without one thought suppressed or without one suggestion which has not been given due consideration. There have been rules established for the debates of the convention, yet I think I am safe in saying, and entirely within the truth, that every delegate has had a full and ample opportunity to present the thoughts he desired to give expression to.

One of the delegates in this convention called attention to a condition in which he and two other delegates to this convention are placed. We do not know whether the three officers of the American Federation to whom he referred will have the pleasure of being in attendance at Atlanta. I think I express your hope, as it is mine, that the highest judicial tribunal in our land will by its edict absolutely set its seal of disapproval against the attempt to invade the constitutional and inherent and natural rights of American citizenship. That that may come must be the devout wish of all of us. It will clarify the air, it will rudely awaken men who attempt to imperialize with autocratic power the wealth producers of our country. We aim to tear down nothing. Our work and our hopes are constructive. If the courts should determine otherwise than that for which we contend, it will simply make our task additionally difficult, and we shall be compelled to appeal to the legislative branch of our government to restore to the workers the rights of which they have been deprived. If in that contest some men must suffer, they will not be the first, and perhaps may not be the last, but in the effort to maintain or to retain human right and human liberty no sacrifice is too great, no burden too hard. Man born of woman is made to bear burdens, and he would be unworthy of the confidence of his fellows or the ennobling title of manhood did he shrink from the responsi-

bility to dare and do for right, for justice and for human liberty.

I am more than gratified with the work of this convention. Great tolerance has been shown, in spite of perplexing problems. This is not an academic club; this is not a meeting where men indulge themselves in fanciful flights of oratory, having really no basis in human activities. Our discussions are the result of the needs of the day and of the time, springing out of the wants, the hopes and the aspirations of the workers and the common people generally.

Having come to the conclusion of our work, having come to the point where we have left nothing untouched and undecided as our best judgment might direct, it is a happy conclusion. So far as I am concerned I have had the full meed of honor bestowed upon me, and I could not in words express to you the great gratification I feel. If out of this convention's work shall spring an inspiration among us and among our fellow-workers of the country to work on and on, if it shall give us new energy and new hope to do our duty in the day's work and in the world's work for human uplift, it will have paid. I am sure that out of the deliberations

of this convention we shall find reflected in the economic, in the material, in the industrial, in the political and in the moral life of our people, a great uplifting influence. And out of the deliberations of our convention will come, written upon the statute books of our country and of our states, the demands which the modern labor movement makes upon society.

May I express this hope, that you may have a safe return to your homes; that you may find your families and friends and those others who are dear to you in the very best of health and spirit; that you will find your fellow-workers inspirited by your deliberations and activities; that the spirit and gospel of labor may spread throughout the length and breadth of our continent; that the banner of labor, the banner of human justice may be unfurled and flung to the breeze to bring hope and encouragement to our fellow men.

There being no further business to come before the convention, upon motion of Treasurer Lennon, the convention was adjourned without date.

*Frank Morrison*

Secretary American Federation of Labor.

*C. P. Connolly,*

Assistant Secretary.



# INDEX.

	A	Page.
Actors—White Rats.....	100, 101,	136
Resolution 26.....	154,	245
Resolution 27.....	154, 155,	245, 246
Addresses of welcome.....		1-5
American Baking Co., Resolutions 62 and 67.....	183, 184, 185, 335, 336,	337
American Federationist.....	53, 82,	314
American Society of Equity.....		206, 249
Anti-trust and injunction.....	28-30, 31, 32, 58-61,	309-311
Anti-Wage Slavery Society, greetings.....		233
Arizona and New Mexico.....	45,	313
Assistant secretary.....		87
Atlanta, Georgia, Invitations from.....		284, 323

	B	
Badge makers.....	107, 108,	291
Resolution 2.....	143, 144,	326
Resolution 7.....	145, 232, 277,	282, 291
Bakery and Confectionery Workers, Resolution 57.....	182,	242
Bakery wagon drivers, Resolution 136.....		229, 287
Benefits, fraternal, litigation, Resolution 15.....	148, 149, 315,	316
Bingham Sons Co., Samuel, Resolution 102.....	220, 338,	339
Blacksmiths, Carriage and Wagon Workers, Resolution 81.....		214, 279
Bluestone Cutters.....	108, 109, 136, 165,	289, 290, 291
Boilermakers, Kewanee Boiler Co., Resolution 108.....	222, 237,	262
Structural Iron Workers.....		328
Boycott.....		292, 339
Brass Molders.....	109, 110, 136,	285, 286
Resolution 82.....	214, 285,	286
Brewery Drivers.....		287, 288
Brewery Workers—Firemen—Teamsters—Engineers.....		106
Brick Layers and Masons, Resolution 101.....	220, 248,	249
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, Lathers.....	106, 107, 136,	211, 212
British Fraternal Delegates.....	189-196,	272, 320
British labor movement.....	140-143, 189-196,	320
Buck's Stove and Range Company.....	118, 119, 136,	205, 343
Building Trades Councils, Resolution 41.....		159, 304
Resolution 74.....		187, 304
Resolution 75.....	187, 222,	305, 344
Resolution 79.....		213, 304
Resolution 113.....	224, 304,	305
Butcher Workmen, Resolution 6.....	145, 240,	241

	C	
Canadian Fraternal Delegate.....	197-199,	272
Canadian labor movement.....	19, 161-164, 168, 197-199,	232, 270, 271
Cards, Interchange of union, Resolution 12.....		147, 266
Carmen—Car Workers.....	11, 96-100,	136, 165
Carpenters—Carpenters.....	105, 206,	342, 343
Lathers, Resolution 17.....	150, 232,	302, 303
Metal Trim, Resolution 104.....		221, 237, 303
Sheet Metal Workers, Resolution 18.....	150, 151,	232, 302
Woodworkers.....	11, 105, 106, 136, 164,	166, 288, 289

	Page.
Carriage and Wagon Workers, Resolution 22.....	152, 153, 278, 279
Catholic services.....	232
Central Bodies.....	269, 270, 330, 343
Resolution 42.....	160, 267, 269, 270
Resolution 129.....	228, 269, 270
Chicago Building Trades situation.....	115, 136, 303
Chicago Inter-Ocean, Resolution 111.....	223, 337, 338
Child and Women Labor.....	36, 37, 124, 312, 343, 344
Southern Conference of,	
Resolution 87.....	215, 216, 259
Children's Bureau, Resolution 116.....	224, 225, 263, 264
Cigar Makers' invitation.....	206
strike, Tampa, Florida.....	322, 340
Resolution 143.....	237, 238, 299, 300
Civil Service Employees.....	124, 125, 136, 301
Resolution 52.....	181, 253, 254
Cloak and Skirt Makers, greetings.....	167
Coffey, Frank M.....	301
Committees:	
Adjustment.....	13, 167, 260, 277, 285
Auditing.....	138-140
Boycotts.....	13, 334
Building Trades.....	13, 282, 302
Credentials.....	5-11, 136, 137, 164-166, 206, 237, 249
Education.....	13, 343
Labels.....	12, 323
Law.....	12, 328, 329
Local and Federated Bodies.....	12, 89, 266
Organization.....	13, 89, 240-249
President's Report.....	12, 306
Resolutions.....	12, 249, 259, 261, 293, 345
Rules and Order of Business.....	11, 87, 88
Secretary's Report.....	12, 340
State Organizations.....	13
Treasurer's Report.....	12, 341
Special:	
Canadian Labor Movement.....	163, 168, 232, 270, 271
Carpenters—Carpenters.....	206, 342
Electrical Workers' Dispute.....	205, 233
Industrial Education.....	143, 273-277
Congress, U. S.....	25, 26, 311
Conservation of Natural Resources.....	124, 136, 344
Convention City.....	127, 136, 301
Date, Resolution 25.....	154, 320
Sessions.....	13, 14, 207
Convict Labor.....	37, 39, 312, 344
Resolution 30.....	157, 344
Resolution 139.....	230, 297

## D

Department of Labor.....	41, 312
Departments, A. F. of L.....	18, 19, 55-58, 307, 330
Resolution 126.....	227, 240, 330
Des Moines, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly.....	11, 206, 207
Dietz, Rev. Peter E., Address of.....	202, 203
Direct primary, Resolution 77.....	212, 317

# INDEX

355

	Page.
District of Columbia, Resolution 132.....	228, 229, 265
Dock and Bulkhead Builders.....	305
Drexler Baking Co., Resolution 65.....	184, 185, 336
Dues, High.....	90, 249

## E

Eight Hour Law.....	34-36, 312
Election of:	
Convention City.....	349, 350
Fraternal Delegates.....	348, 349
Officers.....	346-348
Electrical Workers—	
11, 101, 136, 168-178, 189, 205, 207, 210, 211, 232, 233-236, 257, 284, 285	
Elevator Conductors and Starters, Resolution 14.....	147, 148, 278
Elks' invitation.....	167
Employers' Liability—Compensation.....	40, 41, 130-135, 251, 263, 269, 312, 343
Resolution 131.....	228, 240, 296
Encyclopedia Britannica, Resolution 48.....	180, 335
Engineers—Firemen, Resolution 133.....	229, 240, 260, 261, 306

## F

Farmers.....	123, 136, 249, 284
Resolution 54.....	181, 182, 246
Favorite Stove and Range Co., Resolution 88.....	216, 337
Finances.....	62-66, 82, 84, 86, 87, 138-140, 242
Fitzgerald, Miss Annie, Address of.....	204
Fleischmann Baking Co., Resolution 65.....	184, 336
Flour and Cereal Mill Employees, Resolution 49.....	180, 267, 268
Forest fire relief, Resolution 16.....	149, 150
Fraternal Delegates, Addresses of.....	189-204, 272, 320

## G

Garment Workers' strike, Chicago, Resolution 140.....	230, 231, 297-299
Cleveland, Greetings.....	284
New York.....	22-24, 110, 136, 308
St. Louis.....	257
Gas Workers, Resolution 51.....	180, 181, 241
George, Lloyd, Resolution 151.....	320
Georgia, greetings from.....	167
Gompers, President.....	237, 350, 351

## H

Hadley, Governor, Address of.....	128-135
Harriman, Job, Address of.....	207-210
Hatters' Case.....	117, 118, 136, 314
Hebrew Trades, United, greetings.....	188
Hod Carriers and Building Laborers.....	109, 304
Hod Carriers, California, Resolution 94.....	217, 218, 240, 303
Homestake Mining Company, Resolution 19.....	151, 334, 335
Hughes' Amendment—Prosecution of Labor.....	33, 312

## I

Immigration.....	39, 146, 312, 315
Industrial Education.....	41-43, 124, 136, 143, 273-277
Initiative and Referendum, Resolution 77.....	212, 317
Injunction and Contempt Case.....	30, 31, 66, 119, 136, 311, 314
Injunction legislation, Resolution 120.....	226, 240, 295, 296
Insurance laws and trade unions.....	43, 44, 73, 74, 148, 149, 312, 315, 316



	Page.
International Local Unions, Restrictions on, Resolution 105.....	221, 318
International Secretariat.....	50, 51, 125, 126, 136, 188, 313, 314, 315, 349
Irish flag.....	136
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.....	21, 22, 111-113, 136, 249, 307, 308

**J**

Jewelry Workers.....	107, 108, 136, 291
Providence, R. I., Resolution 33.....	157, 241

**K**

Kansas City, Kan., Resolution 73.....	187, 243
Keokuk, Ia., Central Labor Union.....	11, 166
Knefler, Mrs. D. W., Address of.....	272, 273
Knights of Columbus' invitation.....	188, 189

**L**

Label counterfeiting, Resolution 56.....	182, 323, 325
Label Fair, Resolution 36.....	158, 325
Label law digest.....	125
Label Trades Councils, Resolution 72.....	187, 325, 330
Label, Universal, Resolution 50.....	180, 324
Resolution 100.....	219, 327
Resolution 107.....	222, 327
Labels to be issued at net cost.....	323, 324
to be sewed on, Resolution 31.....	157, 323, 324
Labels:	
Bakery and Confectionery Workers, Resolution 58.....	182, 183, 324, 325
Bill Posters and Billers, Resolution 117.....	225, 327
Coopers, Resolution 35.....	158, 324
Metal Trades, Resolution 96.....	218, 327
Paper Makers, Resolution 20.....	151, 326
Tobacco Workers, Resolution 40.....	159, 326, 327
Labor Amendment Fund, Resolution 68.....	185, 186, 295
Day—Labor Sunday.....	49, 50, 313
Resolution 59.....	183, 316, 317
Labor Information Bureau, Resolution 45.....	179, 252
Labor Legislation, American Association for, Resolution 114.....	224, 263
Labor Press.....	52, 53, 314
Labor Press Association.....	168
Labor Representation Committee.....	121, 122, 136, 314
Larkin Soap Company, Resolution 60.....	183, 335
Legislation.....	27, 28, 120, 122, 136, 312, 314, 343
Locomotive boiler inspection, Resolution 145.....	238, 300
Longshoremen to protect lives of, Resolution 11.....	147, 250, 251
immigration protection for, Resolution 10.....	146, 315
Los Angeles, Cal.....	167, 207-210, 232, 233
Los Angeles relief, Resolution 80.....	213, 214, 256, 257

**M**

McKinney Bread Company, Resolution 64.....	184, 336
Machinists—Elevator Constructors.....	101-105, 136, 279-281
Resolution 28.....	155-157, 279-281
Macy, R. H. & Co., Resolution 83.....	214, 215, 240, 259, 260
Maintenance of Way Employees' Invitation.....	284
Marine officers, Licensed, Resolution 135.....	229, 297
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, Resolution 66.....	185, 285

# INDEX

557

	Page.
Mergenthaler Linotype Co., Resolution 90.....	216, 217, 247
Messenger .....	13
Metal Trades, Resolution 95.....	218, 247, 248
Metal Workers, Sheet—Stove Mounters.....	107, 136, 288
Mexican Labor, Resolution 76.....	212, 243
Michigan, Resolution 110.....	223, 268
Miners' strikes and others.....	24, 25, 308
Missouri, Resolution 92.....	217, 247
Missouri Pacific and Iron Mountain Railroads strikes, Resolution 150.....	305
Moon Injunction bill.....	58-61
Moving Pictures inimical to labor, Resolution 130.....	228, 338
Moving Picture Machine Operators.....	114, 115, 136, 277, 278
Musicians—Allen Contract Labor Law, Resolution 144.....	238, 300
Labor Day, Resolution 97.....	218, 219, 317, 318

## N

Neckwear Makers and Cutters, Resolution 47.....	180, 340
Negro membership.....	237, 333, 334
Nelson, Oscar F., Resolution 52.....	181, 253, 254
Net contents container bill.....	346
New Jersey Legislature, Labor Representatives in.....	14
Newspaper and Mail Deliverers, Resolution 138.....	230, 289
Niagara Falls, N. Y., Invitation.....	323

## O

Ohio Federation of Labor.....	113, 114
Oklahoma constitution.....	44, 313
Old-age pension, Resolution 34.....	157, 158, 251
Oleomargarine, Resolution 71.....	186, 187, 255
Oregon .....	45, 212, 317
Organization and its extension.....	89, 249
Organizers .....	52, 83, 314
Organizers' expenses, Resolution 84.....	215, 329

## P

Painters—Car Workers, Resolution 119.....	226, 286, 287
Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers.....	110, 136, 184, 303, 304
Painters—Railroad Employes' Department, Resolution 112.....	223, 224, 240, 345
Panama Exposition, New Orleans, Resolution 103.....	220, 221, 296, 297
San Francisco, Resolution 122.....	226, 227, 297
Paper Mill Workers' strike, Taylorville, Ill., Resolution 148.....	282, 301
Phillips, Wendell, Resolution 146.....	239, 301
Photograph, Convention.....	167
Photo-Engravers, Resolution 147.....	257, 258, 318, 319
Pilot Laws, Resolution 38.....	158, 159, 252
Police oppression.....	48, 313
Political action.....	45-47, 121, 122, 313, 314
Porto Rico.....	20, 21, 307
Post Office Clerks, Resolution 8.....	145, 146, 250
Resolution 52.....	181, 253, 254
Post, C. W., propaganda, Resolution 110.....	223, 268
Postage rates, Second-class.....	43, 312
Potters vs. Trenton, N. J., Central Labor Union, Resolution 91.....	217, 331, 339, 340

	Page.
Printing Trades Club.....	206
Prison Labor Committee, Greetings.....	284
Purinton Paving Brick Co., Resolution 89.....	216, 261

## R

Railroad freight rates, Resolution 5.....	144, 249, 250
Resolution 24.....	153, 154, 251
Railroad track inspection, Resolution 73.....	212, 213, 255, 256
Railway Clerks, Resolution 61.....	183, 242
Railway Employees' Department.....	346
Red Cross, American, Resolution 63.....	184, 254

## Reports:

## Executive Council—

A. F. of L. office building.....	126, 127
Actors—White Rats.....	100, 101, 136
Assessments levied—Appeals endorsed.....	118, 136
Baseball .....	115
Brass Molders.....	109, 110, 136, 285, 286
Brewery Workers—Firemen—Teamsters—Engineers.....	106
Buck's Stove and Range Company.....	118, 119, 136, 343
Buffalo Central Body.....	114
Carmen—Car Workers.....	96-100, 136
Carpenters—Carpenters .....	105, 342, 343
Carpenters—Woodworkers .....	105, 106, 136, 164, 288, 289
Charters .....	90, 136
Chicago Building Trades situation.....	115, 136, 303
Civil Service Employees bridled.....	124, 136, 301
Conservation of Natural Resources.....	124, 136, 344
Convention city.....	127, 136, 301
Convention date.....	127, 136, 329
Electrical Workers.....	101, 136, 233-237
Elevator Constructors—Machinists.....	101-105, 136, 279-281
Farmers, Organized.....	123, 136, 249
Garment Workers' strike, Ladies.....	110, 136, 308
Hatters' case.....	117, 118, 136, 314
Hod Carriers and Building Laborers.....	109, 136, 304
Industrial education.....	124, 136, 273-277
Injunction and boycott pamphlet.....	119, 136, 314
Injunction and contempt case.....	119, 136, 314
International Secretariat, Affiliated with.....	125, 126, 136, 314, 349
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.....	111-113, 136, 249
Jewelry Workers.....	107, 108, 136, 291
Label law digest.....	125, 136
Labor Representation Committee's report.....	121, 122, 136, 314
Lathers—Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.....	106, 107, 136, 211, 212
Legislation .....	120-122, 136, 314
Meetings .....	88, 89
Metal Workers, Sheet—Stove Mounters.....	107, 136, 288
Moving Picture Machine Operators.....	114, 115, 136, 277, 278
Newspaper Solicitors' Union—San Francisco Call.....	115-117, 136, 291, 292
Ohio Federation of Labor.....	113, 114, 136
Organization and its extension.....	89, 136, 249
Paper Hangers—Painters.....	110, 136, 303, 304
Paper Makers.....	110, 111
Pavers and Rammermen—Bluestone Cutters—Granite Cutters—	108, 109, 136, 289, 290, 291

## Reports of:

## Executive Council—Continued.

Syracuse situation.....	114
Uniform laws to protect human life.....	122, 123, 136, 343
Upholsterers—Siegel Cooper Company.....	115
Wages and production ratio.....	127, 136
Walters' Union of San Francisco.....	114, 136, 314
Western Federation of Miners.....	90-96, 136, 331-333
Fraternal Delegates—	
British Trades' Union Congress.....	140-143
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	161-163
President .....	15-61
A. F. of L. Departments.....	18, 19, 55-58, 307
Building Trades.....	55, 56
Metal Trades.....	56, 57
Railroad Employees.....	57
Union Label Trades.....	57
American Federationist.....	53, 314
Anti-trust and injunction.....	28-30, 58-61, 309-311
Arizona and New Mexico—Constitution.....	45, 313
Canada .....	19, 232, 270, 271
Child Labor.....	36, 37, 312
Congress—its decadence and renaissance.....	25, 26, 311
House new rule.....	26, 27, 311
Convict labor.....	37-39, 312
Department of Labor.....	41, 312
Directly affiliated locals.....	25, 308, 309
Eight Hour law, Extension of.....	34-36, 312
Employers' Liability—Compensation.....	40, 41, 312
Garment Workers' strike and injunction.....	22-24, 308
Hughes Amendment—Prosecution of Labor.....	33, 312
Immigration, General and Asiatic.....	39, 312
Asiatic Exclusion.....	39, 312
Industrial Education.....	41-43
Injunction—Contempt—Appeals .....	30, 31, 311
Injunction legislation.....	58-61
Insurance laws and trade unions.....	43, 44, 312
International Secretariat.....	50, 51, 313
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.....	21, 22, 307, 308
Irrational antagonism to organized labor's protest and progress—	
.....	33, 34, 312
Labor Day—Labor Sunday.....	49, 50, 313
Labor Legislation.....	27, 28, 312
Labor Press.....	52, 53, 314
Labor's practical political action.....	45-47, 313
Labor's rights and its economic power.....	47, 48, 313
Miners' strikes and others.....	24, 25, 308
Moon Injunction Bill.....	53-61
Movement not narrow, Our.....	17, 18, 307
Oklahoma Constitution.....	44, 313
Oregon .....	45
Organization and growth.....	16, 17, 232, 307
Organizers .....	52, 314
Police Oppression, The "Third Degree".....	48, 313
Porto Rico.....	20, 21, 307
Postage Rates, Second Class.....	43, 312

	Page.
Reports of:	
President—Continued.	
"Shirt Waist" strike.....	24, 308
Suits against labor under Anti-trust Law.....	31, 32, 311
Vital Statistics.....	51, 52, 313
Secretary .....	62-68, 340, 341
American Federationist.....	82
Assessments .....	64
Benefits Paid by International Unions.....	73, 74
Charters .....	67
Defense Fund.....	84
Headquarters .....	86
International Unions.....	74-82
Labels .....	84
Legal Defense.....	66
Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	81, 85
Membership .....	68, 69, 85, 86
Organizers .....	83
Strike Statistics.....	70-72
Voting Strength.....	83
Treasurer .....	86, 87, 341
Rhode Island franchise, Resolution 99.....	219, 261
Rochester, N. Y., invitation.....	206, 284
Russian refugee, Canada, Resolution 149.....	282, 283

## S

San Francisco Call.....	115-117, 136, 291, 292
School Teachers, Buffalo, N. Y., Resolution 123.....	227, 264
Schultz Baking Co., Resolution 65.....	184, 185, 336
Seamen, Resolution 39.....	159, 252
Resolution 46.....	179, 180, 253
Sergeant-at-Arms .....	13
Sherman Anti-trust Law.....	31, 32, 311
Ship Subsidy, Resolution 43.....	178, 252
Shirt Waist and Garment Workers, Greetings.....	167
Siegels Cooper Company.....	115
Silk Workers, Resolution 53.....	181, 241, 242
Socialist meeting.....	232
Southern States, Resolution 115.....	224, 244
State Branches, Resolution 29.....	157, 266, 267
Resolution 118.....	225, 226, 240, 329
Resolution 124.....	227, 240, 329, 330
Resolution 142.....	231, 269, 270
Steel Trust Importation of Labor, Resolution 125.....	227, 264, 265
Steizle, Rev. Chas., Address of.....	199-202
Stenographers and general office workers, Resolution 98.....	219, 248
Stone Derrickmen, Resolution 21.....	151, 152, 244, 245
Strike benefits, Resolution 1.....	143, 328, 329
Strike statistics.....	70-72
Sugar Workers, Resolution 69.....	186, 243
Sympathetic strike, Resolution 70.....	186, 254, 255

## T

Tax, Per Capita.....	330
Teamsters, Change of Title, Resolution 137.....	229, 230, 287
Tenements and Dwelling Houses, Resolution 154.....	346

# INDEX

361

	Page
Texas, Resolution 32.....	157, 241
Texas State Branch, Greetings.....	233
Textile Workers, Resolution 93.....	217, 247
Thanks, Resolution 153.....	345
Theatrical Stage Employes, Resolution 13.....	147, 278
Tip Printers, Resolution 23.....	153, 325, 326
Tolstoi, Leo.....	263
Transportation Department, Resolution 9.....	146, 244
Tuberculosis sanitorium, Illinois, Resolution 106.....	221, 222, 261, 262
Tuohy, Rev. J. T., Lecture.....	258
Typographical Union—Bookbinders, Resolution 37.....	158, 285

## U

Uniform laws to protect human lives.....	122, 123, 343
Union Label Trades Department, Resolution 72.....	187, 325, 330
Unskilled migratory labor, Resolution 44.....	178, 179, 243
Unskilled labor, Resolution 86.....	215, 243, 244

## V

Vital statistics.....	51, 52, 313
Voting basis, Resolution 134.....	229, 265, 266

## W

Wages and production ratio.....	127
Walters' Union, San Francisco.....	114, 314
Waitresses' Ball.....	167
Washington, D. C., Invitation.....	284
Waterways Carriers discrimination, Resolution 55.....	182, 254
Deep, Resolution 127.....	228, 265
Western Federation of Miners.....	90-96, 323, 331-333
Resolution 128.....	228, 293-295, 320-322, 323, 331-333
Resolution 141.....	231, 293-295, 320-322, 323, 331-333
Woman Suffrage, Resolution 152.....	345
Women Organizers, Resolution 4.....	144, 249
Women's Trade Union League, Resolution 121.....	226, 268, 269
Workmen's Compensation, Resolution 109.....	222, 223, 262, 263
Resolution 131.....	228, 241, 296
Wyoming, Resolution 3.....	144, 240



LABOR OMNIA VINCIT



REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION  
OF THE  
AMERICAN  
FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA,  
NOVEMBER 13 TO 25, INCLUSIVE,  
BOSTON 1911

THE LAW REPORTER PRINTING COMPANY  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
1911



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## OF THE

# AMERICAN FEDERATION

## OF LABOR

### 1912

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# DELEGATES

## TO THE

### THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Asbestos Workers' International Association, Heat, Frost, General Insulators and.....	1	8	Andrew J. Kennedy, 3522 Paulina st., Chicago, Ill.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union.....	2	69	Henry Koch, 72 Graham ave., Paterson, N. J.
		69	Chris Kerker, 1922 Washington ave., Bronx, N. Y.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen .....	4	72	Frank X. Noschang, Box 897, Albany, N. Y.
		71	W. E. Klapetzky, Box 43, Los Angeles, Cal.
		71	Jacob Fischer, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		71	Ed. Anderson, 176 N. Union ave., Pueblo, Colo.
Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of.....	3	84	James W. Kline, 570-585 Monon Building, Chicago, Ill.
		83	Willis R. Golden, 213 Means st., Atlanta, Ga.
		38	Thomas Flanagan, 2227 Brainard st., New Orleans, La.
Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders, Brotherhood of.....	4	50	Joseph A. Franklin, Law Building, Kansas City, Kans.
		50	James B. Casey, Law Building, Kansas City, Kans.
		50	Louis Weyand, 6201 Fir ave., N. W., Cleveland, Ohio.
		49	Joseph Flynn, 120 N. Chester st., Little Rock, Ark.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....	1	79	A. P. Sovey, 204 N. Third st., St. Louis, Mo.
		66	John F. Tobin, 246 Summer st., Boston, Mass.
		66	Charles L. Balne, 246 Summer st., Boston, Mass.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	5	65	Michael J. Hallinan, 46 Calmer st., Brockton, Mass.
		65	John C. Schaffer, 207 Penn st., Rochester, N. Y.
		65	Royal Dano, 28 Grove st., Brockton, Mass.
		90	Joseph Proebstle, Station E, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		90	Louis Kemper, Station E, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Brewery Workmen, International Union of United .....	5	90	Ed F. Ward, 1117 Columbus ave., Boston, Mass.
		90	A. J. Kugler, 71 Warner ave., Jersey City, N. J.
		90	John Sullivan, 25 Third ave., New York, N. Y.
Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers Alliance, International.....	1	84	Frank Butterworth, Room 409, 160 N. Fifth ave., Chicago, Ill.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers International Association of.....	3	34	Frank M. Ryan, 422 American Central Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		33	J. T. Butler, 116 E. North st., Buffalo, N. Y.
		38	William Clark, 229 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Carpenters and Joiners, United Brotherhood of.....	7	278	Wm. D. Huber, Carpenters' Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		278	Frank Duffy, Carpenters' Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		278	Wm. B. Macfarlane, 837 Potomac ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
		278	Carl Young, 836 South Center ave., Aurora, Ill.
		278	Thomas F. Flynn, 1225 S. Harding st., Chicago, Ill.
		278	Wm. J. Kelly, Union Labor Temple, Washington and Webster aves., Pittsburg, Pa.
		278	A. M. Swartz, 1410 Sandusky st., N. S. Pittsburg, Pa.
Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated Society of.....	2	89	William F. Gilmore, 606 B st. N. E., Washington, D. C.
		89	J. W. Wilkinson, Labor Hall, Homer st., Vancouver, B. C., Can.
Carriage and Wagon Workers, International.....	1	20	James R. Crozier, 15 Spring st., Dorchester, Mass.
Car Workers, International Association of.....	2	23	P. F. Richardson, 1209, 538 S. Dearborn st., Chicago, Ill.
		23	J. R. Humphrey, 1209, 538 S. Dearborn st., Chicago, Ill.
Cement Workers, American Brotherhood of.....	3	30	O. A. Tvetmoe, Metropolis Bank Building, San Francisco, Cal.
		30	Frank C. Gengenback, 646 W. Sixty-seventh st., Chicago, Ill.
		30	M. E. Goellnitz, Second ave., Woodside, Long Island, N. Y.
Cigarmakers' International Union.....	4	109	Samuel Gompers, 801 G st. N. W., Washington, D. C.
		109	Thomas F. Tracy, 708 Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
		109	J. Mahlon Barnes, 2010 Osgood st., Chicago, Ill.
		109	John T. Smith, Labor Temple, Kansas City, Mo.
Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail.....	3	50	H. J. Conway, lock drawer 248, La Fayette, Ind.
		50	Chas. E. Pfeil, Oshkosh, Wis.
		50	Wm. Christman, 1168 Wheeling ave., Zanesville, Ohio.
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, United.....	1	22	Max Zuckerman, 228 E. Seventh st., New York, N. Y.
Commercial Telegraphers' Union.....	1	10	Percy Thomas, Rooms 90, 91, 10 Broadway, N. Y.
Coopers' International Union.....	2	22	Andrew C. Hughes, 1012 Boylston st., Newton Highlands, Mass.
		21	Frank A. Scoby, 2901 N. Third st., Minneapolis, Minn.
Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of.....	4	48	F. J. McNulty, Pierick Building, Springfield, Ill.
		47	P. W. Collins, Pierick Building, Springfield, Ill.
		47	Stephen J. Fay, 4123 Greshaw st., Chicago, Ill.
		47	J. W. Yount, care of P. W. Collins, Pierick Building, Springfield, Ill.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	1	21	Frank Feeney, 2336 S. Fifteenth st., Philadelphia, Pa.
Engineers, International Union of Steam.....	4	40	Matt Comerford, Temple Bar Building, Brooklyn, N. Y.
		40	James G. Hannahan, 6303 Harvard ave., Chicago, Ill.
		40	John J. Glass, 12-14 E. Eagle st., Buffalo, N. Y.
		40	John L. McNamara, 7832 South Green st., Chicago, Ill.

# DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION

v

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Firemen, International Brotherhood of Stationary .....	3	{ 27 27 26	Timothy Healy, 158 E. Twenty-seventh st., New York, N. Y. Wm. J. Brennan, 125 James st., Newark, N. J. M. J. Friel, 331 La Salle st., Room 413, Chicago, Ill.
Fitters and Helpers, International Association of Steam and Hot Water .....	2	{ 28 28	J. T. Kinsella, 357 W. Sixty-third st., Room 204-205, Chicago, Ill. John Mangan, 7700 Lowe ave., Chicago, Ill.
Freight Handlers, Brotherhood of Railroad .....	1	40	Fred Smith, 532 Rice st., St. Paul, Minn.
Garment Workers, United .....	5	{ 105 105 105 105 105	T. A. Rickert, Room 418, 331 S. La Salle st., Chicago, Ill. B. A. Larger, 116 Bible House, New York, N. Y. Harry Meyer, 857 Tinton ave., Bronx, N. Y. S. L. Landers, 16 Sherman ave., Hamilton, Ont., Can. Victor Altman, 11 N. Ashland ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
Garment Workers, International Ladies .....	6	{ 134 134 134 133 133	Abraham Rosenberg, 11 Waverly Place, New York, N. Y. Alexander Block, 7 W. Twenty-first street, New York, N. Y. Harry Kleinman, 79 E. Tenth st., New York, N. Y. S. Polakoff, 49 E. Nineteenth st., New York, N. Y. Harry Dubinsky, care of John A. Dyché, 32 Union Square, New York City.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association .....	3	{ 84 83 33	D. A. Hayes, 930-932 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Pa. Michael B. Cain, 558 Sycamore st., Columbus, Ohio. Walter S. Pierce, Westport, Baltimore County, Md.
Glass Workers' International Association, Amalgamated .....	1	12	David Ring, care of William Figolah, 418 N. Clark st., Chicago, Ill.
Glove Workers' Union, International .....	1	9	Agnes Nestor, 506 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
Granite Cutters, International Association .....	3	{ 45 45 45	James Duncan, Hancock Building, Quincy Mass. Paul Bianchi, care Granite Cutters' Office, Scampini Building, Barre, Vt. William W. Russell, care Granite Cutters' Office, Scampini Building, Barre, Vt.
Hatters, United, of North America .....	3	{ 20 28 28	Martin Lawlor, 11 Waverly Place, New York, N. Y. John A. Moffitt, 24 Lincoln Place, Orange, N. J. H. C. Shalvoy, Danbury, Conn.
Hodcarriers and Building Laborers' Union, International .....	3	{ 41 42 42	D. D'Alessandro, Box 597, Albany, N. Y. Joseph B. Etchison, 501 Indiana ave., Indianapolis, Ind. Joseph D'Andrea, 524 S. Halsted st., Chicago, Ill.
Horseshoers, International Union of Journeymen .....	2	{ 25 24	Hubert S. Marshall, 605 Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. Roady Kenehan, State Capitol Building, Denver, Colo.
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League .....	5	{ 86 86 86 86 86	Edward Flore, 71 Clinton st., Buffalo, N. Y. Jere L. Sullivan, Commercial Tribune Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. Thomas S. Farrell, 1856 E. Sixth st., Cleveland, Ohio. George Miller, 3204 Lucas ave., St. Louis, Mo. Otto Patberg, 24 Hooker st., Glendale, Long Island, N. Y.

## DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Amalgamated Association.....	2	23	John Williams, House Building, Pittsburg, Pa.
		22	Richard D. Selway, 621 Linden ave., Steubenville, Ohio.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....	2	25	Wm. J. McSorley, 401 Superior Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
		25	John T. Taggart, 320 Highland ave., Mount Vernon, N. Y.
Laundry Workers' International Union .....	1	26	James F. Brock, General Delivery, San Francisco, Cal.
Leather Workers on Horse Goods, United Brotherhood of.....	1	26	W. E. Bryan, 209-210 Postal Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Leather Workers' Union of America Amalgamated .....	1	6	John Roach, 326 Bank st., Newark, N. J.
Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association .....	1	21	Frank Gehring, 309 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Lithographic Pressfeeders, International Protective Association of .....	1	9	William A. Coakley, 748 Centre st., New York, N. Y.
Longshoremen's Association, International.....	4	63	T. V. O'Connor, 1004 Mutual Life Building Buffalo, N. Y.
		63	M. W. Kelleher, 43 Maple st., Ashtabula, Ohio.
		62	Martin Cole, 1522 E. Seventh st., Duluth, Minn.
		62	P. F. A. Vaccarelli, 401 E. One Hundred and Sixteenth st., New York, N. Y.
		135	James O'Connell, McGill Building, Washington, D. C.
		134	C. W. Fry, 39 Merchants Building, Chicago, Ill.
Machinists, International Association of.....	5	134	J. J. Keegan, 2333 Central ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
		134	P. W. Buckley, 453 Eighth st., Oakland, Cal.
		131	J. J. Handley, Board of Public Works, Milwaukee, Wis.
Maintenance of Way Employees, International Brotherhood of.....	3	34	A. B. Lowe, 3900 Olive st., St. Louis, Mo.
		33	T. J. O'Donnell, Hernando, Miss.
		33	T. H. Gerry, R. F. D. No. 2, Box 5, Walnut Cove, N. C.
Marble Workers, International Association of.....	1	28	Walter V. Price, 715 Eagle ave., New York, N. Y.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, Amalgamated .....	1	31	Homer D. Call, Cortland and Brighton aves., Syracuse, N. Y.
Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers' International.....	2	50	T. M. Daly, Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		50	Thomas Rumsey, Cor. Jackson and Huron sts., Toledo, Ohio.
		43	M. O'Sullivan, 41 Madison ave., Crafton, Pa.
		43	Joseph Bobb, 713 Amsterdam ave., New York, N. Y.
Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet.....	4	43	John J. Hynes, 325 Nelson Building, Kansas City, Mo.
		43	Thomas Walsh, care of John E. Bray, 325 Nelson Building, Kansas City, Mo.
		358	John Mitchell, 3 Claremont ave., Mount Vernon, N. Y.
		358	Frank J. Hayes, 1120 State Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		358	T. L. Lewis, Bridgeport, Ohio.
Mine Workers, United.....	7	358	John H. Walker, 508 Farmers' National Bank Building, Springfield, Ill.
		358	E. S. McCullough, Monongahela City, Pa.
		357	Duncan McDonald, 505 Farmers' National Bank Building, Springfield Ill.
		357	W. B. Wilson, Blossburg, Pa.

# DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION

vii

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Miners, Western Federation of.....	4	<div>129</div> <div>128</div> <div>128</div> <div>128</div>	<div>Charles H. Moyer, 606 Railroad Building, Denver, Colo.</div> <div>Joseph D. Cannon, 606 Railroad Building, Denver, Colo.</div> <div>J. C. Williams, Grass Valley, Cal.</div> <div>C. E. Mahoney, 606 Railroad Building, Denver, Colo.</div>
Molders' Union, International.....	5	<div>100</div> <div>100</div> <div>100</div> <div>100</div> <div>100</div>	<div>Joseph F. Valentine, Commercial Tribune Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.</div> <div>John P. Frey, Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.</div> <div>R. H. Curran, 107 Hobart st., Rochester, N. Y.</div> <div>P. F. Duffy, 263 Pearl st., Brooklyn, N. Y.</div> <div>John Murtaugh, R. F. D. No. 47, Chula Vista, Cal.</div>
Musicians, American Federation of.....	4	<div>125</div> <div>125</div> <div>125</div> <div>125</div>	<div>Joseph N. Weber, 25 St. Nicholas ave., New York, N. Y.</div> <div>Owen Miller, 3535 Pine st., St. Louis, Mo.</div> <div>David A. Carey, 95 Markham st., Toronto, Ont., Can.</div> <div>Joseph F. Winkler, 164 E. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.</div>
Painters, Decorators, and Paper-hangers, Brotherhood of.....	6	<div>113</div> <div>113</div> <div>113</div> <div>112</div> <div>112</div> <div>112</div>	<div>Geo. F. Hedrick, Drawer 99, La Fayette, Ind.</div> <div>J. C. Skemp, Drawer 99, La Fayette, Ind.</div> <div>Daniel J. Evans, 6439 Bishop st., Chicago, Ill.</div> <div>E. Frank Moorhouse, 212 Columbus ave., Hoffman House, Boston, Mass.</div> <div>Jacob Tazelaar, 3 E. Seventeenth st., New York, N. Y.</div> <div>Samuel Kelly, 237 E. Eighteenth st., Covington, Ky.</div>
Papermakers, International Brotherhood of.....	1	24	J. T. Carey, Rooms 44-6 Bensen Building, Albany, N. Y.
Patternmakers' League.....	2	<div>28</div> <div>28</div>	<div>James Wilson, Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.</div> <div>James L. Gernon, 411 Albemarle Road, Brooklyn, N. Y.</div>
Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of.....	1	15	Edward I. Hannah, 249 E. Fifty-seventh st., New York, N. Y.
Paving Cutters' Union.....	1	82	John Sheret, Lock Box 116, Albion, N. Y.
Photo-Engravers' Union, International.....	1	<div>37</div> <div>49</div>	<div>Matthew Woll, 6111 Bishop st., Chicago, Ill.</div> <div>John Donlin, 817 Loomis st., Chicago, Ill.</div>
Plasterers' International Association, Operative.....	3	<div>49</div> <div>49</div> <div>49</div>	<div>Edward J. McGivern, 1414 Blue Hill ave., Boston, Mass.</div> <div>James Ward, 13 Middletown st., Toronto, Can.</div> <div>Wm. D. Clark, 220 Eighth st. S. E., Washington, D. C.</div>
Plate Printers' Union, International Steel and Copper.....	1	13	John R. Alpine, 411 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
Plumbers, Gasfitters, Steamfitters, and Steamfitters' Helpers, United Association of.....	4	<div>59</div> <div>59</div> <div>59</div> <div>59</div>	<div>William J. Tracy, 25 N. Thirteenth st., Philadelphia, Pa.</div> <div>Patrick J. Murphy, 140 W. Sixty-first st., New York, N. Y.</div> <div>James F. Malley, 411 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.</div> <div>Oscar F. Nelson, Room 843, 219 S. Dearborn st., Chicago, Ill.</div>
Post-office Clerks, National Federation of.....	1	15	Edward Menge, Box 6, E. Liverpool, Ohio.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	2	<div>30</div> <div>29</div>	<div>George H. Cartlidge, 1250 Brunswick ave., Trenton, N. J.</div> <div>George L. Berry, Rogersville, Tenn.</div>
Printing Pressmen's Union, International.....	3	<div>63</div> <div>63</div> <div>63</div>	<div>S. B. Marks, Rogersville, Tenn.</div> <div>Edward C. Johnston, Rogersville, Tenn.</div>

## viii DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers, International Brotherhood of.....	1	28	John H. Mallin, P. O. Drawer K, Fort Edward, N. Y.
Quarry Workers' International Union .....	1	35	Fred W. Sultor, Scampini Building, Barre, Vt.
Railroad Telegraphers, Order of.....	4	63	H. B. Perham, Star Building, St. Louis, Mo.
		63	G. E. Soyster, 804 Security Building, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
		62	J. F. Miller, 2916 Huntington ave., Baltimore, Md.
		62	T. J. Gallagher, 4 Longwood ave., New York, N. Y.
		68	M. F. Ryan, 503 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Railway Carmen, Brotherhood of ....	4	67	G. F. Mounts, 2509 Denver ave., Kansas City, Mo.
		67	Geo. A. Nolte, 2142 Talbott ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
		67	John J. Gallagher, 56 Prescott st., Readville, Mass.
Railway Employes, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric	3	181	W. D. Mahon, 603 Hodges Building, Detroit, Mich.
		181	Wm. Taber, 188 N. La Salle st., Room 55, Chicago, Ill.
		181	Ben Commons, 1011 Poland st., New Orleans, La.
Sawsmiths' National Union.....	1	1	T. R. Lilly, care of F. E. Kingsley, Baldwin Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
Seamen's Union, International .....	2	80	Patrick Flynn, 91 Stewart st., San Francisco, Cal.
		80	Andrew Furnseth, 44 East st., San Francisco, Cal.
Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, International .....	1	5	J. M. Gaviak, 8643 W. Forty-seventh st., Cleveland, Ohio.
Stage Employes' International Alliance, Theatrical.....	8	88	John J. Barry, 75 Albany st., Boston, Mass.
		88	John Suarez, 16 S. Sixth st., St. Louis, Mo.
		82	Geo. W. Peterson, 618 Race st., Philadelphia, Pa.
Stereotypers and Electrotypes' Union, International.....	1	42	Henry S. Bird, care of Geo. W. Williams, Room 29, Globe Building, Boston, Mass.
Stonecutters' Association, Journeymen .....	3	29	M. W. Mitchell, Box 2348, Station G, Washington, D. C.
		29	James A. Short, 413-15 Ouray Building Washington, D. C.
		28	J. W. Bridwell, Box 955, Atlanta, Ga.
Stove Mounters' International Union .....	1	11	J. H. Kaefer, 1210 Jefferson ave. E., Detroit, Mich.
Switchmen's Union of North America .....	1	87	James B. Connors, 538 E. Forty-first st., Chicago, Ill.
		40	E. J. Brais, Bloomington, Ill.
Tailors' Union, Journeymen.....	3	40	John B. Lennon, Bloomington, Ill.
		40	D. G. Biggs, Box 597, Bloomington, Ill.
		77	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
Teamsters, International Brotherhood of.....	5	77	Thomas L. Hughes, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		76	Wm. A. Neer, 381 S. La Salle st., Chicago, Ill.
		76	Jno. P. McLaughlin, 536 Bryant st., San Francisco, Cal.
		76	Anton J. Hermann, 401 E. Sixteenth st., New York, N. Y.
Textile Workers, United.....	2	50	John Golden, Box 742, Fall River, Mass.
		50	Thomas Morgan, Box 1662, Paterson, N. J.

# DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION ix

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Tile Layers and Helpers, International, Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic.....	1	21	Thomas J. Williams, Labor Temple, Pittsburg, Pa.
Tip Printers, International Brotherhood of.....	1	2	J. T. Carolan, 252 Market st., Newark, N. J.
Tobacco Workers' International Union.....	2	20	A. McAndrew, 50-53 American National Bank Building, Louisville, Ky.
		20	E. Lewis Evans, 10-53 American National Bank Building, Louisville, Ky.
Tunnel and Subway Constructors International Union.....	1	17	Thomas J. Curtis, 178 E. Seventy-eighth st., New York, N. Y.
		104	James M. Lynch, 650 Newton Claypool Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		104	Frank Morrison, Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
Typographical Union, International.....	5	104	Max S. Hayes, 979 Parkwood Drive, Cleveland, Ohio.
		108	Hugh Stevenson, 176 McPherson ave., Toronto, Ont., Can.
		108	T. W. McCullough, 2028 Maple st., Omaha, Neb.
Upholsterers' International Union.....	1	28	James H. Hatch, 288 First ave., Astoria, N. Y.
White Rats Actors' Union of America.....	3	27	Joe Birnes, 1553 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
		27	Will J. Cooke, 1653 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
		26	Harry DeVeaux, 8 Union Square, New York City.
Wood Workers' International Union.....	1	31	D. D. Mulcahy, 101 Magnolia st., Detroit, Mich.
Arkansas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	G. E. Mikel, Jenny Lind, Ark.
California State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Andrew J. Gallagher, 316 Fourteenth st., San Francisco, Cal.
Florida State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Jackson W. Holder, 501 W. Monroe st., Jacksonville, Fla.
Georgia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	W. A. McKenna, 420 Oak st., Macon, Ga.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Groce Lawrence, Herrin, Ill.
Indiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Wm. J. Pfeiffer, 210½ N. Delaware st., Indianapolis, Ind.
Kansas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Joe O'Brien, care of George B. Edgell, 315 Delaware st., Leavenworth, Kans.
Maryland State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	George Myers, 425 G st., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas J. Durnin, 18 Clinton ave., Holyoke, Mass.
Michigan State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Joseph Smith, care of Room 6, Stearn Building, Kalamazoo, Mich.
Missouri State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Charles W. Wilkerson, Springfield, Mo.
Montana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	M. M. Donoghue, 1117 W. Park st., Butte, Mont.
Nebraska State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank M. Coffey, Lincoln, Neb.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	George Leary, care of Henry F. Hilfers, 68 S. Orange st., Newark, N. J.
New York State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John Dowd, 164 W. Eighth st., Oswego, N. Y.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John J. Graney, 211 K. of C. Building, Youngstown, Ohio.
Oklahoma State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Ed. H. Ryan, Coalgate, Okla.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Charles Lavin, care of C. F. Quinn, 23 E. Green st., Nanticoke, Pa.
Porto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.....	1	1	Santiago Iglesias, 60 Luna st., San Juan, P. R.
Tennessee State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas J. Smith, Graysville, Tenn.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	M. E. Shay, 1213 Avenue "I," Galveston, Tex.



## DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Virginia State Federation of Labor..	1	1	E. W. Blakey, 405 N. Robinson st., Richmond, Va.
Washington State Federation of Labor .....	1	1	Peter Henretty, Ronald, Wash.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor .....	1	1	Frank J. Weber, Brisbane Hall, Milwaukee, Wis.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor .....	1	1	James Buckley, Drawer 892, Cheyenne, Wyo.
Alton (Ill.) Trades and Labor Assembly .....	1	1	William E. Kelly, 538 E. Eighth st., Alton, Ill.
Atlanta (Ga.) Federation of Trades..	1	1	Jerome Jones, 406 Austell Building, Atlanta, Ga.
Augusta (Ga.) Federation of Trades..	1	1	W. H. Anderson, Augusta, Ga.
Baltimore (Md.) Federation of Labor .....	1	1	Edward Hirsch, Room 27, Franklin Building, Baltimore, Md.
Bellaire (Ohio) Central Trades and Labor Assembly .....	1	1	E. E. Tharp, 3754 Belmont st., Bellaire, Ohio.
Birmingham (Ala.) Trades Council .....	1	1	Frank Heck, Box 248, Birmingham, Ala.
Boston (Mass.) Central Labor Union .....	1	1	Wm. H. O'Brien, 987 Washington st., Boston, Mass.
Brockton (Mass.) Central Labor Union .....	1	1	Chas. E. Lowell, 75 West Bartlett st., Brockton, Mass.
Brooklyn (N. Y.) Central Labor Union .....	1	1	Maurice De Young, 193 Schaeffer st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Butte (Mont.) Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council .....	1	1	E. R. Torrey, 150 W. Mercury st., Butte, Mont.
Charleroi (Pa.) Monongahela Trades Council .....	1	1	John P. Ferry, 823 Crest ave., Charleroi, Pa.
Chattanooga (Tenn.) Central Labor Union .....	1	1	John D. Hurley, Chattanooga, Tenn.
Chicago (Ill.) Federation of Labor .....	1	1	John Carroll, 3911 Indiana ave., Chicago, Ill.
Cincinnati (Ohio) Central Labor Council .....	1	1	T. J. Conner, 1638 Palm ave., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Cleveland (Ohio) Federation of Labor .....	1	1	Peter Hassenpflue, 3434 W. Forty-fourth st., Cleveland, Ohio.
Columbia (S. C.) Federation of Trades .....	1	1	Henry J. Hardy, 1429 Cherokee st., Columbia, S. C.
Columbus (Ga.) Trades and Labor Assembly .....	1	1	John R. Jones, 1028 Seventeenth st., Columbus, Ga.
Denver (Colo.) Trades and Labor Assembly .....	1	1	H. M. Munn, 3247 Champa st., Denver, Colo.
Detroit (Mich.) Federation of Labor .....	1	1	Leland W. Smith, 344 Waterman ave., Detroit, Mich.
Fargo (N. Dak.) Trades and Labor Assembly .....	1	1	John Oliver, Box 704, Fargo, N. Dak.
Fort Edward (N. Y.) Trades Assembly .....	1	1	Henry Hassard, Room 4, Wing's Exchange, Fort Edward, N. Y.
Frankfort (Ind.) Central Labor Union .....	1	1	J. F. Evans, care of Coulter House Barber Shop, Frankfort, Ind.
Hammond (Ind.) Lake County Trades and Labor Council .....	1	1	B. A. Carter, Hammond, Ind.
Hartford (Conn.) Central Labor Union .....	1	1	Sol Sontheimer, 32 Asylum st., Hartford, Conn.
Indianapolis (Ind.) Central Labor Union .....	1	1	George Haines, 646 Newton Claypool Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
Jacksonville (Fla.) Central Trades and Labor Council .....	1	1	T. W. Cox, 1218 E. Church st., Jacksonville, Fla.

# DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION

xi

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Jersey City (N. J.) Central Labor Union of Hudson County.....	1	1	Edward Harrison Mead, 304 Jackson ave., Jersey City, N. J.
Kalamazoo (Mich.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Charles Schaffer, 1008 N. Pitcher st., Kalamazoo, Mich.
Kensington (Ill.) Calumet Joint Labor Council.....	1	1	T. Briggs, 11429 South Park ave., Chicago Ill.
La Fayette (Ind.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Mrs. Meta Skemp, 827 N. Eighth st., La Fayette, Ind.
Lead (S. Dak.) Black Hills Trades Assembly.....	1	1	W. E. Scoggan, Lead, S. Dak.
Lincoln (Neb.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	George F. Quick, 1121 Pine st., Lincoln, Neb.
Los Angeles (Cal.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	James A. Gray, Labor Temple, Los Angeles, Cal.
Louisville (Ky.) United Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	John Schneider, 107 W. Jefferson st., Louisville, Ky.
Macon (Ga.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank Hobbs, 673 Mulberry st., Macon, Ga.
Memphis (Tenn.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	T. G. Kennedy, Italian Hall, 136½ S. Second st., Memphis, Tenn.
Miami (Fla.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	W. B. Abell, Box 734, Miami, Fla.
Milwaukee (Wis.) Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	William Coleman, 709½ Eleventh st., Milwaukee, Wis.
Mobile (Ala.) Central Trades Council.....	1	1	P. J. Doherty, General Delivery, Mobile, Ala.
Nashville (Tenn.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Chas. P. Fahey, 703 Main st., Nashville, Tenn.
Newark (N. J.) Essex Trades Council.....	1	1	Louis A. B. Agethen, 68 South Orange ave., Newark, N. J.
New Orleans (La.) Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Louis Wendt, 2029 Marais st., New Orleans, La.
Newport (Ky.) Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties.....	1	1	John M. Albrecht, 1185 Orchard st., Newport, Ky.
New York (N. Y.) Central Federated Union.....	1	1	James P. Holland, 118 E. Twenty-seventh st., New York City.
Norfolk (Va.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Wm. A. Davis, Box 511, Norfolk, Va.
Omaha (Neb.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Jonas R. Wangberg, Box 460, Omaha, Neb.
Philadelphia (Pa.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	George H. Ulrich, 2267 N. Cleveland ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
Pittsburgh (Pa.) Iron City Central Trades Council.....	1	1	Edward F. Welsh, Union Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Pueblo (Colo.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Melville E. Fuller, Box 462, Pueblo, Colo.
Richmond (Va.) Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	M. R. Pace, 516 S. Laurel st., Richmond, Va.
Rome (Ga.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John H. Taylor, Rome, Ga.
St. Louis (Mo.) Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	Louis P. Philippi, 1330 Sidney st., St. Louis, Mo.
St. Paul (Minn.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	C. E. James, 309 Wabasha st., St. Paul, Minn.
San Antonio (Tex.) Trades Council.....	1	1	Fritz Russl, Jr., 1014 Lake View ave., San Antonio, Tex.
San Francisco (Cal.) Labor Council.....	1	1	Antone Johannsen, Metropolis Bank Building, care of State Building Trades Council, San Francisco, Cal.
San Juan (Porto Rico) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Rafael Alonso, Box 704, San Juan, Porto Rico.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Savannah (Ga.) Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	W. W. Ingram, Savannah, Ga.
Schenectady (N. Y.) Trades Assembly	1	1	E. W. Leonard, 255 Avenue B. Schenectady, N. Y.
South Chicago (Ill.) Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Arthur W. Smith, 2913 E. Ninety-second st., South Chicago, Ill.
South Framingham (Mass.) Central Labor Union	1	1	J. A. Winchenback, 12 Hayes st., South Framingham, Mass.
Springfield (Ill.) Federation of Labor	1	1	James P. Noonan, Pierik Building, Springfield, Ill.
Springfield (Mo.) Central Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Daniel Willby, 2055 Pierce st., Springfield Mo.
Texarkana (Tex.) Central Labor Council	1	1	Chas. E. White, 2419 State Line avenue, Texarkana, Texas.
Vancouver (B. C.) Trades and Labor Council	1	1	A. W. Wright, care of London Hotel, Vancouver, B. C.
Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union	1	1	Charles T. Smith, 612 F st. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Waycross (Ga.) Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	F. A. Morton, 119 Lee avenue, Waycross, Ga.
Zanesville (Ohio) Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	John A. Voll, Zanesville, Ohio.
Bookkeepers, Stenographers, and Accountants' Union No. 12616	1	1	Miss E. C. Morris, 3 Claremont avenue, Mount Vernon, N. Y.
Bricklayers' Union 10982	1	1	Joaquin A. Becerril, Box 682, San Juan, P. R.
Button Workers' Protective Union 12854	1	8	O. C. Wilson, General Delivery, Muscatine, Iowa.
Elevator Conductors and Starters Union 11969	1	1	James J. McAndrews, 2012 Lawrence ave., Chicago, Ill.
Federal Labor Union 7295	1	1	George W. Ford, 718 S. Gay st., Knoxville, Tenn.
Federal Labor Union 12949	1	1	F. C. Belt, Metropolis, Ill.
Federal Labor Union 14046	1	1	Thos. E. Welsh, Paragould, Ark.
Grain Workers' Association No. 11407	1	1	Ernest Bohm, 210 E. Fifth st., New York City.
House Shorers, Movers and Sheath Pilers' Union No. 7417	1	1	Francis Creamer, 229 E. Forty-seventh st., New York City.
Laborers' Protective Union 8249	1	1	S. R. Forehand, 520 Avenue A, San Antonio, Texas.
Laborers' United No. 12902	5	5	Wm. F. Dwyer, 504 Valencia st., San Francisco, Cal.
Machinists Helpers' Union 11830	1	1	J. L. Donnelly, 6 Ontario Court, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Machinists Helpers' Union 13117	1	1	R. A. Cornette, 1817 Eleventh ave., Huntington, W. Va.
Mineral Water Workers No. 12674	1	1	Samuel Lebowitz.
Newspaper and Mail Deliverers' Union No. 9463	10	10	John R. Dunne, Room 1328 Park Row Building, New York City.
Railroad Laborers and Helpers' Union No. 12535	1	1	G. D. Saum, Goodland, Kans.
Railroad Helpers and Laborers No. 14085	1	1	A. Z. Ham, Somerset, Ky.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers, and Assistants' Union 11597	1	1	Mary Burke East, 424 Law Building, Indianapolis, Ind.

# DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION

xiii

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Stenographers, typewriters, bookkeepers, and Assistants' Union No. 11773.....	1	1	D. F. Manning, 801 G st. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Stenographers and Typists' Association No. 12755.....	1	1	J. Louis Engdahl, 207 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
Theater Employes' Union No. 14089.....	1	1	C. J. Schaub, 1258 1/2 North Campbell ave., Chicago, Ill.
British Trades Union Congress.....	2	1	J. Crinion, 2a Hodson's Court, Corporation st., Manchester, Eng.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress	1	1	G. H. Roberts, 7 St. Brides st., Ludgate Circus, London, E. C., Eng.
National Women's Trades Union League.....	1	1	William Glockling, 6 Ottawa st., Toronto, Ont., Can.
Women's International Union Label League.....	1	1	Mrs. Raymond Robins, 1437 W. Ohio st., Chicago, Ill.
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ.....	1	1	Miss Annie Fitzgerald, 421 S. Homan ave., Chicago, Ill.
American Federation of Catholic Societies.....	2	1	Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, 1611 Clarendon Bldg., 215 Fourth ave., New York City.
			Rev. P. E. Dietz, Oberlin, Ohio.
			Charles I. Denechaud, 803-06 Canal La. Bank Building, New Orleans, La.

Number of Unions.	NAMES.	Number of Delegates.	Number of Votes.
90	National and International.....	228	17,104
25	State.....	25	25
67	Central.....	67	67
21	Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	21	41
6	Fraternal Organizations.....	8	3
209		349	17,240

# List of Fraternal Delegates.

To British Trades Union Congress.	From British Trades Union Congress.
1896 { Samuel Gompers. P. J. McGuire. 1896 { J. W. Sullivan. Adolph Strasser. 1897 { Martin Fox. Geo. E. McNeill. 1898 { James Duncan. Harry Lloyd. 1899 { James O'Connell. Thomas F. Tracy. 1900 { J. M. Hunter. Sidney J. Kent. 1901 { Daniel J. Keefe. Eugene F. O'Rourke. 1902 { Patrick Dolan. Henry Blackmore. 1903 { Max S. Hayes. Martin Lawlor. 1904 { W. D. Ryan. D. D. Driscoll. 1905 { John A. Moffitt. James Wood. 1906 { Frank K. Foster. James Wilson. 1907 { John T. Dempsey. W. E. Klapetzky. 1908 { Andrew Furuseth. James J. Creamer. 1909 { John P. Frey. B. A. Larger. 1910 { W. B. Wilson. T. V. O'Connor. 1911 { Wm. B. Macfarlane. Daniel J. Tobin. 1912 { George L. Berry. John H. Walker.	1894 { John Burns. David Holmes. 1896 { Edward Cowey. James Mawdsley. 1898 { Sam Woods. John Mallinson. 1897 { Edward Hartford. J. Havelock Wilson. 1898 { William Inskip. William Thorne. 1899 { James Haslam. Alexander Wilkie. 1900 { John Weir. Pete Curran. 1901 { Frank Chandler. Ben Tillett. 1902 { M. Arrandale. E. Edwards. 1903 { William Mullin. James O'Grady. 1904 { William Abraham. James Wignall. 1905 { William Mosses. David Gilmour. 1906 { Allen Gee. J. N. Bell. 1907 { David J. Shackleton. John Hodge. 1908 { John Wadsworth. H. Skinner. 1909 { A. H. Gill. J. R. Clynes. 1910 { W. Brace. Ben Turner. 1911 { G. H. Roberts. J. Crinion.
To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.	From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.
1898 Thomas I. Kidd. 1899 James H. Sullivan. 1900 W. D. Mahon. 1901 John R. O'Brien. 1902 D. D. Driscoll. 1903 John Coleman. 1904 John H. Richards. 1906 Frank Feeney. 1906 Thomas A. Rickert. 1907 Robert S. Maloney. 1908 Hugh Frayne. 1909 Jerome Jones. 1910 John J. Manning. 1911 Wm. J. Tracy. 1912 John T. Smith.	1898 David A. Carey. 1899 David A. Carey. 1900 David A. Carey. 1901 P. M. Draper. 1902 John H. Kennedy. 1903 James Simpson. 1904 John A. Flett. 1906 William V. Todd. 1906 Samuel L. Landers. 1907 W. R. Trotter. 1908 P. M. Draper. 1909 F. Bancroft. 1910 R. P. Pettipiece. 1911 Wm. Glockling.

# CONSTITUTION

## OF THE

# AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

### 1912

#### PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the tolling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in Convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

#### CONSTITUTION.

##### ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

##### ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

SECTION 1. The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same

industry and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union-label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

##### ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

SECTION 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a. m., on the second Monday in November, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention.

SEC. 2. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 3. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of the President; third, Report of the Secretary; fourth, Report of the Treasurer; fifth, Resolutions; sixth, Laws; seventh, Organization; eighth, Labels; ninth, Adjustment; tenth, Local or Federated Bodies; eleventh, Education; twelfth, State Organization; thirteenth, Boycotts; fourteenth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances that involve only building trades, and all other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades).

SEC. 4. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the Convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 5. Resolutions of any character or

propositions for changes in this Constitution can not be introduced in the Convention after the fourth day's session, except by unanimous consent.

SEC. 6. The Convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 7. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the Convention or read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

SEC. 8. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 9. The rules and order of business governing the preceding Convention shall be in force from the opening of any Convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the Convention.

SEC. 10. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a Convention.

SEC. 11. No grievance shall be considered by any Convention that has been decided by a previous Convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

#### ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to located in one city shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in, other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions.

SEC. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary of this body immediately after their election.

SEC. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof he represents, but no City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year,

from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than September 30 preceding the Annual Convention.

SEC. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled, by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

SEC. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

#### ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, eight Vice Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention on the last day of the session, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

SEC. 2. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

SEC. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the first day of January succeeding the Convention.

SEC. 5. The President and Secretary shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

SEC. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

#### ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the Annual Convention; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report his acts and doings to the Annual Convention of the Federation.

SEC. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when

necessary, and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services such sum as the Annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

#### ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY.

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary shall be to take charge of all books, papers, and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the Annual Convention, and to furnish to the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of secretaries and organizers.

SEC. 2. The Secretary shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the Annual Convention may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation, and pay them to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor; provided, that he may retain in his hands a sum not exceeding \$2,000 for current expenses, which money shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

SEC. 3. The Secretary shall submit to the Auditing Committee, for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on September 30 of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall publish a financial report monthly in the "*American Federationist*," and send one copy to each affiliated body, and such additional number of copies as may be ordered and paid for by any organization connected with the Federation.

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall give a bond of \$2,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and for his services he shall receive such sum as the Annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. The Secretary shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations, containing a statement of their membership in good standing, and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

#### ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF TREASURER.

SECTION 1. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property, and securities of the Federation delivered to him by the Secretary or other officers of the American Federation of Labor. All funds of the American Federation of Labor, exceeding fifteen thousand dollars, shall be deposited by the Treasurer in bank, or banks, on interest bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Treasurer, the President, and Secretary of the Federation. The Treasurer shall collect the interest on all such certificates or other deposit at the expiration of each six months, and pay the same over to the Secretary. The Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank, or banks, in the name of the American Federation of Labor as Treasurer, all amounts in his possession not on certificates of deposit, and before any money thus deposited can be drawn, each check shall be signed by him as Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

SEC. 2. The Treasurer shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President and countersigned by the Secretary, as required by this Constitution and none others.

SEC. 3. The Treasurer shall submit to the Annual Convention a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the Federation under his control; and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be \$500.

#### ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

SEC. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with within three months their charters shall be revoked.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the Convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered



by the Convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

SEC. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

SEC. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

SEC. 7. The remuneration for loss of time by members of the Executive Council, organizers, or speakers engaged by them, shall be \$5.00 per day, hotel expense and actual railroad fare.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

SEC. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council, other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

SEC. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council, the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

SEC. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliate International, National, or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided, that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union, work at any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only

have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll-call vote.

#### ARTICLE X.—REVENUE.

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of two-thirds of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, ten cents per month, five cents of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout; Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen (18) years of age, two cents per member per month; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

SEC. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the Annual Convention unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in Section 1 of this Article, has been paid in full to September 30 preceding the Convention.

SEC. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in Section 2 of this Article.

#### ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES.

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with, a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next Convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. Where there are one or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation, they may organize a Trades Assembly or Central Labor Union, or shall join such body, if already in existence.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their

vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

SEC. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, on strike, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organization have been consulted and agreed to such action.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have authority or power to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies indorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm, or corporation on an unfair list until the Local Union desiring the same has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation, and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement. Violation of this section shall forfeit charter.

SEC. 8. No Central Body, or Department, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union, chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction, after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body, under this section, shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

SEC. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions, affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

SEC. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

#### ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated

unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

SEC. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1, shall be deprived of representation in Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and in City Central Bodies, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

#### ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The money of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

SEC. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such Union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made, of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary, such Union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

SEC. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the president of the Local Union interested shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of said Union, "of which" every member shall be regularly notified," to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute; what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union. Also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

SEC. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said defense fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

SEC. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2

and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to four (\$4) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safe-keeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

Sec. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

Sec. 7. Any Union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

Sec. 8. In case of lockout the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their action or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

Sec. 9. During the continuance of a strike, the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits, and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

Sec. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off, a special meeting of the Union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

Sec. 11. In the event of the defense fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of ten cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and, further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand (\$5,000) dollars in the defense fund.

Sec. 12. That no Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than fifty (50) cents per month.

Sec. 13. That the Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than five cents a month from each member.

#### ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 2. Seven wage-workers of good character, following any trade or calling, who are favorable to Trade Unions, whose trade or calling is not organized, and are not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this Constitution, shall have the power to form a local body to be known as a "Federal Labor Union," and they shall hold regular meetings for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the Trade Union movement, and shall have power to make their own rules in conformity with this Constitution, and shall be granted a local certificate by the President of this Federation; provided, the request for a certificate be indorsed by the nearest Local or National Trade Union officials connected with this Federation, but not more than three Federal Labor Unions shall be chartered in any one city. Employers who are working for wages, may, upon regular ballot, be admitted to membership in Federal labor or local unions, directly affiliated with the A. F. of L., subject to the approval of the president of the A. F. of L. Such members shall not attend meetings of the union or have a vote in controlling the affairs of the unions; they must comply with the scale of wages and rules adopted by the union of which they are members. The President of the American Federation of Labor shall have authority to appoint any person who is a member of any affiliated union to audit the accounts of such Federal Labor or Local Trade Unions as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct and report the result thereof to the President of the American Federation of Labor. The books and accounts of each Federal Labor and Local Trade Union shall be at all times open to the inspection of auditors appointed under this section.

Sec. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five (\$5) dollars, payable to the Secretary of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

Sec. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

Sec. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

Sec. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

#### ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, such departments subordinate to the A. F. of L. are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the A. F. of L., or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own business.

SEC. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join must first be, and remain in affiliation to the A. F. of L., and to be entitled to representation in local councils of departments, local bodies shall first be and remain in affiliation to central labor unions chartered by the A. F. of L.

SEC. 3. The fundamental laws of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as, the laws governing the A. F. of L. No department or local council of same shall enact laws, rules or regulations in conflict with laws of the A. F. of L., and in the event of change of laws of the latter, departments and local councils are to change their laws to conform thereto.

SEC. 4. Each department to be considered the official method of the A. F. of L. for transacting that portion of its business.

SEC. 5. All departments of the American Federation of Labor shall have their headquarters located in the City of Washington, D. C., and, if possible, in the same building with the Federation Headquarters.

SEC. 6. All departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions, whether annually or less often, during or immediately before or after the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and in the same city where the conventions of the Federation are held.

SEC. 7. The officers of each department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor what

action, if any, has been taken by the Department, either through its Executive Council or through conventions upon any and all matters that have been referred to the Department by the Federation.

SEC. 8. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their department, and its general conditions.

SEC. 9. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, there shall be present during some period of the Council meeting either the President or Secretary, or both, of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

SEC. 10. A page of each issue of the "American Federationist" to be available to, and to be used by each department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the Department.

SEC. 11. National and International Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. shall also become affiliated with any department in which they may be eligible. This section does not apply to the Union Label Trades Department.

#### ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention, and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.



# THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR 1911

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

### First Day—Monday Morning Session

The Auditorium, Atlanta, Georgia, November 13, 1911.

Pursuant to law, the regular meeting of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order at 10 a. m., by Mr. Louis P. Marquardt, representing the Atlanta Federation of Trades.

Chairman Marquardt: It is my pleasure and distinction to call to order the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. In behalf of the Atlanta Federation of Trades Convention Committee I greet you and extend to you a most hearty and cordial welcome. I now have the pleasure and honor of presenting to you the President of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers.

President Gompers in the chair.

President Gompers introduced to the convention Honorable Courtland S. Winn, Mayor of Atlanta. Mayor Winn stated that Governor Hoke Smith was to have been the first speaker of the session, but owing to the fact that the governor could not reach the Convention until later he desired to welcome the Convention to the city. In welcoming the Convention Mayor Winn said in part: It is with a great deal of pleasure that I welcome to Atlanta this distinguished

body of Americans and fraternal delegates. The eyes, not only of the United States, but of Canada and the American colonies are directed toward Atlanta today, and they are watching and listening with deliberation as to the outcome of what this great body will do in its two weeks' session.

I find peculiar pleasure, gentlemen, in welcoming you to Atlanta, because Atlanta has always held in highest esteem the principles of organized labor and the men who represent organized labor in this country. I greet you as men who stand for the uplift and the betterment of humanity. I greet you as men who have followed the illustrious example and precept of that great English King, Alfred the Great, who in the ninth or tenth century first proclaimed to the world that it was proper to institute the eight-hour labor day. I believe King Alfred the Great is the first man of note that history records as being an advocate of the eight-hour work day. He it was who enunciated the principle and belief that mankind ought to work eight hours, that eight hours should be given to recreation and rest and eight hours to the improvement, intellectually and socially, of men. This is not a new fad, but it has come down through the centuries and it has grown and grown until it is not only recognized as a correct principle by American working men, but by conservative, thinking men whether they belong to the creeds and crafts of labor or not.

I greet you as men who have consistently advocated at all times the abolition of child labor. We believe with you that the factory, the mill and the work shop is no place for childhood, but that

the children ought to be taken out of factory environment, out of sweatshops and put into the schools, permitted to use the playgrounds, to breathe God's pure air and enjoy the bright sunshine that the Great Architect of the universe has given, and thus equip and prepare the better for the duties of citizenship that ultimately await them.

I greet you as men and women who are interested in bettering the sanitary conditions and surroundings of the workshop where men and women labor. I greet you, my friends, as men and women who are for the uplift of humanity and mankind the world over, whether they work at the forge, in the shop, in the factory, on the railroad or wherever they may be. The great principles and teachings of organized labor are for the uplift and the betterment of mankind, no matter where or when it is taught to the sons and daughters of men.

All Atlanta feels honored that you have selected this Southern City in which to hold the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. You will find from all our citizens of every class, whether they belong to Union Labor or whether they belong to the professions or commercial life, a warm Southern greeting. You will find extended to you during your stay here that proverbial hospitality for which the South and the Southern people are noted. You are not in an alien city, a city inimical to your teaching. We want you to feel that you are among your friends in Atlanta. We are glad to see among your number so many ladies. We welcome them to the hospitality of this city of the Southland. They bless, they brighten, they beautify, they adorn any occasion to which they lend their presence and their aid.

Gentlemen, not only in behalf of the men and women who hold membership in the union labor organizations in Atlanta, but in behalf of its 200,000 loyal patriotic American citizens, I bid you welcome to this Queen City of the South, and I hope your stay will be as pleasant to you and as profitable to you as it will be pleasant to the people of Atlanta.

President Gompers introduced to the Convention Honorable Hoke Smith, Governor of Georgia and United States Senator-elect from Georgia.

In welcoming the Convention on behalf of the State, Governor Smith said in part:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I extend to you a most cordial welcome to our state and I wish to tell you that you are in a state where the great majority of the people honor and respect Union Labor. I believe in the organization of the members of the crafts and the Federation of the organizations. Transportation and industrial business are conducted through the investment of money and the labor of men. Both must unite to bring either to transportation or industrial enterprises success. It is therefore but right that each should

receive a fair proportion of the profit made by their united efforts. If all the men who engage in these enterprises were organized into a corporation, and all of the money scattered among many disorganized holders, the men solidly organized would be more than human if they failed to claim for themselves more than a fair part of the profits. Then it is but reasonable to say that if the money is all organized in Corporations and the men remain disorganized as individuals, the money would claim more for itself than a fair part of the profits. I am attributing to it no more greed than might justly be attributed to the men. Those who handle the money are human, the men themselves are human. Then how can it be expected that the men will receive their fair part of the profits unless they organize their crafts and federate their organizations?

I welcome you to Georgia because you represent the Federation of the Crafts. The highest human service comes from contribution to the development of men. The greatest work any man can do is to promote the progress of his fellow men. Money is necessary, but finally it is useless except where it contributes to the development of the human race. All legislation, all administration should have in view the development of the individual, the broadening of his opportunity by checking that concentration of power above that takes from him an opportunity.

I welcome your organization to Georgia because you are engaged in the effort to broaden this opportunity and to help prepare the individual man better to use his opportunity. If I were a member of a craft I would always carry with me my Union Card, and I would always seek to maintain a good standing in my Union. I have no sympathy with prejudice against Union Labor; it comes from narrowness and lack of comprehension. I am as far as any man from uttering a thought that would seek to stir prejudice or bad feeling between men and money; but I would have those who possess a larger share of the money sympathize with my desire to see the improvement of my fellow citizens.

I believe in Union Labor. I do not expect all of you to be perfect. Nobody ought to expect it. When we become perfect we will all be translated. But I do say that I believe that Union Labor has made just as few mistakes as the men who handle the money. I believe in Union Labor because for more than a quarter of a century I have studied what those who handle Union Labor have been doing and I have seen the fruits of their effort. I know that Union Labor has helped to build the manhood of American citizens.

Your organizations are essential. We long for the upbuilding of our fellow men, for their growth mentally, morally, spiritually and financially. Financial success, at least to a reasonable extent, is almost essential to moral, mental and spiritual growth. How can you expect a man to grow if his family is scarcely

fed and his children scarcely clothed? How can you expect a man to grow if he has no hours of leisure for thought and study? How can you expect him to grow as a citizen if from daylight to dark he must toil, and then after dark see those dear to him almost destitute? I put it broadly as a National proposition, not as a selfish proposition that belongs simply to you. If our country is to be great it must be great in the greatness of the individual citizens of our states. The whole scheme of our Government was based on that theory that here between the oceans, the lakes and the gulf we would set a type of that plan of Government which would develop the greatest number of splendid men and women. What a power the different Unions and your organization is to accomplish this result. You are essential to that work which will give fair pay for a day's efforts. You are making progress, you are making splendid progress, and you will continue to make progress until you accomplish a result which will bring to every man full pay for what he does.

But there are other lines upon which you are doing splendid work. You are building men, you are caring for children, you furnish a powerful influence to see that every child has a chance. You stand against the sweatshop for children, you stand for education of children, you stand for their preparation for the responsibilities, the trials and the pleasures of full grown life. But you can do a great deal more, and you are doing it. Growth should be the aspiration of manhood. Improvement should be the effort even of those who have reached maturity, even of the man who has passed from the days of apprenticeship to the days of Artisan, greater skill in our various lines of work, no matter what they may be, the awakening of aspirations to do better whatever we are called on to do in our line of occupation, as citizens, as home-makers, as fathers and mothers.

I welcome you to Atlanta because you are engaged in the great work of co-operating with your fellow men for the benefit of your fellow men. And I want to say to you that here you have a cordial welcome. Here you are among your friends. We are glad you are with us, and nine-tenths of our people cordially endorse your efforts and will be glad to help you in everything you desire to accomplish.

President Gompers introduced to the Convention Mr. N. H. Kirkpatrick, President of the Atlanta Federation of Trades.

President Kirkpatrick—Ladies and Gentlemen: I take great pleasure in extending to you in a few words the welcome of organized labor in the City of Atlanta. You have been cordially and ably welcomed to Georgia by our Governor and Senator-elect, who has only recently on this platform been elevated to membership in the Blacksmiths' Union. You have been welcomed to the City of Atlanta by our Honorable Mayor, who is himself a member of the Brick-

layer's Union. I am sure these two gentlemen have voiced the sentiment of organized labor, not only in Atlanta, but throughout the State of Georgia. We sincerely hope and trust that you will be pleased with Atlanta as your Convention City. Our chief aim in the last few months has been to provide for your comfort and pleasure in this convention. We hope you will be made to feel at home. Most of the homes of our cities are occupied by the industrial classes, and not a few of them are owned by members of organized labor. I am instructed to say to you that the latch-string hangs on the outside for every delegate and visitor to the Convention.

The Local Unions of our city have always adhered consistently and strictly to the principles laid down by the American Federation of Labor. We have at all times entertained the highest regard for and confidence in the executive officers of the Labor movement of this country, and as a result we have been rewarded in this section of the South with a Trades Union movement as pure as the air we breathe and as sure of prosperity in the future as is the land in which we live.

We are pleased to have you as our guests. We know the principles for which we stand are as broad as the universe, and it is to you gentlemen who have given your time, your thought and in many instances consecrated your lives to this work, who have made the Trade Union movement up-to-date. Therefore, in behalf of the Atlanta Federation of Trades I take pleasure in saying that we not only extend the hand of welcome, but pledge you our support and confidence in the future as we have given it in the past.

President Gompers introduced to the Convention Hon. William Schley Howard.

In welcoming the Convention on behalf of the Fifth Congressional District, Mr. Howard said in part: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: With all the cordiality of my nature I welcome you to the Sunny South, to its Empire State and its Capital City. We are delighted that you have honored us by holding this Convention here. We hope that while you are here you will feel perfectly at home. The principles for which you gentlemen stand and have labored are just and right, and the only thing I cannot understand is that the 18,000,000 men in the United States of America who follow industrial employment are not members of Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Great strides are yet to be taken. Many problems perplexing in their nature will have to be met. My honest opinion is that the rock upon which this nation shall finally stand is the friendly relation and hearty co-operation that must and will exist between Capital and Labor. The first step to be taken in the direction of the accomplishment of this is a complete unobscuring of the secrets of "big business." First there must be a flood of water



squeezed from the organization of large Corporations who predicate the wage scale they pay to their employees, upon dishonest organization.

It is a great pleasure to have been thrown with the chief officer of your magnificent organization and with his co-workers at the National Capital. From what I have seen of them, from what I know of their untiring efforts for the uplift of humanity, permit me to say, Mr. President, that the honors have been most worthily bestowed. It will be my pleasure, and I will deem it a distinguished privilege, to help in my humble way, so long as I shall remain as an official in Washington, in the upbuilding of the principles of organized labor. I do not say this here because I am in your presence. I believe that disorganization can accomplish nothing, and when the trades are thoroughly organized and follow the wise guidance of such men as I see before me we can accomplish things that will redound to the glory of the men and women who toil for their living.

I hope you will be wisely guided in your deliberation here. May what you do and say redound to the glory of the cause of organized labor. May what you recommend be wise in its conclusions, and then in my humble capacity I will assist in carrying out your recommendation.

We greet you. We are in hearty accord with your every sentiment. As our distinguished Governor has welcomed you to Atlanta and our distinguished Mayor has welcomed you to Atlanta, I desire to extend the jurisdiction and welcome you to the Fifth Congressional District of Georgia, which contains practically everything that is good in Georgia.

President Gompers introduced to the Convention Hon. C. T. Ladson, Attorney for the Atlanta Federated Trades and the State Federation of Labor.

Mr. Ladson, in addressing the convention, said in part:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I hardly know where I come in in a meeting of this kind. It is quite appropriate that the very able and distinguished Governor of Georgia should extend you a welcome on behalf of the State and that the Mayor, whom we all love, should welcome you to the city, that the local Federated President and the officers of the State Federation of Labor should join in such a welcome, but where the balance of us came in I was not quite clear when I read the program. But now that I am here I am going to say a few words, and at the risk of being somewhat inappropo I am going to discuss from a lawyer's standpoint a vital question which threatens to become more vital with the passing years, as to a change in the law whereby no court shall have the right to imprison a citizen of this country for contempt of court unless that citizen has first been accorded a trial by a jury of his countrymen and has been found guilty by such a jury. I shall incidentally refer to

a great case wherein as defendants your honored chief, Mr. Gompers, the Secretary of your organization, Mr. Morrison and Mr. Mitchell were concerned. I approach the discussion of this subject by reason of those personalities involved, for fear some gentleman on the floor might deem it inappropriate, and I hope I will not offend in that respect. I secured copies of all the records in that case, and when I got through with a study of those records I was almost paralyzed with amazement at the culmination of that alleged trial and the extraordinary sentences imposed upon those three men. I do not believe the American people have fairly grasped the real issues of that memorable case.

Now, gentlemen, it is but a stale platitude that courts must be respected. So they must. It is undeniably true that upon the judiciary of America and of every free land there must rest much of liberty and law and order and everything that spells for the glory of a Republic. There is no man who respects a judge in the abstract more than I do, or more in the concrete, when he measures up to the ideal of a just judge; but I for one as a free man do not believe that any divinity doth hedge a judge about. I for one believe that a judge is the just subject of just criticism. And, more than that, I am not unmindful of the fact that history, particularly English history, shows the sad fact that in many memorable struggles for liberty judges have been made the engines of tyrannical power. If time permitted I should cite innumerable instances of such facts.

Mr. Ladson spoke at length and in detail of the issuing of the injunction in the Buck Stove and Range Company, and the trial and sentencing of President Gompers, Vice-President Mitchell and Secretary Morrison for alleged contempt of court.

Following his statement of the details of the case Mr. Ladson said: Now, gentlemen, I do not believe that the founders of the Constitution ever contemplated that its citizens could be sent to jail for twelve months for contempt of a court's order, whether in a civil or a criminal case, without trial by jury. I have studied the Constitution of the United States. Like all lawyers I have studied Magna Charta, the great charter wrung from King John in 1215 on the banks of the Thames by the barons and the yeomanry of England. I have tried to reason out how it has come about that judges under a pretended exercise of law could ever dare to sentence a citizen for twelve months as a common felon in a common jail without a verdict and judgment of his peers. The Constitution of the United States says "the trial of all crimes except in cases of impeachment shall be by jury." It further says, "excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted." And it further says, "In suits at common law where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars the right of trial by jury shall be preserved."

If in a civil case where more than \$20 is involved the Constitution of the United States says that the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, how much more should it be reserved in a case such as I have cited. I say if the framers and makers of the Constitution were so jealous of the rights of trial by jury as to provide that in cases where more than \$20 is involved a citizen shall have the right of trial by jury, surely they never dreamed that judges would assume to sentence men into common jails for alleged contempt of court.

I would not have you gentlemen believe that I lack in respect for the courts, but it is the duty of American free men and lovers of human liberty to resist tyranny wherever it shows its head. They have not put Messrs. Gompers, Morrison and Mitchell in jail yet, and I hope they will not. I am sure neither one of them wants to play role of martyr, but I am equally sure neither one of them would blanch in the face of a sentence under such a decree. And I am equally sure that if ever such a thing happens, or a similar thing happens in this country, the public conscience will be at last aroused to judicial tyranny and there will never be a repetition of it.

Mr. Ladson spoke at some length of famous English trials in which juries had freed men whom judges desired to have sentenced, and in concluding his address said: In all the history of the American judiciary there has been, to the glory of the American federal judiciary, but one case of impeachment in one hundred and twenty-five or one hundred and thirty years. The point I wish to make is that there must never be grounds for another; that public sentiment must hold judges, whether State or Federal, up to a true sense of justice. And I say this as a member of the profession from which judges are recruited. I say this with a pride in the profession, that there has never been a struggle for human liberty anywhere under the sun that the lawyers have not been foremost in the phalanx championing human liberty. I have a pride in my profession. I have a pride in our judiciary, but I am not blinded to the fact that wherever great power is vested the temptation for tyranny springs in the human breast. And I do not want the belief to become current in America that anybody, be he judge or president or what not, is free from criticism, or is above justice.

I thank you and I thank the Atlanta Federation of Trades for according me a position on this program.

President Gompers—It affords me pleasure to present to this Convention a gentleman who perhaps is as well known to the delegates who have attended the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor for years as any other generally regular attendant. He is perhaps more responsible than any other one delegate for bringing this Convention to Atlanta. We know him well and favorably. He

speaks better for himself than any one can speak for him. He will make himself better understood than I can present him to you—our genial, eloquent, faithful friend, Jerome Jones.

In addressing the Convention Mr. Jones said in part:

Mr. President and Fellow Delegates: The question has again been asked on the floor and really I have been somewhat embarrassed in the last three or four days by just such questions—"How about the roses and the sunshine?" We did say something in St. Louis about roses and sunshine, and if age has not dimmed your vision or stubborn youth will not allow you to see, you can view them every minute in the day in Atlanta, the roses on the faces of our womanhood and the sunshine in the faces and hearts of all our people. You are going to get sunshine. I have no doubt it will be warm in the Convention, and we will make it warm for you outside of the Convention. We told you of flowers and sunshine when we asked you to come here. This sort of weather is foreign to us, and if some of you gentlemen brought it along with you, while we dislike it, as a stranger we will bid it welcome.

Now, Mr. President and Delegates, it would be impossible, utterly impossible, for me to express to you the pleasure that the people of Atlanta and Georgia feel at your coming. It is in no perfunctory way we welcome you. These people have heard of you for years. They know what you have done, they know the figure you have cut and the impetus that you have given to a movement in the State of Georgia that has done more for the advancement of Georgia than any other known human agency. Every smile upon the face of a child taken from the factory and placed in the school room, every bit of happiness that comes to the woman that has been emancipated from drudgery and toil, every bit of sunshine that has been thrown into the homes of the workers of the South has come through efforts of the American Federation of Labor. All the laws on our statute books favorable to labor and all the laws that have been unfavorable to labor that failed of passage are due to the magnificent efforts of this body.

Every citizen of Atlanta and of Georgia and of the South bids you welcome. Don't you think for one minute that they do not know you and your reputation; don't you think for one minute that they do not fully realize what you have done for the toilers of the South, and don't you think for one minute that they are unappreciative of the services you have rendered. Every class of citizen appreciates your visit and bids you welcome. The unorganized people and the organized people have looked forward to this Convention knowing well what it would mean to all the people of the country. We know what you people do, we know that your legislation makes for a higher manhood, a lovelier womanhood and a sweeter childhood. We want it

said when this Convention adjourns that legislation has been enacted for the advancement of labor organizations and the workers of the country, legislation that will hereafter be the law of the land, that it was enacted in Atlanta and in the State of Georgia. We know it and we feel it in every pulsation of our hearts, and it is not too much to say, Mr. President, that we really and truly believe here that when the first meeting of the American Federation of Labor convened then it was that the first American Congress was in session, and when the preamble and constitution of the American Federation of Labor was written it was the first genuine and real declaration of independence to the American people.

Gentlemen, make yourselves at home. If you see anything you want, take it. Charge it to the Governor. We all expect to shake hands with you. These people are a people that want to take a fellow by the hand—and for the ladies, well, they take them by both hands. We want you to enjoy yourselves. We won't let you have a dull time. We despise it. We want you to have a rattling good time and we know you are going to have it. The happiest minute of my life is just now when I can look my old friends in the face and welcome them to Atlanta. May your visit here be one of such pleasure that when you go home you will heave a heavy sigh and say "this is a departure of regret."

President Gompers introduced to the Convention Hon. James L. Mason, City Attorney of Atlanta.

Mr. Mason said in part:

Mr. President and Friends: The Governor has welcomed you to the State, the distinguished Congressman to the District, the Mayor to the City, and Mr. Jones to himself. There is nothing left for me to do, they have covered it all, but as an Atlantan I am very glad to occupy a place on the stage, to take part in these proceedings and to say to you gentlemen that we people who are giving you a thorough welcome in words mean it in fact, and that these men who are stating that they are your friends are telling the real, downright truth, not simply talking for effect. When the Senator first started The Atlanta Journal he turned off every scab in it and put in Union men. And he is a leading member of the Blacksmiths' Union as he said, but he ought to have been in the Printers' Union. And the Mayor, whose heart is as ruby as his hair is red, is a member of the Bricklayers' Union, and when he says he is your friend he is simply repeating what all Atlanta knows. And when Bill Schley Howard steps before you and says, he is your friend, he is. He is a leading member of the Farmers' Union and raises more pumpkins and cane in DeKalb County than any one in it. And when the City Attorney attempts to speak he speaks as a full-fledged member of that great and glorious Union, equalled by few and excelled by none, the International Association of Machinists. When they admit-

ted me they were in some doubt as to the class of work to put me to, but Mike Kelly and Henry Garrett held a consultation and decided that by reason of my long acquaintance with those particular machines they would put me in charge of the hot air furnaces and gas engines. So we are all good laboring men and we prove our faith by our works running not back through the past few minutes, but through years and years.

My friends, as one who in part sits aside and looks upon this great movement, I only wish it were mine to see its full fruition. There can be no doubt that organized labor and those institutions working with it are engaged in the one great epochal work of the day. In the middle ages it was the members of the great great crafts of the cities who first began to wrest power from the throne and who threw up the first breastworks against brutal power and licensed outrage. Today the baron who was then in his castle is removed, but we have equally great power reaching out in many directions, and it is to organized institutions we must look to wrest power again from concentration and diffuse it among the people. You are going to succeed because of the fact that you are organized. The great mass of the people fail because they are not organized. The old bundle of sticks story is as true now as it was in the days when Aesop first told it, and these great concentrations on the other side have but one thing to fear in America, and that is organized labor. And, gentlemen, it is up to you to work it out. Now, we do not expect any revolution. There is not going to be any revolution. This thing is going to be a quiet proposition in the next century. I still have confidence in the hearts of the people, and it does seem to me, as a man on the outside looking in, that if this organization and that other great organization come together they can settle all these questions very shortly.

President Gompers, in responding to the addresses of welcome said in part:

Governor Smith, Mayor Winn, representatives of the city government and civic activities, representatives of organized labor, fellow delegates and friends: I think we have all of us been greatly impressed, not only with the addresses which have been delivered to us, but, better than all, by the spirit back of them. For your cordial welcome to Atlanta and to the State of Georgia I want you to believe me, gentlemen, that I feel confident I but bespeak, and faintly bespeak, the great appreciation which the delegates to this Convention would have me express. For myself let me say that they have made a great impression upon my mind and they have left their impress upon my being, and I am sure I am within the limits of truth when I say they will have a great influence upon the judgment and upon the actions, not only of this Convention, but of the great rank and file of the working people and the people of the country generally.

I ought not to let this opportunity pass with a mere formal expression of appreciation and gratitude. As you gentlemen have addressed this Convention some thoughts have come to me and I feel the time is opportune for their expression. All through this country, all through this continent, all through Europe, all through Australasia, even to the Far East, there is a manifest discontent and unrest among the people for a better conception of justice and right which must prevail. The American Federation of Labor is but the heir, is but the continued effort of the masses of the people from time immemorial, to take up the cause of the common people, to struggle for right, for justice, to relieve the masses from burdens unnecessarily imposed and tyranny unjustly and unnecessarily exercised. That unrest finds its expression in different forms in different countries. In England and on the continent of Europe within the recent past, within the past six months there has been an uprising of those who occupy the lowest stratum in the entire human family. When the almost stagnated dumb giant of labor simply stepped from that position it occupied and folded its arms kingdoms and crowns and empires, commerce and industry stood still and at the mercy of the weakling labor. In our border country of Mexico a great transition has occurred in the recent past. In China there is now going on a struggle undreamed of five years ago for the overthrow of a tyranny and a dynasty and a system of Government and society obsolete in every other portion of the globe. It is a great upheaval that has for its demand a constitution which in its essentials shall vouchsafe liberty and guarantee a greater degree of right and justice.

Look where you will all over the world and the same unrest and discontent is seen, and yet in our country where we endeavor to so crystallize the discontent and unrest that it shall be constructive in character, upon lines and principles as we understand it among English speaking people of the world, our efforts are attempted to be outlawed by that part of the judiciary which invades the powers of the law-making and the executive departments of our country.

Just one word in connection with the presentation of the law upon this subject. If any man of labor is guilty of violating a law, if it be criminal, lodge an information or an indictment against him and try him by a jury of his countrymen. But I deny the right of a judge to issue an injunction forbidding me to do anything which the constitution guarantees me that I have a right to do. It is not so much a question of a trial by jury as the assumption of power and the assumption of jurisdiction. Let a judge assume jurisdiction and if it is undisputed it becomes a precedent upon which judges thereafter regard that jurisdiction as theirs. Our protest is against the assumption of jurisdiction. There are no property rights in men and no injunction should be issued unless there are property rights involved.

Although I speak as a layman, I have had my fur rubbed up the wrong way on this proposition so often that I feel I am speaking with a certain amount of authority.

No matter what the outcome of this trial may be, what matters it? John Mitchell, Frank Morrison and I do not want to go to jail, but if it must come about, then all we can say is that other as good, perhaps better men than we, have gone to jail in the cause of right, in the cause of humanity. And perhaps that may occur with others hereafter, but come what may I feel that the remark made to me last Friday in the City of Washington by a former member of Congress is true. He said: "Mr. Gompers, the American Federation of Labor is the only consistent and persistent and militant organized body of the people of the country which now stands for the rights of and for justice for the people of the country."

This American Labor movement, like the Labor movement of the civilized world, is going on. We will grow. We will grow with the good will of those who wish us well, we will grow in spite of the most bitter and relentless opposition. This Labor movement is here, not to stay, but to keep on going. It is the movement of living men and women with red blood in their veins, who have come to understand what is meant by the Declaration of Independence, who propose to translate the language of the Declaration of Independence to the every day rule of life among the people of our country.

In concluding his address, President Gompers said: In behalf of the American Federation of Labor permit me to extend a fraternal greeting to the delegates from the British Trades Union Congress, Brother Crinlon and Brother Roberts, to the delegate from the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, Brother Glockling, to you gentlemen who have honored us by your presence and addresses this morning, and to you delegates I want to express my appreciation.

I now declare this Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor duly open and ready for the transaction of business.

Delegate Jerome Jones, on behalf of the Woman's Auxillary of the Printers' Union of Atlanta, presented to President Gompers a handsome bunch of chrysanthemums.

#### Report of Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Moorhouse, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

Atlanta, Ga., Nov. 13, 1911.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Gentlemen:

Your Committee on Credentials beg

leave to report that they have examined the credentials of 346 delegates representing 89 International and National Unions, 25 State Branches, 67 Central Bodies, 20 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 8 fraternal delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of—Henry Koch, Chris Kerker, A. A. Myrup, 138 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—Frank X. Noschang, W. E. Klapetzky, Jacob Fischer, Ed. Anderson, 285 votes.

Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of—James W. Kline, Willis R. Golden, Thomas Flanagan, 100 votes.

Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America, Brotherhood of—Joseph A. Franklin, James B. Casey, Louis Weyand, Joseph Flynn, 199 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—A. P. Sovey, 79 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—John F. Tobin, Charles L. Baine, Michael J. Hallinan, John C. Schaffer, Royal Dano, 327 votes.

Brewery Workmen, International Union of the United—Joseph Proebstle, Louis Kemper, Ed. F. Ward, A. J. Kugler, John Sullivan, 450 votes.

Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, International—Frank Butterworth, 34 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association of—Frank M. Ryan, J. T. Butler, William Clark, 100 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners, of America, United Brotherhood of—Wm. D. Huber, Frank Duffy, Wm. B. Macfarlane, Carl Young, Thomas Flynn, Wm. J. Kelly, A. M. Swartz, 1,946 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated Society of—William F. Gilmore, J. W. Wilkinson, 78 votes.

Carriage and Wagon Workers, International—James R. Crozier, 20 votes.

Car Workers, International Association of—P. F. Richardson, J. R. Humphrey, 46 votes.

Cement Workers, American Brotherhood of—O. A. Tveitmo, Frank C. Gengenback, M. E. Goellnitz, 90 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union Samuel Gompers, Thomas F. Tracy, J. Mahlon Barnes, John T. Smith, 436 votes.

Clerks, International Protective Association, Retail—H. J. Conway, Charles E. Pfeil, Wm. Christman, 150 votes.

Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, United—Max Zuckerman, 22 votes.

Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America—Percy Thomas, 10 votes.

Coopers' International Union of North America—Andrew C. Hughes, Frank A. Scoby, 43 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—F. J. McNulty, P. W. Collins, Stephen J. Fay, J. W. Yount, 189 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Frank Feeney, 21 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Steam—Matt Comerford, James G. Hannahan, John J. Glass, John L. McNamara, 160 votes.

Firemen, International Brotherhood of Stationary—Timothy Healy, Wm. J. Brennan, M. J. Friel, 80 votes.

Fitters and Helpers of America, International Association of Steam and Hot Water—J. T. Kinsella, John Mangan, 56 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—T. A. Rickert, B. A. Larger, Harry Meyer, S. L. Landers, Victor Altman, 525 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—D. A. Hayes, Michael B. Cain, Walter S. Pierce, 100 votes.

Glass workers, Amalgamated—David Ring, 12 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America—James Duncan, Paul Bianchi, William W. Russell, 135 votes.

Hatters of North America, United—Martin Lawlor, John A. Moffitt, H. C. Shalvoy, 85 votes.

Hod Carriers and Building Laborers of America, International—D. D'Alessandro, Joseph B. Etchison, Joseph D'Andrea, 127 votes.

Horseshoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen—Hubert S. Marshall, Roady Kenehan, 49 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—Edward Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Thomas S. Farrell, George Miller, Otto Fattberg, 430 votes.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of—John Williams, Richard D. Selway, 45 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—Wm. J. McSorley, John T. Taggart, 50 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—James F. Brock, 26 votes.

Leather Workers on Horse Goods—United Brotherhood of—W. E. Bryan, 26 votes.

Leather Workers' Union of America, Amalgamated—John Roach, 6 votes.

Lithographers, International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—Frank Gehring, 21 votes.

Lithographic Press Feeders of United States and Canada, International Protective Association of—Wm. A. Coakley, 9 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—T. V. O'Connor, M. W. Kelleher, Martin Cole, F. P. A. Vaccarelli, 250 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—James O'Connell, C. W. Fry, J. J.

Keegan, P. W. Buckley, J. J. Handley, 671 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employees, International Brotherhood of—A. B. Lowe, T. J. O'Donnell, T. H. Gerrey, 100 votes.

Marble Workers, International Association of—Walter V. Price, 28 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—Homer D. Call, 31 votes.

Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers, International Union of North America—T. M. Daly, Thomas Rumsey, 100 votes.

Metal Workers' International Alliance Amalgamated Sheet—M. O'Sullivan, Jos. Bobb, John J. Hynes, Thomas Walsh, 173 votes.

Mine Workers of America, United—John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, T. L. Lewis, John H. Walker, E. S. McCullough, Duncan McDonald, W. B. Wilson, 2,504 votes.

Miners, Western Federation of—Charles H. Moyer, Joseph D. Cannon, J. C. Williams, C. E. Mahoney, 513 votes.

Molders' Union of North America, International—Joseph F. Valentine, John P. Frey, R. H. Curran, P. F. Duffy, John Murtaugh, 500 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Joseph N. Weber, Owen Miller, David A. Carey, Joseph F. Winkler, 500 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—George F. Hedrick, J. C. Skemp, Daniel J. Evans, E. Frank Moorhouse, Jacob Tazelaar, Samuel Kelley, 676 votes.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of—J. T. Carey, 24 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—James Wilson, James L. Gernon, 56 votes.

Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of—Edward I. Hannah, 15 votes.

Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada—John Sheret, 32 votes.

Photo-Engravers' Union of North America, International—Matthew Woll, 37 votes.

Piano and Organ Workers, Union of America, International—Charles Dold, 40 votes.

Plate Printers Union of North America, International Steel and Copper—Wm. D. Clark, 13 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—John Donlin, Edward J. McGivern, James Ward, 147 votes.

Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of United States and Canada, United Association of—John R. Alpine, William Tracey, Patrick Murphy, James F. Malley, 237 votes.

Postoffice Clerks, National Federation of—Oscar F. Nelson, 15 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—Edward Menge, George Cartlidge, 59 votes.

Printing Pressmen's Union, International—George L. Berry, S. B. Marks, Edward Johnson, 190 votes.

Quarry Workers, International Union of North America—Fred W. Sultor, 35 votes.

Railroad Telegraphers, Order of—H. B. Perham, C. A. Mulhall, J. F. Miller, T. J. Gallagher, 250 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—W. D. Mahon, Wm. Taber, Ben Commons, 393 votes.

Saw Smiths' National Union—T. R. Lilly, 1 vote.

Seamen's Union of America, International—Patrick Flynn, 160 votes.

State and Tile Roofers' Union of America, International—J. M. Gaviak, 5 votes.

Stage Employees' International Alliance, Theatrical—John J. Barry, John Suarez, Geo. W. Peterson, 98 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—James J. Freel, 42 votes.

Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—M. W. Mitchell, James A. Short, J. W. Bridwell, 86 votes.

Stovemounters' International Union.—J. H. Kaefer, 11 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—James B. Connors, 87 votes.

Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen—El. J. Brals, John B. Lennon, D. G. Biggs, 120 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, Wm. A. Neer, John P. McLaughlin, Anton J. Hermann, 382 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—John Golden, Thomas Morgan, 100 votes.

Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union, Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic—Thomas J. Williams, 21 votes.

Tip Printers' International, Brotherhood of—T. J. Carolan, 2 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—A. McAndrew, E. Lewis Evans, 40 votes.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union—Thomas J. Curtis, 17 votes.

Typographical Union, International—James M. Lynch, Frank Morrison, Max S. Hayes, Hugh Stevenson, T. W. McCullough, 518 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America—James H. Hatch, 28 votes.

White Rats Actors' Union of America—Joe Birnes, Will J. Cooke, Harry De Veaux, 80 votes.

Wood Workers' International Union of America, Amalgamated—D. D. Mulcahy, 31 votes.

Arkansas State Federation of Labor—G. E. Mikel, 1 vote.

California State Federation of Labor—Andrew J. Gallagher, 1 vote.

- Florida State Federation of Labor—Jackson W. Holder, 1 vote.
- Georgia State Federation of Labor—W. A. McKenna, 1 vote.
- Illinois State Federation of Labor—Groce Lawrence, 1 vote.
- Indiana State Federation of Labor—Wm. J. Pfeiffer, 1 vote.
- Kansas State Federation of Labor—Joe O'Brien, 1 vote.
- Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor—Geo. Myers, 1 vote.
- Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—Thomas J. Durnin, 1 vote.
- Michigan State Federation of Labor—Joseph Smith, 1 vote.
- Missouri State Federation of Labor—Charles W. Wilkerson, 1 vote.
- Montana State Federation of Labor—M. M. Donoghue, 1 vote.
- Nebraska State Federation of Labor—Frank M. Coffey, 1 vote.
- New Jersey State Federation of Labor—George Leary, 1 vote.
- New York State Federation of Labor—John Dowd, 1 vote.
- Ohio State Federation of Labor—John J. Graney, 1 vote.
- Oklahoma State Federation of Labor—Ed H. Ryan, 1 vote.
- Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—Charles Lavin, 1 vote.
- Porto Rico Free Federation of Workmen—Santiago Iglesias, 1 vote.
- Tennessee State Federation of Labor—Thomas J. Smith, 1 vote.
- Texas State Federation of Labor—M. E. Shay, 1 vote.
- Virginia State Federation of Labor—E. W. Blakey, 1 vote.
- Washington State Federation of Labor—Peter Henretty, 1 vote.
- Wisconsin State Federation of Labor—Frank J. Weber, 1 vote.
- Wyoming State Federation of Labor—James Buckley, 1 vote.
- Alton, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—William E. Kelly, 1 vote.
- Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—Jerome Jones, 1 vote.
- Augusta, Ga., Federation of Trades—W. H. Anderson, 1 vote.
- Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor—Edward Hirsch, 1 vote.
- Bellaire, Ohio, Central Trades and Labor Assembly—E. E. Tharp, 1 vote.
- Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council—Frank Heck, 1 vote.
- Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—Wm. H. O'Brien, 1 vote.
- Brockton, Mass., Central Labor Union—Chas. E. Lowell, 1 vote.
- Brooklyn, N. Y., Central Labor Union—Maurice De Young, 1 vote.
- Butte, Mont., Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council—E. R. Torrey, 1 vote.
- Charleroi, Pa., Monongahela Trades Council of Charleroi—John P. Ferry, 1 vote.
- Chattanooga, Tenn., Central Labor Union—John D. Hurley, 1 vote.
- Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—John Carroll, 1 vote.
- Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council—Thomas J. Conner, 1 vote.
- Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor—Peter Hassenpflug, 1 vote.
- Columbia, S. C., Federation of Trades—Henry J. Hardy, 1 vote.
- Columbus, Ga., Trades and Labor Assembly—John R. Jones, 1 vote.
- Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly—H. M. Munn, 1 vote.
- Detroit, Mich., Federation of Labor—Lealand W. Smith, 1 vote.
- Fargo, N. D., Trades and Labor Assembly—John Oliver, 1 vote.
- Fort Edward, N. Y., Trades Assembly—Henry Hassard, 1 vote.
- Frankfort, Ind., Central Labor Union—J. F. Evans, 1 vote.
- Hammond, Ind., Lake County Trades and Labor Council—B. A. Carter, 1 vote.
- Hartford, Conn., Central Labor Union—Sol. Sonthelmer, 1 vote.
- Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union—George Haines, 1 vote.
- Jacksonville, Fla., Trades and Labor Council—T. W. Cox, 1 vote.
- Jersey City, N. J., Central Labor Union of Hudson County—Edward Harrison Mead, 1 vote.
- Kalamazoo, Mich., Trades and Labor Council—Charles Schaffer, 1 vote.
- Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council—T. Briggs, 1 vote.
- LaFayette, Ind., Central Labor Union—Meta Skemp, 1 vote.
- Lead, S. D., Black Hills Trades Assembly—W. E. Scoggan, 1 vote.
- Lincoln, Neb., Central Labor Union—George F. Quick, 1 vote.
- Los Angeles, Cal., Central Labor Council—James A. Gray, 1 vote.
- Louisville, Ky., United Trades and Labor Assembly—John Schneider, 1 vote.
- Macon, Ga., Central Labor Union—Frank Hobbs, 1 vote.
- Memphis, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council—T. G. Kennedy, 1 vote.
- Miami, Fla., Central Labor Union—W. B. Abel, 1 vote.
- Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council—William Coleman, 1 vote.
- Mobile, Ala., Central Trades Council—P. J. Doherty, 1 vote.
- Nashville, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council—Chas. P. Fahey, 1 vote.
- Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council—Louis A. B. Agethen, 1 vote.
- New Orleans, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—Louis Wendt, 1 vote.
- Newport, Ky., Trades and Labor As-

sembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties—John M. Albrecht, 1 vote.

New York, N. Y., Central Federated Union—James P. Holland, 1 vote.

Norfolk, Va., Central Labor Union—William A. Davis, 1 vote.

Omaha, Neb., Central Labor Union—Jonas R. Wangberg, 1 vote.

Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union—George H. Ullrich, 1 vote.

Pittsburg, Pa., Iron City Central Trades Council—Edward F. Welsh, 1 vote.

Pueblo, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly—Melville E. Fuller, 1 vote.

Richmond, Va., Central Trades and Labor Council—M. R. Pace, 1 vote.

Rome, Ga., Central Labor Union—John H. Taylor, 1 vote.

St. Louis, Mo., Trades and Labor Union—Louis P. Philippi, 1 vote.

St. Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly—C. E. James, 1 vote.

San Antonio, Tex., Trades Council—C. F. Russi, Jr., 1 vote.

San Francisco, Cal., Labor Council—Antone Johannsen, 1 vote.

San Juan, Porto Rico, Central Labor Union—Rafael Alonzo, 1 vote.

Savannah, Ga., Trades and Labor Assembly—W. W. Ingram, 1 vote.

Schenectady, N. Y., Trades Assembly—E. W. Leonard, 1 vote.

South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Arthur W. Smith, 1 vote.

South Framingham, Mass., Central Labor Union—J. A. Winchenback, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—James P. Noonan, 1 vote.

Springfield, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—Daniel Willby, 1 vote.

Texakana, Texas, Central Labor Council—Charles E. White, 1 vote.

Vancouver, B. C., Trades and Labor Council—A. W. Wright, 1 vote.

Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—Charles T. Smith, 1 vote.

Waycross, Ga., Trades and Labor Assembly—F. A. Morton, 1 vote.

Zanesville, Ohio, Central Trades and Labor Council—John A. Voll, 1 vote.

Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646—E. C. Morris, 1 vote.

Bricklayers' Union No. 10982—Joaquin A. Becerril, 1 vote.

Button Workers' Protective Union No. 12854—O. C. Wilson, 8 votes.

Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union No. 11959—James J. McAndrews, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 7295—George W. Ford, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 12949—F. C. Belt, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 14045—Thomas E. Welsh, 1 vote.

Grain Workers' Association No. 11407—Ernest Bohm, 1 vote.

House Shorers, Movers and Sheath Pillers', United, No. 7417—Francis Creamer, 1 vote.

Laborers' Protective Union No. 8249—S. R. Forehand, 1 vote.

Laborers', United No. 12992—William H. Dwyer, 5 votes.

Machinists Helpers' Union No. 11830—J. L. Donnelly, 1 vote.

Machinists' Helpers' Union No. 13117—R. A. Cornette, 1 vote.

Newspaper and Mail Deliverers' Union No. 9463—John R. Dunne, 10 votes.

Railroad Laborers and Helpers' Union No. 12535—G. D. Saum, 1 vote.

Railroad Helpers and Laborers No. 14085—A. Z. Ham, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11597—Mary B. East, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773—D. F. Manning, 1 vote.

Stenographers and Typists' Association No. 12755—J. Louis Engdahl, 1 vote.

Theatre Employees' Union No. 14089—C. J. Schaub, 1 vote.

British Trades Union Congress—J. Crinon, G. H. Roberts, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—Wm. Glockling, 1 vote.

National Women's Trade Union League of America—Mrs. Raymond Robins.

Woman's International Union Label League—Annie Fitzgerald.

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ—Rev. Chas. S. Macfarland.

American Federation of Catholic Societies—Rev. P. E. Dietz, Chas. I. Denechaud.

We have received a protest from the International Association of Car Workers against the seating of the delegates from the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, on the grounds that a charter was issued to the latter organization in violation of the constitution of the A. F. of L. On this protest we beg leave to report that inasmuch as the St. Louis Convention seated the delegates from the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, we can see no reason why this protest should be entertained at this time, and therefore recommend the seating of the delegates representing the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, namely, M. F. Ryan, G. F. Mounts, George A. Nolte and John J. Gallagher, with 269 votes.

We have credentials from the Ladies Garment Workers' International Union, but the organization is indebted for per capita tax for July, August and September, 1911, and under the constitution of



the A. F. of L. their delegates cannot be seated until same is liquidated.

We have a credential from Thomas J. McNamara as delegate from the Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers International Association, which is protested by Andrew J. Kennedy, the President of the organization, on the grounds that he is the only duly accredited delegate, having been elected by their regular Convention which met in August, 1910. The Committee requests that the contestants appear for a hearing, at eight o'clock this evening at Room 102, New Kimball Hotel.

We have received the following protest:

Atlanta, Ga., November 13th, 1911.  
To the Credential Committee of the A. F. of L. Convention.  
Brothers:—

We, the undersigned delegates to this convention, hereby make protest to the seating the delegates of the Electrical Workers representing the McNulty Faction (so-called) for the very potent reasons, to-wit:

That they do not represent the majority of Organized Electrical Workers of the United States and Canada.

That they are a menace to the peace of the Labor Movement as a whole.

Also, that they have defied the mandates of the St. Louis convention of the American Federation of Labor, which convention adopted a plan and was carried in conjunction with the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to amalgamate the forces of the Electrical Workers.

Mr. McNulty and his associates have refused to abide by the rulings of the A. F. of L. and to seat them would mean a continuance of our industrial disturbances.

Fraternally submitted,

E. J. BRAIS,

Delegate Journeymen Tailors' Union.

A. ROSENBERG,

L. G. W. Union.

In view of the fact that the delegates from the Electrical Workers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have been seated at several previous conventions since their internal dispute first arose, we would recommend that the protest be not entertained, and the delegates representing the Electrical Workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, be seated.

D. A. CAREY, Chairman,

S. L. LANDERS,

E. FRANK MOORHOUSE,

Secretary.

President Gompers—You have heard the report of the Committee on Credentials. What is the pleasure of the Convention?

Delegate O'Connor (T. V.)—I move you that the report of the committee be received and that the delegates reported by them as entitled to seats be seated. (Seconded.)

Vice-President O'Connell—I think it would be well to accept that portion of the report which provides for seating the delegates to whose seating there has been no question. Then the balance of the report can be discussed. I move to amend the motion to that effect. (Seconded.)

Delegate Richardson—I move as an amendment to the amendment that delegates against whom no protests have been entered shall be seated in this Convention, in accordance with the recommendation of the committee, and where protests have been entered that they shall remain open for individual discussion as to the merits or demerits of the protest.

Vice-President O'Connell—That is exactly my motion.

Delegate Richardson—With that understanding I will withdraw my amendment. I want the protests to stand for discussion.

Delegate Brals—I desire to offer an amendment to the amendment in regard to the part of the report dealing with the Electrical Workers' credentials. Inasmuch as the Executive Council has handled this for three annual conventions and it has not as yet been settled, and as there are a large number of organized workers who wish to be represented, I desire to offer an amendment.

President Gompers—The amendment of Vice-President O'Connell is that the delegates reported by the committee against whose seating no protests are offered, shall be seated. The amendment accomplishes the purpose you have in view.

Delegate Tobin (J. F.)—Is there a representative from the San Francisco Labor Council?

Secretary Moorhouse—Yes, Anton Johanssen. He has not as yet arrived.

Delegate Tobin—I move that action on his credential be postponed until he arrives. (Seconded and carried.)

The amendment offered by Vice-President O'Connell was carried, and the original motion was adopted as amended.

At 1 o'clock, on motion of Vice-President Hayes, a recess was taken to 2:30 p. m.

## First Day---Monday Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 2:30 p. m. Monday, November 13th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Koch, Golden (Willis R.), Flanagan (Thomas), Schaffer (John C.), Butterworth, Humphrey, Conway, Pfeil, Thomas, Hughes (Andrew C.), Scoby, Glass, D'Andrea, Flore, Williams (John), Roach, Coakley, Price, Hayes (Frank J.), Lewis, Walker, McCullough, Moyer, Cannon, Williams (J. C.), Mahoney, Weber, (Jos. N.), Mallin, Mulhall, Gallagher (John J.), Taber, Commons, Gaviak, Connors (James B.), Morgan, McKenna, Lawrence, Coffey, Dowd, Blakey, Kellew (Williams E.), Anderson (W. H.), O'Brien (William H.), Hurley, Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Schaffer (Charles), Scoggan, Quick, Gray, Schneider (John), Hobbs, Wendt, Davis, Fuller, Winchenback, Morton, Becerril, Ford, Belt, Creamer, Dwyer, Donnelly, Saum, Engdahl, Schaub.

**President Gompers**—In accordance with the rules, the chair appoints, subject to confirmation by this Convention, W. G. Gredig, Typographical Union No. 48, Atlanta, as Assistant Secretary; T. N. Scales, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance, Sergeant-at-Arms, and A. M. Copeland, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms or Messenger. Is there objection to these appointees? Hearing none, they will act.

Secretary Morrison read the report of the Committee on Credentials in regard to the protests of the International Association of Car Workers against the seating of the delegates from the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, as follows:

We have received a protest from the International Association of Car Workers against the seating of the delegates from the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, on the grounds that a charter was granted the latter organization in violation of the Constitution of the A. F. of L. On this protest we beg leave to report that inasmuch as the St. Louis Convention seated the delegates from the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, we can see no reason why this protest should be entertained at this time, and therefore recommend the seating of the delegates rep-

resenting the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, namely, M. F. Ryan, G. F. Mounts, George A. Nolte and John J. Gallagher, with 269 votes.

Delegate Carey—I move the adoption of the report of the Committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Richardson—I would like to have the protest read.

Secretary Morrison read the following protest:

Chicago, Ill., Nov. 8, 1911.  
To the Committee on Credentials of the the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

The undersigned, in behalf of the International Association of Car Workers, begs leave to call your attention to the fact that under date of August 9, 1910, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor issued a charter of affiliation to the Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America, in violation of the Constitutional rights of this Association, and in violation of Article IX, Section 11, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, which reads, in part, as follows:

"Section 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated Unions, without the written consent of such Unions."

In this connection, I wish to call your attention to the fact that the Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America is an organization, the membership of which is engaged in occupations and trades within the admitted and recognized jurisdiction of this Association, and that by the issuance of a charter of affiliation to that organization, it was an unlawful invasion of our Constitutional rights, and as that organization is now, and has been a dual organization to this Association, its jurisdiction not only trespasses upon, but completely covers the jurisdiction of this Association.

For your information, I might state that the Toronto Convention in violation of the Constitutional rights of the International Association of Car Workers, adopted the recommendation of the Adjustment Committee relative to the proposed amalgamation of these two organizations, which is, as follows:

"Committee recommends that a conference of the Executive Officers of the Association of Car Workers and Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, together with the President of the A. F. of L. or member of the Executive Council be held in the City of Washington, D. C., at the earliest possible date to arrange terms of amalgamation of the Car Workers and Railway Carmen organizations.

"Failure to agree upon terms of amalgamation the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. shall outline the terms of amalgamation and issue a charter to the Amalgamated organizations."

The Executive Council issued the charter in open, ruthless violation of Section 11, of the Constitution above quoted, as well as in open, ruthless violation of the action of the Toronto Convention, unlawful though it was, and issued this charter to the Brotherhood Railway Carmen without a semblance of authority, except assumed autocratic power, that same power so frequently exercised in the issuance of injunctions by the judiciary denying and depriving the men of labor of their Constitutional Rights under the written law.

The I. A. of C. W., since its affiliation with the A. F. of L., has conformed to the principles of that body and has striven as ceaselessly as conditions would permit, to in every manner work for, defend and uphold these principles. In times of strike, or trouble, involving the membership of other affiliated organizations, we have given them our moral support and such financial support as the treasuries of our Grand and Subordinate Lodges would allow.

We would further call your attention that as long as an affiliated organization conforms to the laws, rules and regulations of the American Federation of Labor, its rights and franchise cannot be lawfully placed in jeopardy, or in any way interfered with or infringed upon, much less given away. If an affiliated organization may be denied and deprived of its guaranteed and ordained constitutional rights, and its franchise sold like the seats in Wall Street Stock Exchange are sold to the highest bidder, to satisfy the wishes of the members of the Executive Council, then the rights of no organization are secure.

It is our understanding that the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor is the highest authority of that body and it is not within the province of any one or all of its officers to in any way alter, amend or annul any part of it for any reason whatsoever, nor is it within the province of even the Convention itself to amend any part of it, unless such amendment applies equally to all organizations or persons, no more than it is the right of a legislative body to pass a law applying only to one citizen.

After a careful review of the whole situation, it seems to us that the only basis for the action of the Executive Council can be that the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen has a larger membership than this Association; that the terms sought to be imposed upon this Association to amalgamate with the

Brotherhood Railway Carmen were such as did affect the financial liability of the members of this Association, requiring them to become a part of an organization heavily in debt and legally obligating themselves for such indebtedness.

We are in no position to deny that the Brotherhood Railway Carmen has a larger membership than this Association, as in our opinion a decision in a matter involving the rights of an affiliated organization must be left to something other than the mere strength of members.

This question is one involving right or wrong. The action of the Executive Council in this case shows clearly that the non-affiliated organization was given more consideration than the affiliated organization and the former was benefited at the expense of the latter.

The policy of throwing down organizations that have tended to build up the American Federation of Labor and recognize organizations that have tended to tear down and disrupt, is not in our opinion one that will commend itself to members of the Labor Movement of this country.

I, therefore, hereby enter protest against the seating of the delegates who may represent the Brotherhood Railway Carmen in the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which convenes in Atlanta, Ga., on the thirteenth of this month.

I ask your Committee to give this protest your most liberal consideration to the end that absolute justice may be accorded to a small organization as well as a large one, and that no injustice or wrongs may be imposed upon this Association because its membership may not be as large as the membership of some affiliated organization.

We not only ask, but we demand equality before the law and before the Executive Council, that same equality which other organizations affiliated with the Federation demand and enjoy, of which the Executive Council has unlawfully denied and deprived the International Association of Car Workers by methods below the dignity of men holding such offices.

It is to be hoped that your recommendation on the premises and the action of the Convention thereon will show that the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor is still the highest authority of that body and that the Executive Council is subordinate to and not above it.

Fraternally submitted,

P. F. RICHARDSON,

President.

President Gompers—Has delegate Richardson anything to add to the statement that has been read?

Delegate Richardson—I would like to speak on the motion, but first I want to raise a point of order. The Executive Council has issued a charter of affiliation to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America in open violation of the Constitution of the A. F. of L., and in vio-

lation of the ordained and guaranteed charter and constitutional rights of the International Association of Car Workers. My point of order is that under such circumstances the delegates representing the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America are not entitled to seats in this Convention.

President Gompers—The chair decides the point of order not well taken. The Toronto Convention adopted the recommendations of the Executive Council directing that conferences be held for the amalgamation of both organizations, and that a charter would be issued to the amalgamated body. The conferences were held, and to the satisfaction of the Executive Council. The failure to amalgamate the two organizations rested upon the representatives of the organization to which Delegate Richardson belongs. Thereupon a charter was issued to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. The matter was reported fully to the St. Louis Convention last year, and that Convention by an overwhelming vote sustained the position taken by the Executive Council in the issuance of the charter. Therefore, and for many other reasons it is not necessary to state at this time, the point of order is not well taken.

The matter was further discussed briefly by Delegate Richardson.

Vice-President O'Connell—I rise to a point of order. The chair has decided that the delegates from the organization whose credentials have been contested are entitled to seats in this Convention. Further discussion is out of order. The further action of the organization feeling offended is against the Executive Council.

President Gompers—The chair rules that point not well taken. The motion is in order; delegates may vote in favor or against it, exactly as the delegates may vote for or against the credentials of any delegate from any organization.

Treasurer Lennon—I arise to a point of order. The document read by Secretary Morrison is in no way a protest against the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, but is a protest against the action of the Executive Council. I therefore contend that the delegates are seated under the original vote.

President Gompers—The chair prefers that the Convention shall determine. The question is upon the motion to adopt the report of the Committee, which recom-

mends the seating of the delegates from the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried by a vote of 177 in the affirmative to 3 in the negative.

Secretary Morrison re-read the report of the Committee on Credentials, stating that the Ladies' Garment Workers' International Union was in arrears for per capita tax for July, August and September, and read the following telegram:

"Frank Morrison, American Federation of Labor Convention, Atlanta, Ga.

"Am mailing check to cover full amount of per capita."

The telegram was signed by John A. Dyché, Secretary of the Ladies' Garment Workers' International Union.

Delegate Carey, chairman of the Committee on Credentials, stated that under the circumstances the Committee recommended the seating of delegates from the Ladies' Garment Workers' International Union, with 668 votes. On motion the recommendation of the Committee was concurred in.

Secretary Morrison—The Committee requests that the Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers' International Association appear before the Committee this evening.

Secretary Morrison re-read the following protest against the seating of the delegates representing the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and the report of the Committee thereon:

"We, the undersigned delegates to this Convention, hereby make protest to the seating of the delegates of the Electrical Workers representing the McNulty faction (so-called) for the very potent reason, to-wit:

"That they do not represent the majority of the organized Electrical Workers of the United States and Canada.

"That they are a menace to the peace of the Labor movement as a whole.

"Also that they have defied the mandates of the St. Louis Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which Convention adopted a plan, and was carried out in conjunction with the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., to amalgamate the forces of the Electrical Workers.

"Mr. McNulty and his associates have refused to abide by the rulings of the A. F. of L., and to seat them would mean a continuance of our industrial disturbances.

Fraternally submitted,

E. J. BRAIS.

Delegate Journeymen Tailors' Union.

A. ROSENBERG.

Ladies' Garment Workers' Union."

The report of the Committee on Credentials on the above protest is as follows:

"In view of the fact that the delegates

from the Electrical Workers are affiliated with the A. F. of L. have been seated at several previous Conventions since their internal dispute first arose, we would recommend that the protest be not entertained, and the Electrical Workers affiliated with the A. F. of L. be seated."

Delegate D. A. Carey—I move the adoption of the recommendation of the Committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Brals—I move as an amendment that this part of the report of the Committee be deferred until the Executive Council makes a report on the floor of this Convention.

Vice-President O'Connell—I rise to a point of order on the motion. There is no protest setting forth that the delegates of the Electrical Workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are indebted for per capita tax, or other financial reasons that would debar them from representation in this Convention, nor having violated the fundamental laws of this organization to cause their credentials to be protested by any affiliated organization. If there is some alleged grievance to be presented there is a proper place for it. Therefore the question of contending the right of the delegates to be seated in this Convention is in violation of the laws of the A. F. of L. and not in order.

President Gompers—The grounds upon which the protest is based, to deny the delegates from the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers representation in this convention by delegates, goes farther than their right to representation. It strikes at their affiliation to the American Federation of Labor. They cannot be denied those rights upon an assumption of guilt, at least until after they have had a fair trial. The grounds of the protest are therefore declared out of order. The point of order as raised by Delegate O'Connell is sustained. The question recurs upon the adoption of the report of the Committee. The chair will call for a vote by show of hands.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee, which recommended the seating of the delegates of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, was carried by a vote of 175 in the affirmative to 14 in the negative.

Delegate D. A. Carey—I move the adoption of the report of the Committee on Credentials as a whole. (Seconded and carried.)

Vice-President Duncan presided during the reading of the report of President Gompers.

At the conclusion of the reading Vice-President Duncan stated that printed copies of the reports of the President, Secretary and Treasurer would be distributed to the delegates before adjournment, and that the report of the President would be referred to the Committee on President's Report when appointed. (See pages 21 to 80 inclusive.)

President Gompers—I wish to speak of a correction the Secretary of the Building Trades Department wishes me to make in the part of my report dealing with the Building Trades Department. I ask that the letter of Secretary Spencer be made part of the records in order to show the correction.

Vice-President Duncan—If there are no objections the document will take its place in the proceedings as a correction. Hearing none, it will be included in the report.

Following is the communication from Secretary Spencer of the Building Trades Department:

Washington, D. C., Nov. 9, 1911.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother—

In the data which I furnished you for that portion of your report covering the subject of the Building Trades Department, two clerical errors were unfortunately made.

In the fourth paragraph of the quoted matter, the following statement is made: "Indeed in numberless instances there has been a ready acquisition in the declared policies, decisions and awards of the Department in the past year, etc., etc." The word "acquisition" is a clerical error and should be substituted by the word "acquiescence", so that the sentence will read:

"Indeed in numberless instances there has been a ready acquiescence in the declared policies, decisions and awards of the Department in the past year, etc., etc."

The other clerical error is contained in the statement setting forth the agreements entered into by a number of affiliated trades. The report shows an agreement to have been entered into between the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, when it should read that the Department rendered a decision in the matter of controversy between these two Organizations.

If it is impossible to correct the statement in the report which you have already printed when the same goes into

permanent form, I ask that this letter be incorporated in the permanent proceedings of the Atlanta Convention of the American Federation of Labor, so as to avoid any dispute upon these subjects.

Fraternally yours,

WM. SPENCER,

Secretary-Treasurer Building Trades Department.

Secretary Morrison read a summary of his report. (See pages 81 to 103 inclusive.)

President Gompers—I have had the pleasure of reading the Secretary's report, which he showed me after its completion. I was very much interested in the summary and analysis of that report. To me the analysis appears of such an important character to direct the attention of the readers to the essential facts of the report that I move it be made part of the printed proceedings and as an addenda to the report of the Secretary. (Seconded and carried.)

#### Summary of Secretary Morrison's Report Read to the Convention.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Fellow-Unionists: I have the honor to submit a report to you of the receipts and expenditures for the past twelve (12) months, beginning October 1, 1910, and ending September 30, 1911.

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I report at the close of this fiscal year \$189,579.56 in the treasury. Of the amount on hand, \$133,782.34 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal Labor Unions, and can be used to pay benefits only in the case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions. The balance, \$55,797.22, is in the general fund. Of that fund only \$15,155.29 is available for the general expenses of the American Federation of Labor. The balance, \$40,641.93, is divided as follows: In the fund created by the one-cent assessment levied in accordance with the recommendation of the Norfolk Convention, and the receipts from the appeals issued for the same purpose, i. e., to be used for the legal defense of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and officers and members of affiliated unions in the injunction suit, \$22,433.15. In the fund created by the three-cent assessment for the Hatters' strike, \$226.45. In the fund created by the two-cent assessment levied to take an appeal from the decision rendered against the United Hatters in favor of Leewe & Company, \$17,909.48. In the fund created by the one-cent assessment levied in accordance with the recommendation of the Norfolk Convention, for the purpose of placing organizers in Los Angeles and other cities, \$72.85.

The Total receipts from all sources are \$182,188.63; the total expenses are \$175,524.08; leaving a balance of receipts over expenditures of \$6,664.60.

On page 81 of the printed report you will find a statement giving the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending September 30, 1911. On page 82 the expenses are detailed under their respective heads.

On pages 86 and 87 is furnished a table showing the voting strength of the affiliated organizations from the years 1903 to and including 1911, which will indicate the growth of membership.

**Charters**—Reports from the Secretaries of 85 of our National and International organizations furnish us with the information that 2,345 charters have been issued during the past year, and 1,358 surrendered—1,129 of the charters surrendered were locals of the National and International Union, and 229 affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor.

**Gain in Membership**—The gain in membership reported by the Secretaries of 63 International organizations over the membership on the first of September last year is 117,596.

**Strikes**—Reports from 74 National and International organizations and from local unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor show that there were 1,359 strikes, in which there were 170,526 involved. Of that number 104,655 were benefited, and 16,179 not benefited. The total cost of the strikes reported on was \$4,709,550.69. Adding to that amount \$173,302.06, donations made by local unions to other unions, we have a grand total of \$4,882,852.75 expended to sustain members on strike during the past year.

Statistics covering the subjects will be found in the printed report on pages 88, 89 and 90.

On page 91 of the printed report is furnished a table showing the amount of benefits paid by the International organizations during the past year.

#### American Federationist.

The receipts on account of the *American Federationist* for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1911, are \$18,213.98, which is \$2,699.58 less than the expenses. Notwithstanding that fact, the receipts from the *American Federationist* for the past eight years has come with \$935.05 of paying expenses. To offset that amount there are \$3,713.15 unpaid bills due the Federation for advertisements that have been published prior to September 30, 1911.

Itemized report will be found on page 88 of printed report.

#### Organizing Expenses.

During the twelve months ending September 30, 1911, the American Federation of Labor expended \$46,962.05 for organizing expenses.

On page 99 of the printed report is a statement giving the names of the respective organizers who were under salary permanently and by special appointment, showing the amount paid each and the districts in which they were employed.

#### Membership.

A resume of the growth of the American Federation of Labor, numerically,

during the past thirty-one years, cannot but encourage the trade unionists to redouble their efforts to educate, organize, and federate the wage-earners of the world. The growth of the American Federation of Labor from 1881 to 1893 was gradual. During that time it increased from 50,000 to 275,000, and remained about that number up to 1899. In 1899 it reached very nearly 350,000; in 1900 it passed the 500,000 mark; in 1901, 750,000; in 1902 it passed the million mark, and in 1903 very nearly reached the million and a half point, and in 1904 shot up above the million and a half, reaching a membership of 1,676,200. Thus the growth of the American Federation of Labor from 1899 up to and including 1904 was phenomenal. This marked increase in membership could not occur other than by organizations being formed rapidly within a short period, and as a natural consequence it must be expected that in adjusting the membership of the unions the membership must decrease somewhat from the high-water mark which it reached while the organization wave held sway.

There was a decrease in the membership in 1905 and in 1906 from the high-water mark of 1904. This decrease was almost entirely caused by internal strife which led to secession and a number of ill-advised and unsuccessful strikes of a few international organizations.

During 1907 and 1908 the membership climbed up over 1,500,000 and receded again to a little below the 1,500,000 mark, when the tide again changed, and in 1910 it passed the 1,500,000 mark, and this year the increase in the membership of the international organizations and the addition of the 51,300 which came with the affiliation of the Western Federation of Miners, forced the average paid-up and reported membership of the international organizations to 1,756,735, which is an increase of 199,723 over the membership of last year, and 85,635 members over the high-water mark of 1904.

That the membership of the International Unions is steadily on the increase is indicated by the fact that the paid-up and reported membership of the directly affiliated local unions and international organizations for the month of September of this year is 1,768,614, which indicates that notwithstanding the hostile forces that are working against the labor unions that the coming year will show an increase over the membership reported upon this year.

The table on page 101 will show that the membership of the Federation has increased from 264,825 in 1897 to 1,761,835 in 1911.

A chart has been arranged and appears on page 102 of printed report showing the growth in membership.

On page 103 will be found the list of the union labels that are now used by affiliated international bodies, which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor.

In conclusion, I desire to express through the delegates present, my appre-

ciation of the splendid efforts put forth by the organizers, and the assistance and encouragement received from the officers of the international organizations, and from my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK MORRISON,  
Secretary, American Federation of Labor.  
Vice-President Duncan—The report will be referred to the Committee on Secretary's Report when appointed.

President Gompers read the following communication:

"Los Angeles, California, Nov. 12, 1911.  
"Samuel Gompers, Atlanta, Ga.

"Sincere fraternal greetings to the officials and delegates to the Atlanta, Ga., Convention of the American Federation of Labor. May your deliberations redound to continued advancement of the great labor movement. Permit us to sincerely thank the Federation officials and through them the representatives of affiliated organizations and departments for their untiring efforts in our behalf.

"J. J. and J. B. McNAMARA."

President Gompers—If there are no objections the telegram will be made part of the records of this convention. There appearing no objection, that course will be pursued.

Delegate Wilson (J.)—I move that the President of this organization be authorized to send a message to J. J. and J. B. McNamara, expressing to them the belief of the delegates of this Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in their innocence of the crime with which they have been charged, and pledge them our continued moral and financial support. (Seconded and carried by unanimous vote.)

Treasurer Lennon read his annual report. (See pages 103 and 104.)

Vice-President Duncan—The report will be referred to the Committee on Treasurer's Report when appointed.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

"Boston, Mass., Nov. 13, 1911.  
"Samuel Gompers, President, American Federation of Labor, Auditorium, Atlanta, Ga.

"May the deliberation of your convention deepen the conviction of your delegates in the strength and justice of our cause and may your message awaken hope in the hearts of the unorganized workers of our land.

"SARA A. CONBOY, Vice-Pres.,  
"Boston Womans Trade Union League."

"New York, November 13, 1911.  
"Samuel Gompers, American Federation of Labor Convention, Atlanta, Ga.

"Accept our heartiest congratulations on the Thirty-first Annual Convention,

wishing it to be a harmonious and progressive meeting.

"SUSPENDER MAKERS' UNION,  
9560, New York."

The telegrams were made part of the proceedings of the Convention.

#### Appointment of Committees.

The following announcement of the appointment of committees was read by Secretary Morrison:

**Committee on Rules and Order of Business**—T. A. Rickert, J. T. Carey, Jerome Jones, John Sullivan, Wm. H. O'Brien, Peter Hassenpflue, Geo. H. Ullrich, Wm. J. Pfleger, D. G. Biggs, T. J. Carolan, J. W. Bridwell, M. M. Donoghue, John J. Graney, Wm. A. Davis and Royal Gano.

**Committee on President's Report**—W. B. Wilson, Andrew Furuseth, Frank Duffy, Thomas F. Tracy, Geo. L. Berry, Owen Miller, James Wilson, Roady Kenenhan, J. J. Keegan, Wm. D. Clark, T. V. O'Connor, Hugh Stevenson, Chas. L. Baine, J. T. Butler and Homer D. Call.

**Committee on Secretary's Report**—A. B. Lowe, Martin Lawlor, E. Lewis Evans, Chas. T. Smith, John A. Dyche, H. J. Conway, John Williams, R. H. Curran, James L. Gernon, Thomas L. Hughes, Harry DeVeaux, James R. Crozier, Hubert S. Marshall, Walter V. Price and Thos. Rumsey.

**Committee on Treasurer's Report**—Jas. W. Kline, J. C. Skemp, Joseph F. Winkler, Chas. Lavin, Carl Young, John J. Glass, Alexander Block, Wm. F. Gilmore, David Ring, James F. Brock, John J. Hynes, Peter Henretty, John R. Donka, M. R. Pace and J. W. Holder.

**Committee on Resolutions**—James Duncan, John P. Frey, B. A. Larger, D. D. Mulcahy, John T. Smith, Thos. Flynn, Edward J. McGivern, Jos. N. Weber, M. F. Ryan, W. D. Mahon, A. P. Sovey, Edward F. Ward, Sol. Sontheimer, Chas. P. Fahey and John A. Voll.

**Committee on Laws**—John B. Lennon, Daniel J. Tobin, John H. Walker, James J. Hannahan, Jacob Tazelaar, Timothy Healy, John Mangan, A. Rosenberg, W. S. Pierce, John Roach, M. W. Kelliher, T. J. O'Donnell, Edward Menge, John J. Barry and John Dowd.

**Committee on Organization**—John Mitchell, Wm. S. Macfarlane, Matt Comerford, Andrew J. Gallagher, Jacob Fischer, T. L. Lewis, P. W. Collins, James B. Casey, John T. Taggart, Thos. J. Williams, A. A. Myrup, Patrick Flynn, John C. Schaffer, Frank A. Scoby and Santiago Iglesias.

**Committee on Labels**—John F. Tobin, Jere L. Sullivan, Louis Kemper, A. M. Swartz, Max Zuckerman, Harry Meyer, J. Mahlon Barnes, Chris. Kerker, J. J. Handley, Chas. Doid, Edward Johnson, E. J. Brais, Max S. Hayes, A. McAndrew and Ed. Anderson.

**Committee on Adjustment**—James O'Connell, John Golden, Matthew Woll, John A. Moffitt, T. W. McCullough, Wm. E. Klapetzky, Jos. A. Franklin, Thos. S.

Farrell, Frank Gehring, Edward Flore, Michael J. Hallinan, Percy Thomas, Wm. Taber, Victor Altman and H. C. Shai-voy.

**Committee on Education**—Jos. F. Valentine, Willis R. Golden, James J. Freel, Wm. J. Kelly, Chas. E. Pfeil, S. Polakoff, M. B. Cain, T. M. Daly, C. E. Mahoney, Ernest Bohm, John Murtaugh, Daniel J. Evans, W. A. McKenna, Groce Lawrence and G. E. Soyster.

**Committee on State Organizations**—John R. Alpine, Chas. H. Moyer, Wm. Clark, J. W. Wilkinson, J. R. Humphrey, Stephen J. Fay, William J. Brennan, George Miller, Joe Bobb, Richard D. Selway, Joseph Proebstle, John L. McNamara, George Meyers and George Leary.

**Committee on Local and Federated Bodies**—H. B. Perham, John Carroll, Thomas Flanagan, Joseph D. Cannon, James P. Holland, Frank X. Noschang, W. E. Bryan, Samuel Kelly, Patrick Murphy, Oscar F. Nelson, G. F. Mounts, J. M. Gavlak, Joe Birnes, E. W. Blakey, and Maurice De Young.

**Committee on Building Trades**—Wm. D. Huber, James A. Short, Frank M. Ryan, M. O'Sullivan, John Donlin, Wm. J. McSorley, F. J. McNulty, Wm. J. Tracey, Frank Feeney, J. T. Kinsella, George F. Hedrick, O. A. Tveitmo, Paul Bianchi, D. D'Alessandro and C. W. Fry.

**Committee on Boycotts**—D. A. Hayes, James M. Lynch, Frank J. Hayes, James B. Connors, J. M. Kaefar, Wm. A. Neer, Will J. Cooke, Thos. J. Durnin, Jos. Smith, Thos. J. Smith, Ed. H. Ryan, E. R. Torrey, Frank R. Heck, Thos. Connors and H. M. Munn.

Vice-President Huber—Inasmuch as the Carpenters are not part of the Building Trades Department, I decline to serve on the Committee on Building Trades.

President Gompers—If the convention will support the president in the decision and the appointment he will decide that is not good grounds for declination.

Vice-President Huber—I have other grounds. If the Brotherhood of Carpenters is not good enough to be affiliated with the Building Trades Department I am not good enough to serve on that committee.

President Gompers—And that is not a good ground. Delegate Huber is chairman of the Committee on Building Trades. In the labor movement membership is voluntary, duty is obligatory.

The chair has made these appointments as provided by the constitution. It has been my practice to ask of the convention for confirmation of these appointments. Is there objection to the confirmation of these appointments to committees? There appearing none, they stand



as the appointments of the president confirmed by this Convention.

President Gompers called the attention of the delegates to the fact that in former conventions the rules of a preceding convention governed until new rules were adopted. He stated that in St. Louis, owing to the distance of the convention hall from hotels, the unusual procedure of convening at 12 o'clock noon and adjourning at 6 had been adopted.

Vice-President Duncan—I move that the rules that now exist be suspended, that

we meet at 9:30, remain in session until 12:30, reconvene at 2 o'clock and remain in session until 5:30. (Seconded and carried.)

Vice-President Duncan stated that committees often waited before beginning their reports until all the resolutions could be printed in the daily proceedings, and urged that all delegates having resolutions present them early in the session.

At 6 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9:30 a. m., Tuesday, November 14.

## PRESIDENT GOMPERS' REPORT.

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ATLANTA, GA., November 13, 1911.

*To the Officers and Delegates to the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:*

FELLOW TRADE UNIONISTS: Herewith, in accordance with the rules of our Federation, I have the honor to submit, as its President, a report for the last twelve months.

In the nature of things, this report is a review of obstacles encountered, of the larger features in the struggles of trade unionism throughout the country, of the special endeavors being made by your representatives in organizing and in obtaining legislation favorable to the wage-workers and in promoting the high aims of our movement. In all these respects, it is a pleasure to report progress.

The American Federation of Labor through its affiliated organizations has today the largest membership in its history. Its standing is sound and prospects are bright. In its long-drawn-out legal contests there is more reason than ever to assume that labor's cause will win. In a number of important strikes during the year, we have had gains, and there has been a tendency to continue the shortening of the workday, to do away with child labor, and to animate the unorganized masses with a desire to take part in the great labor movement.

In the various phases of the work of our Federation reviewed under the headings which follow, and in the reports which the Executive Council and our Secretary will submit there will be found much reason for hope and satisfaction and some little for disappointment. Our Federation, resting on a solid foundation, is erecting a structure adapted at all times to its purposes and of a lasting character.

Our movement has no schism within. All opposition to its policies, its procedures, its form of organization, and its tactics, comes from without. All who would divert it from its established principles are enemies, working for the promotion of institutions foreign to its character. Those who would change its aim at its disintegration.

This is true whether the antagonist in view is the college president who believes in the right of the non-unionist to work below the union scale alongside of the unionist; or the philanthropist who believes unions should be mere benevolent societies; or the editor who believes that the unionist should be always in his party and a supporter of his interests, or the politician who demands that the unionist must always vote his ticket.

But, it can safely be said, our trade unionism is to witness no integral change in structure or principle; for these are all adaptable to circumstances as they arise—to conditions as they develop.

There exist within the scope of the trade unionism of America, as it was long ago conceived and for many years has been maintained in its integrity, the possibilities for continuous reform, both in economics and politics, to whatever extent at any time is possible.

The strength, the firmness, the consistency, and the reasonableness of our trade unionism have convinced the great body of the citizens of this continent, wage-workers and others, that change, and even radical change, in the laws which govern society being inevitable in accordance with justice, the American Federation of Labor, as the dominant body of wage-workers, is the fitting and effective organization to lead the masses in carrying on to the end the great work of transformation.

The ground-work principle of America's labor movement has been to recognize that first things must come first. The primary essential in our mission has been the protection of the wage-worker, now; to increase his wages; to cut hours off the long workday, which was killing him; to improve the safety and the sanitary conditions of the workshop; to free him from the tyrannies, petty or otherwise, which served to make his existence a slavery. These, in the nature of things, I repeat, were and are the primary objects of trade unionism.

Our great Federation has uniformly refused to surrender this conviction and to rush to the support of any one of the numerous society-saving or society-destroying schemes

which decade by decade have been sprung upon this country. A score of such schemes, having a rational scope, and being for the passing day subject to popular discussion, have gone down behind the horizon and are now but ancient history. But while our Federation has thus been conservative, it has ever had its face turned toward whatever reforms, in politics or economics, could be of direct and obvious benefit to the working classes. It has never given up its birthright for a mess of pottage. It has pursued its avowed policy with the conviction that if the lesser and immediate demands of labor could not be obtained now from society as it is, it would be mere dreaming to preach and pursue that will-o'-the-wisp, a new society constructed from rainbow materials—a system of society on which even the dreamers themselves have never agreed.

It is untrue that this Federation is conservative in the sense of dissenting from propositions intended to affect far-reaching changes in our political institutions. We would conserve that which has been proved to be conducive to the welfare of the country as a whole, which means first of all the masses, but we would change as speedily as possible whatever has been injurious to the country, and especially to the masses. We would abolish all privilege, would establish a pure democracy, and would turn the tide of all volume of the products of labor into the hands of labor. We would end every form of aristocracy and bring to their end all institutions which refuse to recognize the people as the origin of legislation, of justice, and of domination.

Striking and irrefutable evidence has recently been furnished that these principles are the true ones on which labor may effectively and continuously advance its just cause. The severest blows ever dealt class privilege, plutocratic domination, and judicial greed for power were made possible last year through the forces of democracy patiently built up in the course of years in accordance with the established policy of the American Federation of Labor. I refer to the events taking place especially on the Pacific Coast, either in the promotion of the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall, or in acts of the masses of the people through those purely democratic instrumentalities. Those events have brilliantly and convincingly illustrated the power of the people. They indicate a coming leap in the progress of genuine democracy throughout the country. The new mechanism of that democracy will loosen the throttle hold which politicians have long had upon the people, relegate the political machines to the background, and bring to the front from all ranks of society, and especially from the wage-workers, men of truly patriotic and humanitarian principles, who are willing to work, not for partisan advantage or personal preferment, or the selfish interests of any clique or circle, but for the good and welfare of community and nation, and consequently all mankind. To trade unionists in general, at the present stage of their dearly-bought experience with political manipulators, and of their practical education in economics, parties count for little, while principles, objects, and achievements are everything. We confidently look forward, now that the principles and the mechanism of the people's power have been discovered, made clear, and applied, to a rapid succession of extraordinary adaptations of the institutions of this country to popular ideals and aspirations. The old spirit of partisan hatred, wrangling, bitter personalities, and cynicism over alleged failure in popular government must give way to the new spirit which interprets the general moral and intellectual level of a people of high intentions, generous emotions, and unquenchable aspirations for fair play, which must eventuate finally in economic justice. It matters little whether any party, whatever its avowals and intentions, succeeds in one place or another, now and again, in this State or that. The things desirable, in contrast to party organization, methods, war-cries, and promises, are those resulting in permanency of efficient methods, in possibilities of advancing one by one the propositions favorable to wage-workers, and in the opportunities for the full play of the powers of all the individuals of the community capable of promoting through legislation the welfare of the country and especially of the masses. This condition is being rapidly established, as we have said, through the energy and activity and concentration of aim of the American Federation of Labor. No other scheme of procedure for the advancement of the interests and well-being of the working classes measures up with the policy of our Federation in the slightest degree.

The history of the working-class movement of Europe in recent years is one of recession from cloud-land utopias and of approach toward the policy of our Federation. Revolution is to come by way of reform, and not by social cataclysm. The human conscience is to be society's guide. The social struggle is to be good and right against evil and wrong. The attainment of the maximum of liberty for every individual, the abolition of poverty, the best order in the production and equitable distribution of

wealth—in a word the establishment of the conditions for the highest possible earthly happiness for mankind—all this must come through taking the best that civilization has given us and lopping off, one by one, its imperfect growths and its baneful excrescences.

Under the various headings which follow, sufficient statement is made of the various activities of our great organization to indicate many causes for our encouragement. We invite all to give the statements, as herewith recorded, a careful reading. The utmost care has been taken in their preparation. It has been a matter of study that they should contain nothing that would mislead, nothing that would offend honest investigators, nothing that would excite enemies where friends are desirable, nothing that would bring embarrassment to trade unionists, nothing which on being read in future years could be regarded as unworthy. With these hopes and sentiments I pass to the consideration of the various phases of the work of our Federation for the last year.

### ORGANIZATION AND GROWTH.

For the fiscal year ending September 30, 1911, there were issued by the American Federation of Labor 326 certificates of affiliation (charters), as follows:

International unions.....	3	Local trade unions .....	207
City central bodies .....	61	Federal Labor Unions .....	55
			<hr/>
Total .....			326

At the close of the fiscal year there were affiliated to our Federation:

International unions.....	115	Local trade unions .....	493
State Federations.....	38	Federal Labor Unions.....	187
City central bodies .....	631		
			<hr/>
Total .....			1,464

The international unions enumerated have approximately 28,000 local unions under their jurisdiction. To avoid error by casual hearers, or readers, attention is called to the system under which the American Federation of Labor is organized. It is, as its name suggests, a federated body. Each of its international unions has jurisdiction for one trade or calling over Canada, the United States, and the dependencies of the latter. No rival international unions including members of the same calling are permitted. Each international union is made up of directly affiliated local unions, of which there is usually but one for each occupation in each locality. The State Federations of Labor and the city central bodies are made up of delegates from the various local unions. In the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, each international or local union has a representation and a vote based upon the number of its members. Other bodies have each a single representative, with one vote, thus avoiding duplicate voting for the same membership.

In every way within, and to the fullest limits of our opportunities, the American Federation of Labor has been of the greatest value to our affiliated international unions and directly chartered local unions, as well as in the general work for the protection, advancement, and the common uplift of all the workers of America. Several of our directly affiliated local unions have been engaged in controversies, some of which are yet being waged. The laws of the Federation, in so far as concerns financial as well as moral assistance to local unions, have been liberally and generously interpreted so that the defense fund could be of real practical value to the workers engaged in any controversy. And better than all, the directly affiliated local unions have had the advice and supervision of the officers as well as the support of the American Federation of Labor. These factors have aided materially in securing improved conditions for the workers of those unions without the necessity of a recourse to strike.

The State Federations and central bodies have likewise profited by affiliation, and they in turn, as all other organizations affiliated, contributed toward the common concert of action in achieving the largest measure of success in the general trend and upward course of the labor cause.

This year the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor have reached the largest membership in its history. This despite the battle which has been waged against it, not only by certain employing class organizations, but by pretending

pseudo friends. The fact of our increased strength stands as a contradiction and challenge to our enemies, wherever they may be found.

Under this heading it is appropriate again to proclaim that our slogan ever has been, and is: Organize, Agitate, Educate!

#### BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT.

Secretary-Treasurer Spencer of this Department has prepared the following statement of its work and present status, which I incorporate herein:

Since the adjournment of the St. Louis Convention of the American Federation of Labor there has been a decided change in the personnel of the Building Trades Department.

Two organizations were suspended for violation of decisions previously rendered, these being the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers, with a consequent defection in membership amounting to 189,312. Against this sustained loss, however, it is gratifying to report the addition of the International Association of Machinists and the Slate and Tile Roofers' International Union, with a joint membership of 67,445.

At the same time it is gratifying to report that in nearly every instance the general membership of the international unions affiliated with the Building Trades Department has been augmented, so that the actual loss is reduced to 98,500.

While on the surface it might appear that a reactionary movement has set in, and that the solidarity of the Department has been threatened, a directly contrary condition will be found to exist under a thorough investigation. Not only has each international union identified with the Department increased its membership, as before stated, but what is more important the international unions comprising the Department have exhibited a display of toleration for the rights of others never before equalled in the building industry. Whether this condition is a direct result of the suspension of the two organizations named must of necessity be a matter of conjecture, nevertheless the fact remains that those organizations that are contestants in jurisdictional controversies have been decidedly more loth to show a deliberate and wanton invasion of the rights of others than has prevailed in the past. Indeed, in numberless instances there has been a ready acquisition in the declared policies, decisions, and awards of the Department in the past year by all affiliated organizations, and wherever a clash has occurred, or lines have been drawn more rigidly than usual in the building industry, the agitation has been created by those who have openly espoused a denial of the declared purposes of the Department.

It should be borne in mind that jurisdictional conflict is a struggle between international unions which the Building Trades Department was primarily organized to adjust, and any settlement between factions must necessarily be through the course of mutual agreement, or when the parties thereto fail the Department must exercise its prerogative of reaching a decision intended to be final and binding on both parties. It is, however, considered to be essentially the best policy that international unions should of their own volition eliminate any cause for dispute between them, and to this end it is indeed a pleasure to report that satisfactory agreements have been entered into by the following organizations: American Brotherhood of Cement Workers and Operative Plasterers' International Association; Ceramic, Mosaic, and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union and Operative Plasterers' International Association; Hod-carriers and Building Laborers and United Brotherhood Carpenters and Joiners of America; Bridge and Structural Iron Workers and United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; International Union Marble Workers and United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America and Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance; Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America and Ceramic, Mosaic, and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union; Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America and International Association of Marble Workers; Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America and International Brotherhood of Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers; International Association Marble Workers and International Association Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance and Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers' International Union; Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance

and International Association Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance and United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; American Brotherhood of Cement Workers and International Union of Hod-carriers and Building Laborers; International Union Steam Engineers; International Association Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers' International Union and International Association Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union and Slate and Tile Roofers International Union; International Brotherhood Composition Roofers and International Union Slate and Tile Roofers; Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

The value of reasoning together, of friendly intercourse in the elimination of any cause for friction, will be obvious to all, and it requires but a moment of reflection to understand what greater measure of progress would have been made did all international unions give willing assent to decisions and awards when rendered.

There are now affiliated with the Building Trades Department twenty international unions with a total membership of some 294,345.

The financial condition of the organization is most flattering, more especially when the loss in membership is taken into consideration. Receipts from the general revenues for the year just closed are \$22,322.05, as against total annual disbursements of \$19,086.09, showing a balance on hand of \$3,235.96.

#### METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT.

The principal features of the work of this Department for the last year as reported by Secretary-Treasurer Berres were as follows:

In conjunction with the legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor and of the International Association of Machinists, the Legislative Committee-man representing the Executive Board of the Metal Trades Department worked in favor of the eight-hour amendment to the labor bill when it was up for consideration in committee and before Congress. The joint committeemen were successful not only in keeping the eight-hour amendment intact, but in promoting the passage of an amendment that is stronger and broader in its scope. The joint committee was also active in obtaining from the Comptroller of the Treasury, during the month of July, a decision which in effect is that the eight-hour day applies to all construction of navy vessels in the plant or the yard of a firm getting a contract direct from the United States Government. It is the intention of the officials of the Metal Trades Department to try to get the amendment so worded that it will apply to the vessel in its entirety, regardless of where the parts are being constructed.

The Department took up the matter of per diem employes on the Isthmus of Panama receiving only two weeks' annual leave with pay as against six weeks for per annum employes. The matter was brought up, in November last, before the President of the United States and the Canal Commission. On December 4 a communication from the White House was received by the Secretary of the Metal Trades Department conveying the information that beginning with January 1, 1911, employes on the Canal Zone were to be granted four weeks' leave with pay instead of two weeks, and allowed to accumulate leave by postponing two weeks for the following year, thus having six weeks instead of four in the second year.

The molders employed at the Watertown Arsenal recently went on strike because one of their members was discharged for refusing to work under the conditions imposed by the installation of the "Taylor system." The Metal Trades Department, on taking the matter up with the officials of the War Department, were promised that an investigation should be begun immediately, and therefore it proposed that all the men, including the molder first discharged, should resume work pending the inquiry, and their proposition was accepted. The report of the investigator, a naval officer, has not yet been received. However, the Secretary of the Department has been informed that one of the most objectionable features of the system, the use of the stop watch, has been discontinued.

On the occasion of the strike at the Baldwin Locomotive Works, the Department was interested from beginning to end. Although the international officers, as well as the local representatives of the union, had advised against the strike, when it took place all the support possible was given to the 12,000 men who went out. In the twelve weeks of

the strike no doubt much good was done, and the union spirit promoted, and the result on the whole was not disheartening either to the wage-workers directly concerned or those of Philadelphia in general. Like all great struggles, this strike taught many lessons which will be beneficial in future.

The Los Angeles metal trade's strike has been waged now for seventeen months. One result of it has been proof of the wisdom of the formation of this Department. Never has a better fight for right been waged, and the feeling on the part of the executives of the Department is that the unions will win in the end, even against the powerful forces aligned against them.

The Metal Trades Council of San Francisco is conferring with the local employers relative to the continuance of the eight-hour agreement. The Northwestern Coast will in all probability receive consideration at the coming convention of the Department. A campaign for a shorter workday, it is expected, will be carried into this territory. The policy of encouraging the signing of annual agreements is progressing.

Since the last convention, seventeen new councils have been organized, and it is expected that many more will be added to the roster within the coming year. Affiliation of the United Association of Plumbers, etc., and of the Stationary Firemen is shortly expected. The financial condition of the Department is good, and all the affiliated bodies in it are in good standing. Since the last convention, the membership in the Department has increased 35,234. During the year an organizer was set to work in Erie, Pennsylvania, another at Newport News, and for a period of three months another at Trenton, New Jersey, it being the desire of the Department to organize the ship-building industry, so that a better opportunity will be afforded for the establishment of the union scale and union workday in the construction of Government and private vessels.

#### RAILROAD EMPLOYES' DEPARTMENT.

The enormous task of federating a dozen large classifications of wage-earners in the employ of the railroads of this country is yet in its initial stages. Years of experience must be required in the education of the rank and file of these various classifications in common activities. Long accustomed to separate and distinct organization, the membership of a number of the unions concerned needs the tutelage of time to bring all to conviction of the necessities for general federation. On the whole, it can be said that the desire for a systematic and orderly method of federation is gaining ground rapidly, the methods and customs of the hitherto separated local unions being considered. Railroad employes, through the nature of their work, are scattered over the country to such an extent that it is a gigantic task to get their views crystallized as to the best methods to be pursued in united action, but it is the conviction of the officials of the Department that this work is being accomplished surely, if necessarily somewhat slowly. One of the obstacles encountered in the work is the idea, promoted by enemies of trade unionism, that the federation of railroad employes is a menace to society, as likely to result some time in a general paralysis of business. The railroad managers who oppose the federation of the wage-workers ignore the fact that the employers themselves are federated in the General Managers' Associations and the American Railroad Association.

The influence of the Railroad Employes' Association up to the present time has been mostly of the silent kind. Its power is well understood. The ability, integrity, and courage of the eleven chief executives who conduct its councils are generally recognized by the employers of labor. Every representative and committeeman of each organization in the Federation knows what a forceful reserve it has behind it, and because of this fact it daily obtains better results and recognition. The executive officials of the Federation are persuaded that their scheme is safe and workable, and that it will continue to redound to the benefit of all classes of railway employes and wax in strength with the coming years.

#### UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT.

Thomas F. Tracy, Secretary-Treasurer, Union Label Trades Department, has submitted the following report:

"The work, as carried on by the Department during the year, has undoubtedly been to a very great degree satisfactory. While there have been no new affiliations of international unions, the work has gone on with a greater degree of activity and energy than during any time in the history of the labor movement, or to my recollection and knowledge.

"One of the great factors in the advancement of the sale of union label products and the patronizing of union establishments is the organization of local departments wherever possible. During the year we have organized seven local departments and now have in affiliation thirty-four located in practically all the large industrial sections, covering cities in the United States from Boston to Sacramento and several in Canada. In the reports received from these local departments, splendid results have obtained in almost every instance.

"During the year, this Department operated a Union Label Moving Picture Show, demonstrating the various union labels, shop and store cards. In connection with this show, an entertainment was given, which, from reports received, demonstrates that both features of the show were highly appreciated in the various cities and towns where performances were given. Eighty-three shows were given in the States of Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Vermont, and in the Province of Ontario, Canada; in all, covering a period of about four months, and the various shows were witnessed by approximately 50,000 people. The cost of maintaining this show for that period, being the salaries and expenses of the persons who were connected with it, was \$4,700. Already numerous requests have been received from various places asking that the show be repeated.

"It is my personal opinion that this method of agitation, particularly in the small cities, is one that brings about good results.

"I also beg leave to report that Resolution No. 54, which was referred to this Department by the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, and which asked for an agitation to be started among the farmers of Tennessee, was carried out to a considerable degree of success.

"Volunteer organizers Albert E. Hill and Charles P. Fahey of Nashville were assigned to this work and they visited thirty-five different farmers' unions, or rallies, as they are termed, and addressed in the aggregate about 15,000 people, all farmers, in the interests of the union label.

"From the reports made by these gentlemen, it is quite evident that they have met with a considerable degree of success in this direction, and it is the intention of this Department to continue and extend this method of agitation during the coming year in other States.

"The Department has also given considerable attention to the question of convict labor, and has assisted in distributing literature upon this all-important subject in the various States with considerable success. We shall also continue to use our best efforts to have passed during the coming session of Congress the Booher bill, H. R. 5601. The Department has distributed a large amount of literature to the various local unions in affiliation with their international unions, as well as to State Federations of Labor, city central bodies, and local unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor; also to all the organizers, special and volunteer.

"The most distinctive literature which has been distributed has been the Directory as issued by this Department, containing cuts of the various labels and the names of the manufacturers in the different industries who use the union label upon their product. Fifty thousand copies of this Directory have already been published and another issue is now being printed. Together with other literature distributed during the year, there have been sent out from this office during that time approximately 150,000 pieces of mail matter dealing with various subjects.

"Through the efforts of the Department, an agreement was arrived at with the editors of many of the official journals of international unions, whereby cuts of various labels and appropriate reading matter to accompany the same were to be published. At the present time twenty-seven international journals publish monthly four different cuts of labels, as described above, thus bringing to the attention of a large number of the members of international unions not only a description of these various labels, but the manner in which they are used and appear upon various commodities.

"It will, of course, be of interest to you to know the increase in the output of union labeled commodities during the year ending July 10, 1911, and for



your information I transmit to you a few figures as taken from my report to the coming convention of the Union Label Trades Department:

	1910.	1911.	Increase.
Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers.....	8,000	11,000	3,000
American Federation of Labor.....	8,465,000	9,309,000	844,000
Cigarmakers' International Union.....	27,422,900	27,795,900	373,000
United Brewery Workmen.....	41,930,000	44,922,000	2,992,000
United Garment Workers.....	45,866,674	48,234,136	2,367,462
Journeyman Tailors' Union.....	447,578	511,000	63,422
United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.....	3,721,572	4,015,000	293,428
Bakery and Confectionery Workers.....	494,837,000	548,210,590	53,373,590
Piano and Organ Workers' Union.....	4,600	8,200	3,600

"Of course, these figures do not deal with the increased output upon articles bearing the union label which are either a stamp or an imprint, such as the label of the Allied Printing Trades, the stamp of the Boot and Shoe Workers, and other organizations.

"I feel confident that these figures will impress you that the work as carried on by our affiliated organizations and the Department during the past year has been highly successful.

"This briefly relates some of the important features of the work as carried on during the past twelve months, and I feel confident that from reports received from various sources the movement for the furthering of the sale of union labeled products and the patronizing of union establishments will apply to a greater degree during the coming year than it has during the past. I say this because not only of the interest manifested by our members but also of the interest manifested in many instances by business men and merchants who want to be in harmony with organized labor and give their assistance, which is demonstrated by the numerous inquiries received for information and the Directories, as issued by this Department, to business men in various sections of the country."

#### CANADA.

Between the union wage-workers of Canada and the United States the sentiment which is promoted is not reciprocity but unity. We are advised by the union officials of Canada that its workers are imbued with the feeling that they should persistently strive for the solidification of the international trade union movement. They are actuated by unanimity of purpose and breadth of view. Reports from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada show a continued increase in the membership of its affiliated bodies. The revenues are sufficient for whatever work has been undertaken. The last year has witnessed the practical disappearance of any manifestations of dissatisfaction or endeavors to undermine the international movement. No legislation directed toward this end was attempted, owing to the watchfulness of the legislative committees of the Congress. On the other hand, measures of importance to organized labor were the subject of discussion in the Dominion Parliament and in the various provincial Legislatures. A number of acts helpful to the laboring classes were placed upon the statute books. On the whole, the position of organized labor in Canada is in strict harmony with the trade union movement of the United States.

#### PORTO RICO.

In Porto Rico, twenty-two new local unions have been organized in the last year, while several which had been temporarily suspended were reinstalled in the Federation, which has now a total membership of more than 8,000. The number of local unions is 132. The American Federation of Labor organizer for the island reports that the spirit of organization is at the present time more efficient than during all of the preceding years. The economic and social conditions of the working classes of Porto Rico have improved to a marked degree. Now and then in the course of the last year a partial strike has occurred, but on the whole it may be described as having been peaceful. The actual number of strikes was eighteen, the trades involved being cigarmakers,

shoemakers, carpenters, tobacco selectors, and tobacco strippers. Nearly all terminated satisfactorily to organized labor. The strikers in most cases were contending for the right to organize unions or to resist reduction of wages, as well as for increase of wages. In the course of one strike thirty-three union men were imprisoned, charged with complicity in the killing of a manufacturer by a man who was later proven to be insane. All the men thus arrested were released. On another occasion the editor of the "Union Obrera," condemned for libel to two years in prison, was pardoned by Governor Colton.

The organized workers of Porto Rico share in the general concern of Porto Ricans over the constant failure of Congress to frame a law fixing the political status of the people of the island. The practical question with the people is whether they are to acquire citizenship under the United States, or whether Congress is to keep the island in the position of a great factory, exploiting cheap labor for the benefit of large corporations of the United States.

The promises made in 1898, when our nation took possession of Porto Rico, that its inhabitants would be recognized and treated as full-fledged American citizens, have not been fulfilled. This bad faith has reacted to the detriment of the American Federation of Labor. The dissatisfied Porto Ricans make their protest felt by refusing to give voluntary assistance to any national organization or institution of the United States. This course, feeble and inconsistent as it is, can be understood by all who have witnessed the usual actions of men actuated by blind resentfulness. The American Federation of Labor has never ceased in its efforts to obtain from Congress all the rights of a free people for the inhabitants of Porto Rico. Its support of the Olmsted bill and the special efforts of Representative Wilson of Pennsylvania are well known. The Olmsted bill, after having been approved in the House, was pigeonholed in the Senate, an act of the most flagrant injustice. At present in Porto Rico, those inhabitants who by education are Spanish, a part of the press, and some of the discontented native politicians are openly proclaiming the idea of independence for the island. The organizers for the American Federation of Labor find an obstacle, in their endeavor to educate and organize the masses, in this frame of mind of a considerable part of the population. The general belief of the inhabitants of the island is that their economic welfare would be greatly improved through home rule. Whereas the sum of the exports and imports in 1897 was \$14,500,000, they were in 1911 nearly \$79,000,000. But this increased wealth has not brought with it corresponding evidence of benefits to the laboring masses.

Labor Day was celebrated in most of the cities of the island, the local and consular authorities taking part in the demonstrations.

The American Federation of Labor organizer for Porto Rico, Santiago Iglesias, asks the various national and international unions to send to the island in the Spanish language all printed matter which they issue for the assistance of organization.

#### INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT.

The biennial conference of the International Secretariat was held at Budapest, Hungary, August 10-12. The decision most interesting to American trade unionists was that relating to the repudiation of the so-called Industrial Workers of the World. One of the articles of the constitution of the Secretariat prescribes that but one national body from each country shall be represented in its conference. The effrontery of any one presenting himself as a representative from America in opposition to the delegate from the American Federation of Labor, it might be thought, would be appreciated at once at its proper value by the delegates from the other countries, but inasmuch as the would-be delegate from the corporal's guard that composes the Industrial Workers of the World professed to support the policies and program of the *Confédération Générale du Travail* of France, his pretensions were supported by the latter organization. Between them he and its delegates managed to bring up sufficient discussion to consume the entire first day of the conference. At the close of the debate, the Industrial Workers of the World aspirant to a seat was rejected, all the votes being against him excepting that of the *Confédération Générale du Travail*. The case against the Industrial Workers of the World delegate was conducted in a masterful manner by the delegate from the American Federation of Labor, First Vice-President James Duncan. The decision on this and other questions during the sessions of the conference tend to show that the true position of the American Federation of Labor in the great labor movement of the world is becoming better known and appreciated by the representatives of labor in Europe. Not only is

the sentiment for a unity among the wage-workers of the different countries advancing, but recognition is being made of the points on which solidarity may become practical.

Among the resolutions passed was one introduced by Delegate Duncan proposing that labor organizations of all countries prevent by all means possible the migration of workmen from one country to another in time of labor disputes.

The two propositions, the one for an International Federation of Labor brought forward by America two years ago, and the other, for an International Congress of Labor, introduced by France, were sent back to all the national bodies for discussion.

It was voted that the International Secretariat could in exceptional cases initiate a wage movement where the number of workers engaged were so great that the necessary funds could not be furnished by either a national organization or an international union interested. The Secretary's report showed that the American Federation of Labor paid on 1,700,000 members, Germany being the only country with a higher number. The total membership was 6,033,500. Carl Legien was unanimously re-elected Secretary. The country in which to hold the session of 1913 is to be determined in the early part of that year by consulting the wishes of the affiliated national organizations.

That the Budapest conference served to promote a sentiment of international unity among the wage-earners, and to clear away misunderstandings that existed between those of one nation and another, has become evident in the comments of the labor press of the various countries since the gathering. The labor movement of America stands better with the Secretariat representatives of the European countries than it did two years ago, before our case was plainly put by an American delegate, speaking, upon an equality, face to face with the other members of the conference. It may, however, take years to disabuse the minds of many who are active in the movement abroad of their prejudices against our movement, so long was it exposed to misrepresentation by men in this country who were trying to divert its aims and change its policies. With experience, it has become clear to the representative men of labor in all countries that each country has its peculiar problems, which must be worked out by its own working classes by the methods they deem most applicable and advantageous.

The advice, "Workmen of all countries, unite!" can not be carried into actual practice to the extent of similarity of organization and procedure. In trade unionism, the possibilities are promising for internationality in respect to recognition of union membership, in refraining from black-legging, and in financial and other support in case of great strikes and lockouts. But politically, no two countries are on the same plane. There may be a general sentiment favoring the emancipation of labor everywhere from its disqualifications, an agreement upon many points in an analysis of the injustices of society as now organized, and even common assent as to certain principles or maxims for guidance in forming the better society that is coming, but to fix hard and fast rules by which the wage-earners in all countries are to work in building for the future is an impossibility.

The important things for American trade unionists to consider, in connection with the International Secretariat, as well as other of our international associations, are such as relate to trade union work, as brought up through the mobility of labor made possible by today's means of transportation, or as suggested by the experience of the unions of the different countries. Comparison of methods, in organizing, in scale making, in negotiating with employers, is valuable, and in this respect the exchange of fraternal delegates between Great Britain and the United States has helped both countries. This year, as has been the custom for nearly two decades, two fraternal delegates have been sent to our convention from the British Trades Union Congress and one from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. In extending them a hearty greeting, we feel assured that they, as well as ourselves, will profit by their coming.

The peoples of all civilized countries are coming to the realization that in many respects they have a cause in common—that of justice, freedom and humanity. There is no force in society so potent to crystallize that sentiment and the establishment of human brotherhood as the historically developed and developing labor movement of the world.

#### EIGHT-HOUR LAW EXTENSION.

My report this year on the extension of the eight-hour law as applied to work done for the United States Government by contractors and sub-contractors should be read in connection with the report I had the honor to submit to the St. Louis convention. In this report I have necessarily to cover action on this subject by the Sixty-first Congress, as well as to make reference to the status of the bill before the present Congress.

In the Sixty-first Congress the House Committee on Labor and the Senate Committee on Education and Labor took no action upon the eight-hour bills which had been referred to them. In fact, it was impossible even to get these committees, during the short session of the Sixty-first Congress, to hold a meeting to consider anything; but, in spite of the attitude of the two Labor Committees, efforts were continued along the line of making provision for an eight-hour workday in the appropriation bills on the same lines as proved to be successful in the previous session. Consequently every effort was made by the opposition forces to circumvent such legislation.

On January 12, 1911, the Secretary of the Navy appeared before the House Committee on Naval Affairs and asked that the committee abolish the eight-hour provision in the previous Naval Appropriations bill. He also urged the committee to so amend that act that he would not be compelled to build one of the battleships authorized last year in a Government navy yard, giving as his reasons the extra cost because of the eight-hour law being operative in Government yards. He did his best to fortify his argument with the charge that the eight-hour provision put into the Naval bill at the last session added to the cost of construction from 25 to 35 per cent, absolutely ignoring the savings that have been secured to the Government since Government competition with private contractors has been instituted in the line of battleship construction.

The House Committee on Naval Affairs, however, reported its appropriation bill January 28, 1911, including the reactionary recommendations of the Secretary, as follows:

- (1) The repeal of provision in last year's act authorizing one battleship built in a navy yard.
- (2) Repeal of the provision in last year's act whereby the contracts for construction should contain an eight-hour clause.
- (3) Repeal of provision that not more than one of the battleships in last year's act should be built by the same contracting party.
- (4) Repeal of provision that the collier authorized in the Naval act of 1908 be built in a Pacific Coast navy yard, and that it be given out to private contractors.

It will be readily noted that this part of the Naval Committee's report was grossly antagonistic to labor's best interests. The Naval Committee's report was apparently unanimous; if any of the committeemen dissented they failed to make a minority report, and when, on February 21, the bill came up in the House, and they had the opportunity to do so, not one of the committeemen said a word in behalf of labor's contention for an eight-hour day or for the public economy in construction of one of the battleships in a Government yard. After the Secretary of the Navy had given his testimony before the Committee on Naval Affairs, and before the measure was taken up by the House, I addressed a letter to the President registering our protest against the Secretary's unfriendly criticism of the eight-hour clause contained in the law of the previous year, and called the attention of the President to that part of his message in which he recommended eight-hour legislation. To that letter the President made reply. For the sake of the record I incorporate in my report these two letters:

#### LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 10, 1911.*

SIR: In the Naval Appropriation bill passed in the last session of the Sixty-first Congress, the following section was adopted:

"And the contract for the construction of said vessels shall contain a provision requiring said vessels to be built in accordance with the provisions of an act entitled 'An Act relating to the limitation of the hours of daily service of laborers and mechanics employed upon the public works of the United States and of the District of Columbia,' approved August first, eighteen hundred and ninety-two, and shall be awarded by the Secretary of the Navy to the lowest best responsible bidder having in view the best results and most expeditious delivery."

In the message which you sent to Congress upon the opening of its present session, under the caption of "Eight-hour law," you said:

"Since 1868 it has been the declared purpose of this Government to favor the movement for an eight-hour day by a provision of law that none of the employees employed by or on behalf of the Government should work longer than eight hours in every twenty-four. The first declaration of this view was

not accompanied with any penal clause or with any provision for its enforcement, and, though President Grant by a proclamation twice attempted to give it his sanction and to require the officers of the Government to carry it out, the purpose of the framers of the law was ultimately defeated by a decision of the Supreme Court holding that the statute as drawn was merely a direction of the Government to its agents and did not invalidate a contract made in behalf of the Government which provided in the contract for labor for a day of longer hours than eight. Thereafter, in 1892, the present eight-hour law was passed, which provides that the services and employment of all laborers and mechanics who are now or may hereafter be employed by the Government of the United States, by the District of Columbia, or by any contractor or sub-contractor on any of the public works of the United States and of the said District of Columbia is hereby restricted to eight hours in any one calendar day. This law has been construed to limit the application of the requirement to those who are directly employed by the Government or to those who are employed upon public works situate upon land owned by the United States. This construction prevented its application to Government battleships and other vessels built in private shipyards and to heavy guns and armor plate contracted for and made at private establishments.

#### *Pending Bill.*

"The proposed act provides that no laborer or mechanic doing any part of the work contemplated by a contract with the United States in the employ of the contractor or any sub-contractor shall be required or permitted to work more than eight hours a day in any one calendar day.

"It seems to me from the past history that the Government has been committed to a policy of encouraging the limitation of the day's work to eight hours in all works of construction initiated by itself, and it seems to me illogical to maintain a difference between Government work done on Government soil and Government work done in a private establishment, when the work is of such large dimensions and involves the expenditure of much labor for a considerable period, so that the private manufacturer may adjust himself and his establishment to the special terms of employment that he must make with his workmen for this particular job. To require, however, that every small contract of manufacture entered into by the Government should be carried out by the contractor with men working at eight hours would be to impose an intolerable burden upon the Government by limiting its sources of supply and excluding altogether the great majority of those who would otherwise compete for its business.

"The proposed act recognizes this in the exceptions which it makes to contracts, 'for transportation by land or water, for the transmission of intelligence, and for such materials or articles as may usually be bought in the open market, whether made to conform to particular specifications or not, or for the purchase of supplies by the Government, whether manufactured to conform to particular specifications or not.'

#### *Substitute for Pending Bill.*

"I recommend that, instead of enacting the proposed bill, the meaning of which is not clear and definite and might be given a construction embarrassing to the public interest, the present act be enlarged by providing that public works shall be construed to include not only buildings and work upon public ground, but also ships, armor, and large guns when manufactured in private yards or factories.

#### *Provision for Suspension in Emergencies by President.*

"One of the great difficulties in enforcing this eight-hour law is that its application under certain emergencies becomes exceedingly oppressive and there is a great temptation to subordinate officials to evade it. I think that it would be wiser to allow the President, by Executive order, to declare an emergency in special instances in which the limitation might not apply and, in such cases, to permit the payment by the Government of extra compensation for the time worked each day in excess of eight hours. I may add that my suggestions in respect to this legislation have the full concurrence of the Commissioner of Labor."

Your attention is respectfully called to the fact that Honorable George von L. Meyer, Secretary of the Navy, appearing before the Naval Appropriations Committee, made statements which, to say the least, unfriendly criticised the clause contained in the Naval Appropriations law, providing for the construction of battleships, etc., under the eight-hour provision of the law. The Secretary, in referring to the fact that the shipbuilders of this country obtained a contract for two great battleships from Argentina, said (page 340 of the printed proceedings of the hearing):

"Unfortunately, right in the very first stages of their competing successfully with the shipbuilding concerns of other countries, an amendment is put on the appropriation bill which forbids these companies to build a United States battleship unless the work done is on an eight-hour basis, which means an increase in the cost of about 20 per cent, and which means that it will be difficult to compete in the future with foreign shipbuilding concerns. It would probably necessarily mean two organizations in one shipyard."

You, as President of the United States, recommended the passage of a law for the extension of the eight-hour law, and it seems exceedingly peculiar that the Secretary of the Navy, under your administration, and a member of your Cabinet, should seek the repeal of a law already on the statute books in line with your Presidential recommendation,

Because the men of labor are so intensely interested in this species of legislation, it would be interesting to know whether you, as expressed in your message, or the Secretary of the Navy, as expressed before the Naval Committee, represents the actual wishes of your administration in regard to eight-hour legislation.

Trusting that I may have an answer at your early convenience, I have the honor to remain,

Yours, very respectfully,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

*President, American Federation of Labor.*

Hon. WILLIAM H. TAFT, President of the United States, Washington, D. C.

#### THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, *February 18, 1911.*

MY DEAR SIR: I have yours of February 10, and beg to advise you that I have not changed in any way my opinion in respect to the eight hours a day law. I have referred your letter to the Secretary of the Navy, who advises me that he declined to express an opinion on the main question when pressed by the Naval Committee; that he simply gave them the facts with reference to the additional cost arising upon the necessity for a limitation of eight hours a day in the work in a private shipyard, and thinks it was all that he should do.

If Congress enters upon the policy I have recommended, it should know exactly what the additional cost to the Government is.

The expression you quote from the Secretary was an expression of his own opinion and not of the administration, and was a casual expression and incidental to the conference in which he was engaged, and not intended to be a declaration one way or the other.

The attitude of the administration upon the subject is unchanged.

Sincerely yours,

WM. H. TAFT.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, Esquire, 801 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

During the consideration of the Naval Appropriations bill, in the House on February 21, when the sections were reached providing appropriations for the construction of new battleships, torpedo boats, colliers, etc., Representative Hughes of New Jersey offered the following amendment:

"Provided, that no part of this appropriation shall be expended for the construction of any boat by any person, firm, or corporation, which has not at the time of commencement and during the construction of said vessels established an eight-hour workday for all employees, laborers, and mechanics engaged, or to be engaged, in the construction of the vessels named herein."

The chairman of the committee, Mr. Foss of Illinois, made a point of order that this amendment was new legislation. It was sustained by the chair, Mr. Currier of

New Hampshire, who took as his precedent a ruling by Mr. Mann of Illinois, on a former similar occasion. A spirited debate ensued. Messrs. Fitzgerald of New York, Kendall of Iowa, and Poindexter of Washington, made elaborate and powerful arguments in favor of the contention made by Mr. Hughes; the chair was overruled by a vote of 111 "nays" to 96 "yeas." (I report this in detail, because of the great significance and important principles it establishes—First: The House decided its own power over the rulings of its presiding officer or the peculiar inclinations of a departmental Secretary. Second: The House emphatically decided that it was perfectly parliamentary for it to include contractual specifications in its appropriation bills.) The same proviso was offered by Mr. Hughes in two other sections of the bill, both of which carried without further contest.

When those sections of the bill were reached proposing to repeal the eight-hour proviso in last year's bill and the other sections I have already referred to, points of order were made against them and they went out of the bill in short order; in fact, the House did not divide upon any of them.

Chairman Foss and his committee then acted as though they had lost all interest in the fate of the Naval Appropriations bill.

When the bill came up in the Senate, the second eight-hour proviso was amended to make it apply specifically to battleships, and the bill was strengthened by adding sufficient appropriations to complete last year's battleship in the Brooklyn Navy Yard, and the collier authorized in 1908 to be completed at the Mare Island Navy Yard.

The Secretary of the Navy then took the matter up with the Comptroller of the Treasury, inquiring as to the eight-hour provision, and Comptroller Tracewell rendered the following opinion:

"I am of opinion that the limitation on the use of the appropriation in question applies to the employes, laborers, or mechanics engaged or to be engaged in the construction of these vessels, of the person, firm, or corporation to whom the contract for their construction is let, and is limited to such employes, laborers, or mechanics as are in the employ of such contractor and subject to his hiring or discharge, and not to the employes, laborers, or mechanics of other persons, firms, or corporations who in the usual course of business may furnish to such contractors materials entering into the construction of said vessels. Giving the act a different construction than the above would make it practically impossible to secure a contractor and would result in penalizing him, if obtained, on account of matters which he is powerless to control. I do think, however, that the restriction operates in favor of the employes, laborers, and mechanics engaged in the construction of these vessels wherever they may be, provided they are in the employ of a person, firm, or corporation who has contracted directly with the Government to build one of these vessels, or parts thereof, and all such persons, firms, or corporations in order to secure payment under such contract should show that all their employes, laborers, or mechanics engaged in the construction of these vessels, wherever their situs, are working under an eight-hour employment day."

This action of Congress and decision of the Comptroller mark an advance in governmental recognition of the eight-hour law.

I have reported this matter more in detail than usual—first, because the substance of the contest should be recorded; secondly, because certain important precedents and principles have been established that may be observed in future with other appropriation bills, such as that of Rivers and Harbors, Fortifications, etc.; thirdly, because it demonstrates that Congress is favorably disposed to an eight-hour day; fourthly, because it is a rebuke to the standpat obstinacy that has dominated the House and Senate Committees on Labor for so many years; fifthly, because it demonstrates the cohesive, persistent, and resourceful qualities contained in the organizations composing the American Federation of Labor in the remarkable contest they have waged so continuously to extend the beneficent effects of the eight-hour law on Government work.

In the special session of the present Congress, Representative Hughes of New Jersey introduced H. R. No. 9061 and Senator Borah, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, introduced S. No. 2791. These bills are identical in character and are in line with labor's demands. They have been introduced for the purpose of still further extending the operations of the eight-hour law. The House Committee on Labor

through its Chairman, Representative William B. Wilson, reported the Hughes bill favorably to the House, on August 21, with an amendment which strengthens the bill. It is my opinion that this measure will pass the next session of Congress, provided our organizations urge it as persistently and as vigorously as they have similar measures in past years.

#### WOMEN AND CHILD LABOR INVESTIGATION.

The official investigation of the condition of working women and children, which the American Federation of Labor was successful in persuading the Fifty-ninth Congress to institute, has been concluded. Eleven of these volumes are published and being distributed. No. 1 treats with women and children engaged in the cotton textile industry; No. 2, in the ready-made clothing industry; No. 3, in the glass industry; No. 4, in the silk industry; No. 5, in stores and factories; No. 6, the beginnings of child labor legislation in certain States—a comparative study; No. 7, the conditions under which children leave school to go to work; No. 8, juvenile delinquency and its relation to employment; No. 10, history of women in trade unions; No. 11, employment of women in the metal trades. They are so exhaustive that it is impossible to give even an epitome of them at this time, but I urge our members to apply to the United States Commissioner of Labor, Washington, D. C., for copies of these reports in which they are especially interested.

The results of this investigation have fully justified the action of the American Federation of Labor in behalf of such an inquiry being made. The last volume, No. 11, in speaking of "Accidents in the metal trades," contains five specific conclusions, as follows:

"The conclusions to which a student of accidents in the metal trades must come, as set forth in the foregoing pages (of this inquiry), may be summarized as follows:

"1. The hazard to women in these industries is distinct and considerable.

"2. When men and women work at the same task its dangers menace the woman much more seriously.

"3. The employments of children have in general only those dangers common to all factory work. Their employment at dangerous tasks is rare and seems to be decreasing.

"4. *Negligence of the worker as a cause of accident has been greatly over-emphasized.*

"5. *The accidents of most frequent occurrence are largely preventable.*"

What more can be said other than to extend a creditable recognition to the public officials who will make such a faithful, honest report?

The contentions of the American Federation of Labor in behalf of this investigation are herein held justified, and if the cold-blooded facts and figures contained in these reports are properly presented to responsible committees in the several State Legislatures, they will be sufficient to substantiate and prove the need of suitable legislative remedies in behalf of the reasonable restriction of females and minors in dangerous employments and of better safety devices installed with more rigid and intelligent inspection for the welfare of all the workers.

#### CHILD LABOR AND CHILDREN'S BUREAU.

The bill introduced in the Senate in the Sixty-first Congress by Senator Flint of California for the purpose of establishing a Children's Bureau in the Department of Commerce and Labor passed the Senate on February 14, 1911. It was reported to the House and referred to the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Commerce and Labor, and every possible effort made to get that committee to report, but without success. Consequently, the bill died in the House committee. During the present Congress it has been reintroduced as S. No. 252 by Senator Borah of Idaho and as H. R. No. 4694 by Representative Peters of Massachusetts, and referred to the Committee on Labor and Education in the Senate and the Committee on Labor in the House. On August 14 Senator Borah, Chairman of the Senate committee, reported the bill favorably without amendment. From the sentiment prevailing in favor of this measure there is little doubt that favorable action on this measure will be taken during the coming session; provided, of course, that our organizations press it home upon their Representatives that they desire this legislation.



**EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY—WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.**

This part of my report should be considered as a continuation of the matter I reported to the St. Louis Convention upon the subject of employers' liability and workmen's compensation, and in which were summarized the employers' liability laws of the several States or groups of States, and in which special attention was called to the evils of the defenses known as "Fellow-Servant Doctrine," "Assumption of Risk," "Contributory Negligence," and the "Waiving of Rights" to secure employment.

Resolution No. 131, adopted by the St. Louis Convention, instructed the officers of the Federation to "supply copies of the different laws now in existence and in force relative to employers' liability and workmen's compensation acts, as well as copies of such bills as may be proposed, dealing with this subject, to the various secretaries of the State Federations of Labor, where such laws do not exist and where it is intended to try and have such laws enacted, to the end that the best information may be at their command for their guidance in the presentation of bills before such legislative bodies as may have to deal with this subject."

It can be safely stated that the full spirit and intent of these directions have been followed by the officers of the Federation during the past year. The correspondence from and to headquarters on the subject of liability and compensation has equalled that on any other subject, so far as matters of legislation are concerned. Copies of employers' liability bills abrogating all of the old common-law defenses were drafted and very generally distributed, not only to the constituent elements of the American Federation of Labor but to many citizens who were making a special study of this subject, as well as to many members of State Legislatures and executive officials in State governments.

A number of conferences were held by officers of the Federation on the special feature of preparing a "sketch model" workmen's compensation bill for introduction in the several State Legislatures or for consideration by the commissions that had been appointed in the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Montana, Washington, Idaho, Kansas, Missouri, Michigan, and Iowa. This educational work has been persistently carried on during the year to such an extent that we can very consistently say that the American Federation of Labor has been the hub upon which the greatest dependence has been placed by the people of our States giving these grave subjects their serious consideration. In fact it has been the clearing-house for information on such matters.

The further spirit of the resolution in which the President and Secretary were instructed to supply copies of the various laws now in existence and in force for circulation was carried out to the fullest possible extent, and in every case where correspondence was had with union members special requests were made for them to promptly advise the Federation as to the results they secured. Many of these correspondents faithfully responded, and it is deemed fitting to add at this time that it should not be necessary for us to urgently prompt all of our people to see to it in future, as soon as a new law affecting the interests of labor is proposed in any Legislature that copies be forwarded to the Federation for its counsel and advice, and, particularly, to furnish the Federation with copies of such laws enacted as affect the interests of labor, particularly on vital subjects, so that we will always be in a position to accurately advise inquirers. This is mentioned because it is one of the most practical methods of attaining the goal of uniform State legislation; not only uniform in kind but of the best character.

It is gratifying to report that, from our latest information, progressive legislation on the subject of liability and compensation has been enacted by the States of Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Jersey, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, California, Florida, Illinois, Kansas, Vermont, Washington, and Wisconsin. During the recent sessions of the Legislature in these States the old statutes were either amended or new ones were enacted that will prove great blessings to the workers of those States, and will prove blessings to citizens in neighboring States by the stimulus of good example. As the Executive Council will report upon this matter in complete detail I will not duplicate that part of its report, other than to add that the progress made upon these subjects through the influence of the American Federation of Labor has been fairly satisfactory. But the matter is not concluded, and no time must be taken to indulge in rest so long as the evils complained of under the peculiar reasoning of many of our courts exist. The antiquated judicial fallacies of "fellow-servant," "assumption of risk," "contributory negligence" must be consigned to the limbo of tradition with no regrets that they have

finally reached their lasting, peaceful resting place. We must steadfastly continue to be on guard at every session of every Legislature, in State and nation, in order to see that the best interests of the workers are not merely conserved but advanced.

The Federal Commission appointed by the Sixty-first Congress to inquire into the general subject-matter of employers' liability and workmen's compensation held extended hearings, and it has been industriously at work during the summer. It is expected it will make a report early during the next session of Congress.

During the session of Congress just closed the following bills were introduced: H. R. No. 1681 by Mr. Gillette of Massachusetts and H. R. No. 1695 by Mr. Sterling of Illinois, for the purpose of amending the present law governing compensation for accidents to Federal employes. These bills have been urged by the American Federation of Labor in order to so amend the present law as to bring it up to the standard and within the requirements of the original bill drafted by the American Federation of Labor and urged for passage before the Sixtieth Congress. They have been referred to the Committee on Judiciary, and it is hoped that after the report of the Federal Commission has been considered by the Judiciary Committee that the bills already mentioned may meet with a favorable response from the committee and Congress. Other bills have been introduced by several members proposing amendments to the present Federal law to include employes in additionally hazardous occupations not included in the present act.

#### LOCOMOTIVE BOILER INSPECTION.

The first step has been taken by the Congress, in response to the demands made upon it by the organizations of labor, in behalf of the inspection of locomotive boilers. On January 10, 1911, the bill, S. No. 6702, was passed by the Senate without division. It was reported to the House on January 23, and passed that body without material change on February 7. It was approved by the President February 17. This law provides for the appointment by the President, with confirmation by the Senate, of a chief inspector and two assistant chief inspectors, who shall have practical knowledge of the construction and repairing of boilers and be otherwise properly qualified. They are required to have a force of fifty district inspectors, to be selected after competitive examination under Civil Service rules. The district inspectors must have had practical experience in the work of construction, repairing, operation, and testing of locomotive boilers. There is no doubt that this law has had, and will have, a widespread influence for good and be the means of saving many lives and preventing much suffering, and, while it may be said that it does not go as far as might be desired, yet, in the light of all experience obtained in the development of safety-appliance legislation on railroads, this first step as applied to locomotive boiler inspection is more far-reaching than earlier efforts have been looking to the safety of life and limb on the interstate railroads of our country.

#### THE HATTERS' CASE.

On April 10 the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals for the district of New York and New England handed down its decision upon the appeal in the Hatters' case. The decision reversed the judgment of the trial Federal court over which Judge Platt presided and in which under his instructions the jury returned a verdict mulcting the Hatters in the sum of \$232,240.12. It will be remembered that the original case was started at Danbury, Connecticut, over seven years ago, resulting from a strike which was called in the Loewe Factory July 25, 1902, 242 employes, union and non-union, ceasing work. Suit was brought by Loewe & Co. August 31, 1903, under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, \$80,000 damages were alleged, and threefold damages under that law claimed.

The Hatters claimed that the Hatters' Union and other unions were not engaged in trade or commerce, and therefore did not come under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust law. Relying upon these points the Hatters made no defense upon the bill of complaint. Judge Platt of the Federal Circuit Court of Connecticut maintained this position and dismissed the complaint. Loewe, or rather the Anti-Boycott Association, appealed to the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals, and both parties agreed that that court should certify the case and ask the question of the United States Supreme Court as to whether a suit of the kind could be maintained under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust law. February 3, 1908, the United States Supreme Court decided that the case could be maintained. The case was then tried before Judge Platt and a jury, and lasted over four months. Judge Platt instructed the jury that they must find for Loewe &

Co. and left to the jury the question only of how much damage Loewe & Co. showed they sustained. The jury, as stated, awarded \$232,240.12.

Since the starting of the suit in 1902 and the beginning of the trial, 26 of the 240 defendants died. Attachments were issued against the homes and savings of 100 of the defendants. The Anti-Boycott Association and the Manufacturers' Association stood behind Loewe & Co. The American Federation of Labor aided in the legal presentation of the case, and in addition gave its moral support to the Hatters. With this verdict against the Hatters, the American Federation of Labor appealed the case for the Hatters to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, and retained as counsel Judge Alton B. Parker, Hon. Frank L. Mulholland of Toledo, Ohio, and Judge John K. Beach of New Haven, Conn. In their brief masterful arguments were made to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, and the unanimous decision of the court reversed the judgment and remanded the case for a new trial. In connection with this famous case it would be well to call your attention to the review of it given in the March, 1908, and the March, 1910, issues of the *American Federationist*.

Our attorney was then requested to take action to secure the refunding of the cost of the appeal to the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals, which was incurred by the Federation and in due course of time the American Anti-Boycott Association paid over the amount of \$5,348.90, which has been placed in the fund for the defense in this case.

We are now advised that the Anti-Boycott Association, in the name of Loewe & Co., has asked for an assignment of the case for retrial and that it is likely to be reached during the January term of the Federal Court in the State of Connecticut.

In reviewing this case it is well to understand just what matters of law have been passed upon by the various courts giving considerations to the questions involved. As heretofore said, the demurrer filed to the complaint of Loewe & Co. admitted for the purposes of the hearing thereon, the truth of all matters correctly pleaded, and the only question which came before the Supreme Court of the United States was whether a cause of action, under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust act, was stated in the complaint. As already stated the court so interpreted that law as to declare that upon the basis of the question submitted, a cause of action existed. It must be borne in mind, however, that the Supreme Court of the United States has not passed upon the state of facts submitted to the court and jury upon the trial of this cause, but has decided that the complainant made a case upon paper sufficient to state a cause of action under the Anti-Trust act.

The Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, in granting a new trial on the merits, reviewed somewhat the decision of the Supreme Court, in the following language:

"This decision [of the United States Supreme Court] also has fixed the law in this case. It is needless to inquire whether boycotts generally, or this variety of boycott, are or are not unlawful at common law, or under the statutes of some particular State. If it be shown that individuals have combined together to induce a manufacturer engaged in interstate commerce to conduct his business as they wish, and, upon his refusal, further combine not only to prevent him from manufacturing articles intended for interstate commerce, but also to prevent his vendees in other States from reselling the articles which they had imported from the State of manufacture, or from further negotiating for the purchase and inter-transportation of such articles, the combiners intending thereby to destroy or obstruct an existing interstate traffic, such combination of individuals must be held to have essentially obstructed the free flow of commerce between the States. A combination to effect such an obstruction is a violation of the Anti-Trust act."

Attempting still further to define the law as applicable to this particular case, the Circuit Court of Appeals in granting a new trial said:

"It may be well, however, that we should indicate for the guidance of the Circuit Court in the new trial that, as we understand the decision of the Supreme Court in this case, there may be a distinction drawn between—

"(a) A combination to cause a strike in a manufactory located in a particular State, where the important object is the unionizing of the factory, although a part of its product, if manufactured, would have become the subject of interstate trade; and

"(b) A combination directly to restrain and put a stop to the importation by a person in one State of goods produced at a manufactory in another State, although the ultimate result sought to be obtained by such restraint might merely be the changing of conditions in that particular manufactory."

The above quotations appear to settle the law, as laid down by the courts, upon this branch of the case as nearly as can be stated in any general proposition. It will still be a question, of course, in any particular case, of what amounts to a "prevention" or "putting a stop to" the importation of articles from another State.

Upon the trial of this case before Judge Platt of the Federal Court for the State of Connecticut, the Anti-Boycott Association claimed—and succeeded in impressing the court with the opinion—that mere membership in the organization known as the United Hatters of North America, and the payment of dues therein, made one a party to a conspiracy to commit the unlawful acts charged against certain individual members and officers of that association. The Court of Appeals in its opinion granting a new trial properly disposes of that contention. We quote:

"It has been argued here that the mere fact that an individual defendant was a member of, or contributed money to the treasury of, the United Hatters' Association made him the principal of any and all agents who might be employed by its officers to carry out the objects of the association, and responsible as principal if such agents used illegal methods or caused illegal methods to be used, in undertaking to carry out those objects. We can not assent to this proposition. . . . Something more must be shown, as, for instance, that, with the knowledge of the members, unlawful means had been so frequently used, with the expressed or tacit approval of the association, that its agents were warranted in assuming that they might use such unlawful means in the future; that the association and its individual members would approve or tolerate such use whenever the end sought to be obtained might be best obtained thereby."

The Anti-Boycott Association, through its attorneys, contended that the payment of dues by certain defendants after they had received knowledge of the alleged unlawful acts of their officers, through the service upon them of summons in this case, was competent evidence tending to show that the acts of their officers were authorized at the time they were performed, and the anti-boycott attorneys succeeded in convincing Judge Platt, the trial Judge, that this contention was correct. The Court of Appeals, however, took exceptions to the admission of such evidence and held this testimony incompetent.

From what we are able to gather from the decisions of the courts, it is apparent that upon the retrial of this case each individual defendant will have to be in some way connected with the alleged conspiracy set forth in the bill of complaint before a verdict for the plaintiff can be secured. We understand that the courts have decided that the pecuniary liability of a defendant in this action does not depend solely upon his continued membership in a labor union whose officers and agents have committed the alleged unlawful acts, but that further evidence must be introduced tending to show that such defendant either participated in or authorized the performance of the unlawful acts in question. This case now stands for a new trial on the merits, and is not unlike any other conspiracy case. These men will not now be presumed guilty of conspiracy. It will not be assumed that merely because they are union men they have entered into an "unlawful combination," but each defendant will stand upon his own defense, and will not be charged with responsibility for alleged unlawful acts committed in the furtherance of a conspiracy, until it has been clearly established by competent evidence that he was a party to the "conspiracy."

#### INJUNCTION-CONTEMPT-APPEAL-RETRIAL.

Since my last report much has happened in connection with the contempt proceedings and other litigation growing out of the original action of the American Anti-Boycott Association brought in the name of the Buck's Stove and Range Company.

An adjustment having been obtained in regard to our former difficulties with that company, when the appeals on the injunction were reached in the Supreme Court of the United States, that court indicated its conclusion that there was no longer a real legal dispute between our organization and the company, and that it would be unwilling to pass upon a case which was then purely moot. Following this intimation, the Supreme Court directed that the appeals taken by both the company and ourselves should be dismissed, the costs to be equally divided.

With regard to the contempt case against Messrs. Mitchell and Morrison and myself, the history was somewhat different. After Mr. Justice Wright, in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, had found all of us guilty of contempt, and sentenced Mr. Mitchell to a punishment of nine months in jail, Mr. Morrison to six months and myself to a year, we, through our attorneys, considering the decision unjust, took an appeal. Our attorneys regarded the petition filed by the plaintiffs as civil in its nature, and the appeal was arranged accordingly. Upon the hearing in the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, that court confirmed the sentences of Judge Wright, and held that the appeal was not taken in such manner as enabled it to consider the merits of the case, it having been treated as an appeal in equity, which would have been proper as a civil contempt, while the court regarded it as a purely legal matter, which should have been the subject of what is technically known as a bill of exceptions.

We applied to the Supreme Court of the United States for the issuance of a writ of certiorari, representing to that body the magnitude of the case and the importance of the questions involved. The Supreme Court granted the writ, and the case, on our own part as well as our appeal in the principal case, was argued at great length on our behalf by Judge Alton B. Parker and Mr. Jackson H. Ralston, there appearing against us Joseph J. Darlington and Daniel Davenport, who, the Buck's Stove and Range Company having dropped out of all real interest in the conflict, represented the so-called American Anti-Boycott Association.

After a full hearing, the Supreme Court of the United States upheld the contentions of our attorneys that the proceedings were civil in their nature, and that the appeal to the Court of Appeals was properly taken in the manner it was. Following largely the lines laid down in the argument of our counsel, the Supreme Court held that the petition in contempt, originally filed in the name of the Buck's Stove and Range Company, was civil in its nature, and not criminal, but that the punishment undertaken to be meted out to the respondents was of a criminal character, its purpose having been apparently to vindicate the dignity of the court rather than to remedy the ills from which the company claimed originally to have suffered and desired to be cured. Considering, therefore, that the company had asked for something which was remedial in its nature, whereas the relief granted by Mr. Justice Wright was simply punitive, the Supreme Court reversed the decision of Justice Wright, which had been affirmed by the Court of Appeals, and sent back the cause to the lower courts, in the following language:

"The judgment of the Court of Appeals is reversed and the case remanded with directions to reverse the judgment of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia and remand the case to that court with direction that the contempt proceedings instituted by the Buck's Stove and Range Company be dismissed, but without prejudice to the power and right of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia to punish by a proper proceeding contempt, if any, committed against it."

On the morning after the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States was orally rendered, and before any official or authentic copy of the decision was obtainable by any one, Justice Wright, taking advantage of the decision of the court, appointed a committee, consisting of the attorneys in the original injunction and contempt case, Messrs. Darlington, Davenport, and Beck, to make an investigation and report whether there be good cause for believing that Messrs. Mitchell, Morrison, and I were guilty of contempt of court.

The "committee" formulated charges and presented them to the court, and my colleagues and myself were cited to show cause why we should not be punished for contempt.

Our attorneys sought to have the case tried before another Judge than Justice Wright. This was overruled, and at a later session, because in the meantime I had testified before a committee of the United States Senate, during the course of which the course pursued by Justice Wright was brought by me to the attention of this committee, Justice Wright took cognizance of my statement to the Senatorial committee for further justification of his refusal to have another Judge try the case. Whereupon, because Justice Wright had in the previous case shown that his mind was biased against us, and because of his latest expression in regard to me, our counsel renewed the motion for the case to be tried before another Judge of the same court, which in turn Justice Wright overruled.

The committee of attorneys appointed by the court asked Justice Wright to refer the taking of testimony in the contempt proceedings to an Examiner. Our counsel opposed, and urged that the case be heard in open court, where irrelevant testimony would be excluded and my colleagues and myself guaranteed the rights to which we were entitled, to be confronted by our accusing witnesses, and to answer the same if necessary.

At this writing Justice Wright has under consideration his decision upon this point. In either event, the case will proceed shortly, whether in open court or before an Examiner, to be subject to the court's decision.

It should be understood that when a case of this character is referred to an Examiner, obedience to subpoena, even to the defendants to testify against themselves, is expected to be obeyed, and that they are expected to answer any and all questions put, no matter how irrelevant they may be. It is true that counsel may object to the questions, but the answer is expected and under order of the court compelled to be given. It is true that when the written testimony is presented, the court may exclude these questions and the answers, but they have been written and are read by the Judge, and must have some influence in forming his judgment and decision.

### POLICE OPPRESSION—THE THIRD DEGREE—EXTRADITION.

In the report which I had the honor to submit to the St. Louis Convention, reference, together with recommendations for a remedy, was made to police oppression and the infliction of what has become notorious as the "third degree." The committee to whom was referred the subject-matter indorsed not only the declarations, but the recommendations, and it was decided to urge the State Federation and city central bodies to have enacted, by their respective State Legislatures, a law that shall put an end to this species of barbarism perpetrated upon accused persons and to safeguard the rights inherent to every citizen of a civilized community.

On December 29 last, a circular was issued to the State and central bodies upon this subject. In reply, much encouraging information was received, and a determination expressed on the part of all to see to it that the laws shall be so amended, or so enforced, as to guarantee the right of presumption of the innocence of unconvicted men, even though they be suspected and accused. In several States reformatory action, either by law or administration, has followed.

The U. S. Senate Committee on Judiciary adopted the following resolution:

*"Resolved, That a select committee of five members of the Senate be appointed by the Vice-President to inquire into and report to the Senate the facts as to the alleged practice of administering what is known as 'the third degree' ordeal by officers or employes of the United States for the purpose of extorting from those charged with crime statements and confessions, and also as to any other practices tending to prevent or impair the fair and impartial administration of the criminal law," etc.*

The committee made an extended investigation, on July 8 giving me a hearing. I made an extended argument citing numerous cases of police oppression under "the third degree" ordeal, and particularly emphasized the kidnapping of John J. and James B. McNamara. I recited to the Senate committee the details of the methods employed by the Burns Detective Agency men in their sensational farce tragedy circuitous routes in transporting the McNamaras to Los Angeles, evidently planned to avoid habeas corpus or other legal processes being served. I especially pointed out to the committee that it is only workingmen in the United States of America upon whom such dastardly outrages are perpetrated.

The select committee made a report to the Senate on August 4, 1911, in which it stated that from its investigation and from testimony elicited from Major Sylvester, Superintendent of the Metropolitan Police, Washington, D. C., who has also been President of the International Police Chiefs' Association for ten years, that it was his experience, that while there were instances of brutality by police officers from time to time in various parts of the country, they were sporadic and were not the regular practice." The special committee also reported:

"It appears from testimony taken before the committee that in important cases involving violations of the Federal statutes, upon application by the

District Attorney, the Department of Justice authorizes the employment of special United States Marshals and specially appointed investigators to watch the jury for the purpose of preventing jurymen from being tampered with. This committee deprecates this practice or custom, although it may be justified upon the ground that, inasmuch as the accused or his friends may employ men to watch the jury, therefore the Government should be allowed the same privilege. This committee regards the employment of men by either the prosecution or the defense for the purpose of shadowing jurymen as liable to great abuse. The spectacle of a sworn jury shadowed by secret employes of both parties to the suit during the entire period of a trial does not seem to this committee to comport with the impartial administration of justice."

The committee closed its report with the following:

"Clause 2 of section 2 of Article IV (United States Constitution) provides for what is known as the extradition of a person charged with crime who shall flee from justice and be found in another State. Under the authority of this clause of the Constitution several instances have occurred where persons alleged to have committed a crime in one State and fled into another State have, upon the requisition of the State where the crime was alleged to have been committed, and the warrant of the Governor of the State to which the person so charged with crime had fled, been taken before a court and remanded to the custody of the agent of the State in which the crime was alleged to have been committed and by him returned to the State from which he was alleged to have fled, without affording any opportunity to the person so charged with crime to test the legality of the proceedings against him or the jurisdiction of the court granting judgment against him. The courts have held that if the person so charged with crime is within their jurisdiction when produced for trial they will not inquire into the legality of the proceedings by which he was brought within their jurisdiction. Although such a proceeding may not strictly fall within the province of this committee as a practice tending to impede the impartial administration of the Federal criminal law and may not be resorted to so frequently as to properly constitute a practice, still, in the opinion of this committee the extradition of a person charged with crime and his transfer from one State to another—perhaps far distant and by a route calculated to prevent his obtaining a writ of habeas corpus to test the validity of the proceedings which resulted in his arrest and transportation—presents a condition of affairs, which, if possible, should be made impossible, by legislation.

"If the court, before whom the person charged with crime is brought, in reality has no jurisdiction, and the person is deprived of any opportunity to test that question by reason of his hasty transportation to and custody in a remote part of the United States, he has to all intents and purposes been kidnapped, and such person would seem to have been deprived of his liberty without due process of law. We therefore recommend to the consideration of Congress whether Congress can not constitutionally provide some remedy against the possibility of injustice in the execution of extradition under clause 2 of section 2 of Article IV of the Constitution of the United States, either by providing that the person so charged with crime shall not be removed from the State in which he is found within a certain number of days, thus affording him an opportunity to test the validity of his arrest and extradition in habeas corpus proceedings, or in some other manner if authority for any such exists."

While Congress was recently in session the following measures were introduced bearing upon the subject of extradition, the action taking its inspiration from the extraordinary procedures connected with the hasty and alleged illegal extradition of the McNamaras. On the first day Congress convened, Representative Henry of Texas introduced a bill, H. R. 4658, for the purpose of amending section 5278 of the Revised Statutes of the United States bearing upon extradition procedures. Bill H. R. 8469, very similar in character, was later introduced by Representative Korbly of Indiana, also H. R. 11174 by Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania; H. R. 13241 by Mr. Good of Iowa, and H. R. 13804 by Mr. Buchanan of Illinois, and on April 25 Representative Berger of Wisconsin introduced House Concurrent Resolution No. 6, citing part of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which ordains that no State shall deprive any person

of "life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws," followed by this resolution: "That a committee of each house be appointed to investigate the arrest and extradition of the said McNamaras, and to report its findings to the two houses at the earliest practicable moment." This resolution was referred to the Committee on Rules, and two days later, on April 27, hearings were had, which were continued for two days. Representative Berger defended his resolution, the Chairman, Mr. Henry, adding that all the Congressmen had received many memorials. Frank M. Ryan, General President of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union, Leo M. Rappaport, attorney for that organization, Representative Wilson of Pennsylvania and others appeared before the committee in behalf of the resolution. As it was impossible for me to be present in person, on account of a previous engagement, I addressed the following letter to the Chairman, which was made a part of the record:

## AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,

WASHINGTON, D. C., *May 24, 1911.*

HON. R. L. HENRY, Chairman, Committee on Rules, House of Representatives,  
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 22d instant, advising me that you have called a meeting of the Committee on Rules for Saturday morning, May 27, at eleven o'clock, and inviting me to be on hand at the time for the purpose of making a statement to the committee in favor of the resolution introduced by Hon. Victor Berger, came duly to hand.

I regret to say that it will be impossible for me to be at the session of the committee. Your letter reached me on Tuesday. On Monday I received an urgent telegram and later a long-distance telephone message, and found it necessary to make an engagement to deliver an address at Cooper Union, New York City, on Friday evening, May 26, and incidentally have made other arrangements which will necessitate my remaining in New York for the following day.

May I take advantage of this opportunity to submit to you and the committee a few of the reasons why, in my judgment, an investigation should be had either by joint committee of Congress or by a committee of the House of Representatives?

While attending to his official duties on Saturday evening, April 22, 1911, John J. McNamara, an officer of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Union, in the city of Indianapolis, Ind., was arrested without warrant, and taken to a police court, which had no jurisdiction in matters of extradition. He was denied the right to be heard by himself or by counsel, and was then manacled and in that condition taken out of the State of Indiana across the continent, and confined in a jail in Los Angeles, Cal.

It is needless for me to say that no self-respecting, humane citizen can have any sympathy, either with killing or the policy of killing, and this without regard whether the crime has been committed by a high official or one of the submerged in the social strata. Our civilization presumes the highest regard for human life and human liberty.

The meanest man in all our country is guaranteed rights which neither State nor nation is warranted in taking from him, even though he be suspected of or charged with crime. Every man in our country is assumed to be innocent of any crime until he has been proven guilty and so pronounced by a jury of his peers; and until John J. McNamara has been proven guilty, after fair and impartial trial, the law holds him innocent. The abduction from his home State is a crime against justice, liberty, and the rights of man. Mr. McNamara was not a fugitive from justice.

The Governor of a State in which a crime has been committed may certainly make demand upon the Governor of another State in which the person charged with crime is located for the surrender of the person so charged, but the person demanded has always been granted the right to be heard before such a demand or requisition has been honored and complied with, that he or others in his behalf may have an opportunity before the courts of the State in which he is found to review and determine whether the requisition papers are ample or authentic; whether the grounds of complaint are sufficient; whether there exists an illegal or improper design even under the forms of law to take a citizen away from his home and from his State and to take him to a foreign State for an ulterior purpose.



The law and the practice are that a person shall be protected by the government of the State in which he lives against being deprived of his liberty or his life without due process of law, or being handed over to the Governor of another State without the opportunity of setting up even a preliminary or formal defense so as to show that he has a right to the protection of the State against an untenable or unlawful demand of another State.

Ample evidence is at hand that the safeguards guaranteed by law were flagrantly disregarded, and John J. McNamara surrendered without a moment's preparation or opportunity to avail himself of his lawful rights and railroaded to a California prison.

Right here I should say that under our Government the States are as much foreign to each other in the administration of their criminal law as is, say, for instance, a foreign country to the Government of the United States, except that in the former—the State—the State Governors and courts are the arbiters and in the latter the President of the United States and the potentates of the foreign countries and their representative courts are the determining officials.

Is it conceivable that the President of the United States would have surrendered an American citizen to a foreign government upon its requisition without giving him an opportunity to avail himself of his lawful rights and a chance to show that some mistake, some terrible mistake, has been made?

Suppose such a citizen might be able to show that a conspiracy had been entered into by some foreign power to get him into its jurisdiction and domain with the ulterior purpose of taking his life or depriving him of his liberty.

Would and should not an American citizen be given the chance to show these?

If these contentions are true, and no liberty-loving, right-thinking American will dispute it, then it follows that this course should also have been pursued by the Governor of Indiana, and that he should not have done as he has done, allow the practical kidnapping of these men.

The entire proceedings in this case thus far have been characterized by high-handed outrage and violation of the constitutional and statutory guarantees, and are repugnant to the conception of human justice as understood and accepted by our American life, our American manhood, since the foundation of our Republic.

It is not appropriate here to even refer to the guilt or innocence of Mr. McNamara. That many of our fellow-citizens and I believe in his innocence is not a question for your committee to consider, but that a great outrage and violation of fundamental guaranties has been committed; that the subject is one deserving of the investigation of a special committee of the House of Representatives; that at least in the future the same travesty on law and outrage of justice may be prevented, should appeal to every right-thinking and patriotic American citizen. I sincerely hope that the Committee on Rules will report such a resolution favorably to the House of Representatives, and that the same will be adopted.

Very respectfully yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
*President, American Federation of Labor.*

The committee showed a sympathetic interest in the matter, Mr. Madison, one of its members, going so far as to say: "The committee has been very favorably impressed with the candor and fairness and the information which has been given." The chairman, Mr. Henry, after summing up the position of the committee in favor of having the whole subject-matter referred to the Judiciary Committee, said: "Personally, speaking for myself, I see no objection to reporting this testimony to the House for whatever action they may want to take. Then, of course, the Committee on the Judiciary can give hearings." Mr. Dalzell, of Pennsylvania, one of the members of the committee, added: "I think this testimony should be submitted to the Committee on the Judiciary if it has a bill before it which is germane." Mr. Berger, after consultation with friends of his resolution, responded as follows: "I believe it would be satisfactory to me to send it to the House, because after all, McNamara is to be tried in California. In fact, he is to be tried now. Just report it to the House with any findings you may make, and that will be satisfactory as far as I am concerned." The chairman concluded the hearings by saying: "We will just submit this hearing to the House and then you can go before the Committee on the Judiciary and have additional hearings." That course was satisfactory to all.

In accordance with this decision of the Committee on Rules, it reported to the

House on June 6 as follows: "The Committee on Rules has had under consideration House Concurrent Resolution No. 6, providing for the appointment of a committee on investigation, and report that they held hearings at which the proponent and all others desiring to be heard appeared and gave testimony. In the opinion of your committee it covered all the material facts that could be elicited by a select committee, and further investigation would throw no additional light on the transaction, and is therefore unnecessary. The testimony is herewith submitted for the information of the House with a view of determining whether or not further legislation is necessary. It is recommended that House Concurrent Resolution No. 6 do lie on the table."

During the debate upon this report, Mr. Henry, chairman of the Committee on Rules, said in the House:

"It is my intention to ask unanimous consent that the testimony taken by the Committee on Rules be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, in order that such committee may inquire whether or not further legislation is necessary in regard to the extradition laws."

Mr. Henry, later in the debate, asked unanimous consent that both testimony and report be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, to which the House agreed.

This matter will be given proper attention during the next session of Congress, when the bills herein referred to on the subject of extradition are duly considered by the Judiciary Committee.

Senator La Follette has introduced bill S. 2694 for the purpose of amending sections 5270 to 5274 of the revised statutes regulating the practices in extradition cases. This was referred to the Senate Committee on Judiciary. Nothing further on this subject has been done by the Senate other than what I have included in the earlier part of this section of my report in reciting the substance of the hearings which I attended before the Select Committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

#### THE POST SUIT AGAINST A. F. OF L.

Since the time of my last report, and following the action of the Supreme Court of the United States, Mr. Post, the owner of Postum Cereal and Grape Nuts, as a stockholder in the Buck's Stove and Range Company, commenced an action in St. Louis to restrain the Buck's Stove and Range Company from carrying out the terms of its settlement with the American Federation of Labor, and also claiming, as a result of the making of such settlement, threefold damages under the Sherman act for the Buck's Stove and Range Company, in which he (Post) was interested as a stockholder. These damages he fixed at \$750,000. The defendants to this action, against which this relief was prayed, included the Buck's Stove and Range Company, the American Federation of Labor, and practically all of its officers and the officers of the local organization in St. Louis, and others.

Our counsel, Mr. Jackson H. Ralston, demurred to the complaint upon the ground that no cause of action whatsoever was stated by it against the American Federation of Labor and the organizations and individuals affiliated with it. This demurrer was fully heard last May, and in the following month was decided by Judge Dyer of the United States Court at St. Louis in our favor and the bill directed to be dismissed. From this decision of Judge Dyer an appeal has been taken to the United States Court of Appeals, and the cause on appeal will come on for hearing in January. Our attorneys assure us that they confidently expect an affirmation of the decree of Judge Dyer—that is, that the dismissal of the suit will be sustained. However, regardless of the fact that there is no merit in the suit brought by the unscrupulous labor hater Post, we must needs defend our rights in this litigation or be mulcted in damages by default.

#### ANTI-TRUST AND INJUNCTION LIMITATION BILLS.

During the whole of the existence of the Sixty-first Congress it was an absolute impossibility to obtain any direct action from either the Judiciary Committee of the House or that of the Senate upon the bills introduced at the instance of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of amending the anti-trust law or for the limitation of the issuing of injunctions, but during the short session, when the bill for the "Codification of Laws Relating to the Judiciary" came up in the House, on December 7, 1910, Representative William B. Wilson of Pennsylvania took advantage of an opportunity to offer his bill dealing with injunction limitation as an amendment to the "Codification" bill.

Some expert parliamentary athletics were immediately indulged in by Mr. Moon of Pennsylvania and others who were anxious to rush the "Codification" bill through with some special features attached in which they were keenly interested. The amendment

offered by Mr. Wilson evidently gave them much anxiety. They finally succeeded in having Mr. Wilson's amendment sidetracked on a point of order that it was not germane to the particular section in which it was offered.

On December 14 the "Codification" bill was brought up for further consideration, and again Mr. Wilson offered his injunction limitation bill as an amendment to a section in which he considered it perfectly appropriate for it to be included. More points of order were raised upon Mr. Wilson's amendment, on the plea of its not being germane to the particular section, but Mr. Wilson soon deprived the opposition of that objection by informing the House that it was immaterial to him under what section of the "Codification" bill it should come so long as he could obtain a consideration of it at some time, and he thereupon moved that the House should by unanimous consent take the injunction limitation amendment up and consider it at a proper time while the "Codification" bill was before the House. It was thereupon agreed that when sections 249 to 252 of the "Codification" bill should be reached the injunction limitation proposition be considered in connection with either of those, whereupon other Representatives who had introduced injunction regulation bills also offered them as amendments to the "Codification" measure. Finally, acting as though it were a premeditated arrangement Representative Sterling of Illinois, a member of the House Judiciary Committee, offered a *pro injunction* bill which had been introduced by Mr. Moon of Pennsylvania in the previous session, and which had received a strong indorsement by President Taft, as a substitute for the amendments made by Mr. Wilson and the other members on the injunction proposition.

It will be remembered that I called particular attention of the delegates to the St. Louis Convention to the dangers lurking in that bill of Mr. Moon's, fathered by President Taft, and at the same time I reported a protest I entered and urged organized labor to register its vigorous objections to the enactment of any bill of the character and species of which the Moon bill was a type.

Immediately after these tactics of Mr. Sterling had been brought to my attention, I sent the following letter to all of the members of the House of Representatives on December 20, 1910:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Dec. 20, 1910.*

DEAR SIR: You are aware that Mr. Moon of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the Committee on Revision of the Laws, called up for consideration in the House, on December 7 (Calendar Wednesday), the bill H. R. 23377, "to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary." On Wednesday, December 14, this same bill again occupied the attention of the House, and the expectation seems to prevail among many members that this bill may continue to be considered on each Calendar Wednesday until it is finally disposed.

On December 14, Representative Wilson of Pennsylvania offered an amendment to the bill (see *Congressional Record*, page 93, December 7, and page 314, December 14).

On December 14 it was agreed by the House that Mr. Wilson's amendment would be in order when section 249, 250 or 251 of the bill or some other appropriate section of that chapter of the bill is reached. Your attention is called to the fact that at the same time several other amendments were offered to the bill and were similarly referred.

Mr. Sterling of Illinois offered an amendment as a substitute for the amendment offered by Mr. Wilson, to be considered in connection with that amendment, when it comes up. The Sterling substitute is the Moon injunction bill, introduced by Mr. Moon at the last session of Congress.

May I respectfully suggest that you make an effort to be present in the House on each Calendar Wednesday while this bill is under consideration, and to express the hope that you give your active support to the amendment offered by Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania?

The substitute offered by Mr. Sterling (the Moon bill), or any other bill of the character and species of which it is a type, is inimical to the rights and interests of labor, and by unanimous direction of the American Federation of Labor at its convention last month I enter an emphatic protest against its passage. The men of labor of our country contend for the principles contained in the Wilson bill. May they not count upon you to make every possible effort for its enactment?

Respectfully yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
*President, American Federation of Labor.*

The "Codification" bill came regularly before the House on each "Calendar Wednesday" thereafter, namely, January 11, 18, and 25; February 1, 8, and 15, but the sections in which Representative Wilson's injunction limitation amendment could be appropriately introduced and considered, according to the agreement previously referred to, were not reached, and in spite of the fact that this exceptionally long bill was so frequently brought up in the House it was generally understood that it was being used for dilatory purposes and as a scheme to offset other pressing legislation that the people were demanding. It became quite apparent that the members of the House of Representatives as a general thing showed neither anxiety nor inclination to reach those sections of the bill on which they had unanimously agreed the Wilson injunction limitation bill would be germane, and by their actions they brazenly demonstrated that they did not wish to have the merits of the proposition discussed for their own information and enlightenment, nor to be placed on record on the subject, as they surely would have been had the section been reached, because the bill was being debated while the House was sitting in regular session and not while it was sitting in Committee of the Whole.

The whole farce of these contemptible tactics was ruthlessly exposed by Representative William Hughes of New Jersey, on February 15, when with great indignation he passionately and mercilessly flayed the reactionary standpatters, in part, as follows:

"This afternoon we have been conducting a sham battle in the interests of delay. . . . I do not see what anybody can do to compel the gentleman in charge of the bill to go on and take up the really important pressing matters that are to be considered by this House if this bill is to be finished at this session of Congress. I do not know what the plan or program or scheme is, I only know that I and other members of Congress have been sitting around patiently waiting for the particular propositions in which we are all interested to be reached in order that we may debate them and have the House pass upon them. But gentlemen have wasted the afternoon conducting an Alphonse and Gaston burlesque across the aisle. I have seen three-quarters of an hour wasted this afternoon debating an amendment which everybody agreed to and nobody opposed. It seems that the more unanimity there was regarding an amendment the more time was taken up in discussing it. I confess that for one I do not know what is going on. I would like to find out, and I propose, if the gentleman in charge of the bill does not do it himself, to move that the House adjourn and put an end to this farce."

The few "managing" members of the House who were present evidently realized the exposure of their tactics by Mr. Hughes, and amidst considerable merriment they acted upon the motion of Mr. Hughes and adjourned the House, evidently considering that they had been the actors in a great comedy and that they flattered themselves on their artistic ability, and deemed it a great joke to so sidetrack one of the greatest issues before the organizations of labor and the American people. It was either through their effrontery or their debasement that they avoided the opportunity of declaring by positive legislation, in harmony with the fundamentals of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, what should be the clear-cut legal definition of the inherent rights of man.

The conduct of the majority in the House of Representatives in the last Congress once more illustrated their subservency to the "interests" rather than their care for the rights of the people. It is regrettable that criticism such as this should be necessary of a great, responsible public body, but I deem it my duty to not only call the attention of the members of organized labor to these things, but to herald them forth so that all the world may know, with the hope that it may arouse the spirit of our countrymen to such an extent that they will see to it that they send men, real men, to represent them in Congress instead of marionettes, who are ready to jump, dance, run, or kneel, as the vested interests, the power behind the throne, may dictate.

Now let me report what took place in the other chamber—the Senate. While the farce just related was being played in the House, Senator Heyburn of Idaho, Chairman of the Committee on the Revision of the Laws, was taking advantage of every possible opportunity to advance the "Codification" bill in the Senate. Previous to the Senate reaching sections 249 to 252, many Senators were approached by our Legislative Committee and urged to introduce the Wilson injunction limitation bill as an amendment. Most of them declined under the excuse that they did not consider the "Codification"

bill open to amendments, and asserting that it was pure codification and not new legislation, in spite of the fact that new legislation was enacted in several parts of the bill. However, when section 251 was reached, Senator Martin of Virginia, true to his pledge to us, offered the Wilson bill as an amendment and urged its adoption. Senator Heyburn promptly moved to table the amendment, and the motion was declared carried by the Chair without a division. In a few moments after this occurred the bill was completed and was passed by the Senate.

On February 23, while the House was working under the parliamentary order of suspension of the rules, which order usually prevails during the last few days of a session, Representative Moon moved to suspend the rules, take up the "Codification" bill reported from the Senate, and pass it in the House. The motion carried and the bill was passed. This lightning-like rapidity of the House, after the dilatory practices which had previously prevailed upon this bill to which I have already referred, shows to what sharp practices those mis-Representatives of the people resorted in order to prevent a review and open discussion of the injunction abuse.

It should be clearly understood that this part of my report is only a brief résumé of the many important incidents occurring in our efforts to obtain remedial injunction limitation legislation. Time will not permit personal experiences to be recounted here.

The anti-trust and injunction limitation situation in the Sixty-second Congress is as follows:

Early in the first session of the Sixty-second Congress, just adjourned, Mr. Hughes of New Jersey introduced a bill known as H. R. No. 40 for the purpose of amending the anti-trust law, granting relief to labor. His bill is a verbatim copy of the original amendment that was unanimously passed by the United States Senate in 1890, while the Senate was in Committee of the Whole and giving its consideration to the Sherman Anti-Trust bill. It was then known as the "George" amendment and has been referred to many times by us in our conventions, in the columns of the *American Federationist* and by our speakers at public and union meetings:

Mr. Wilson introduced H. R. 11033, which has been approved by the American Federation of Labor, and which I herewith produce in order that its contents may be made a matter of record and the public generally afforded an opportunity to become conversant with the measure. The second section contains the substance of the bill H. R. No. 40, introduced by Mr. Hughes, previously referred to.

H. R. 11033.—A Bill to more clearly define the Act of July second, eighteen hundred and ninety, entitled "An Act to protect trade and commerce against any unlawful restraints and monopolies."

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That nothing in the Act of July second, eighteen hundred and ninety, entitled "An Act to protect trade and commerce against any unlawful restraints and monopolies," is intended, nor shall any provision thereof hereafter be enforced so as to apply to organizations or associations not for profit and without capital stock, nor to the members of such organizations or associations as such, except where such organization or association not for profit and without capital stock, or the members of such organizations or associations shall become directors or managers of corporations which are organized for profit and which have capital stock.

Sec. 2. That nothing in said Act of July second, eighteen hundred and ninety, is intended, nor shall any provision thereof hereafter be enforced so as to apply to any arrangements, agreements, or combinations among persons engaged in agriculture or horticulture made with a view of enhancing the price of their own agricultural or horticultural products when sold or offered for sale by themselves.

Sec. 3. That all Acts and parts of Acts in conflict with the provisions of this Act are hereby repealed.

Mr. Martin of Colorado introduced H. R. 11718 for the purpose of amending the anti-trust law. He incorporated in his bill the exclusion clause, applying to labor organizations, fraternal organizations, and such other organizations or associations not for profit and without capital stock, as was contained in the exemption provisions applicable to such organizations enacted in the Corporation Tax Law, which passed the Sixty-first Congress as a revenue producing measure as a supplement to the Aldrich-Payne tariff bill. The Corporation Tax Law has been contested through several Federal courts and

finally carried to the Supreme Court of the United States. The latter tribunal declared the measure to be constitutional, including the exemption clause, and in accordance with this decision Representative Martin is confident that a similar application and exemption should be made in the anti-trust law to labor organizations and other associations not for profit.

Representative Wilson of Pennsylvania introduced bill H. R. 11032 for the purpose of defining and limiting the meaning of so-called "conspiracy," to regulate the issuance of restraining orders and to outline a method of procedure thereon. This is labor's injunction limitation bill. Together with the others formulated as amendments to the anti-trust law, it has been referred to the Committee on Judiciary, but no action thus far has been reported by that committee. It is generally understood that the session of Congress just closed was a special session called by the President for the purpose of giving consideration to special legislation referring to reciprocal trade relations with Canada, and while it is true that the Congress gave some attention to other revenue producing bills, there was little expectation that any material consideration would be given to other measures coming under the classification of general legislation in that special session of Congress.

Such opportunities to make progress as were available were taken advantage of in the advancement of our bills during that session, and at this moment we stand in a better equipped and possibly better strategic position than we have ever before occupied. Let me specify:

First. Our bills are clearly and positively written; they have been regularly introduced and referred to appropriate committees; most of the members of these committees now know not only the numbers of the bills advocated by labor, but the substance of them.

Second. The coming session of Congress is the long business session, when it is customary to give general legislation some serious consideration.

Third. Next year the people will be called upon to elect a President and a new Congress.

Fourth. Let organized labor make its wants clear and in no uncertain tones; the people of the country are in the mood to stand true to the cause of justice, freedom, and humanity. Let the delegates return to their homes carrying with them the declarations from this convention and have their demands repeated in every village, hamlet, town, county, and State by every local organization and city central body and State Federation. Let the voice of labor be heard distinctly, vigorously, and persistently. If this be done, no repetition of the disgraceful performances herein recited as to what transpired in the Sixty-first Congress will ever be repeated.

If these suggestions are observed and duly carried out, it will so supplement the efforts of the officers of the American Federation of Labor that the probability is much greater good can be accomplished in the advancement of effective legislation in the interest of the workers and the people generally during the next session of Congress than could be possible without such co-operation from local sources.

#### RELIEF FROM JUDICIAL USURPATION—THE WILSON BILL.

The movement for legislative relief against judicial abuses in the issuance and enforcement of injunctions and restraining orders was, during the years from 1905 to 1908, general and aggressive. With the incoming of the present administration the opposition to our efforts in that direction, which had been previously concealed, for the most part, by hypocrisy and the confusion caused by the offering of ineffective makeshifts, assumed the form of open, defiant, uncompromising hostility. President Taft, during his first candidacy, profusely assured the interested public that when, or if, elected he would approach this subject with an open mind. He was careful, however, not to clearly define his attitude toward the Pearre (now the Wilson) bill. Early in his administration he outlined a scheme of legislation which was embodied in the Moon bill. The shortcomings and evil purpose of that bill were fully exposed in my last annual report. It was only necessary to unmask its objectionable features to have it condemned, not only by organized labor but by all fair-minded men.

It is useless to further dwell upon the Moon bill. It is dead beyond recall, and its authors and supporters stand discredited. Let the authors and sponsors for other subterfuges, and all would-be "life savers," take notice and be forewarned. The real

friends of labor will stand for the Wilson bill. It has stood the test of every objection and criticism, constitutional and otherwise. The opposition to it, in default of meritorious objection, has resorted to appeals to selfishness and directed their efforts to arousing every form of employing class prejudice.

The greatest importance should be attached to this practical reform. We are now, in this matter of injunctions, at a crisis which should arouse all the latent energies of the organization. It is the opportune time for a united and mighty forward effort. If we act unitedly, wisely, and vigorously, the bill can be put through the House and Senate at the coming session. Even if President Taft should veto it, we still would take a long stride in the right direction. I wish to be entirely fair to the President. I prefer to believe that he has heeded the arguments on only one side of this issue, and that if he were placed where decisive action was unavoidable, he would give the subject the consideration its importance warrants from all viewpoints. I must say, however, that his attitude, as clearly and repeatedly defined and declared, is not such as to justify us in expecting any voluntary assistance from that source. You have not forgotten that immediately after his inauguration, in the absence of emergency or provocation, and apparently without any immediate object in view, he transmitted to the extra session of Congress in 1909, a bitter, denunciatory tirade against the Pearre bill, nor how at the close of the regular session in 1910, he put forth extraordinary, and I regret to say successful, efforts to strangle a provision in an appropriation bill which forbade the use of public funds, under the Sherman anti-trust act, in prosecutions against labor and agricultural associations. In my last year's report I gave a somewhat detailed account of the President's extraordinary conduct with reference to this matter. Inasmuch as the situation then presented is likely soon to recur, if not in the same form at any rate in some form, I deem it worth while to remind you of the episode. The amendment just mentioned, proposed by Representative Hughes of New Jersey, was debated and adopted by the House in Committee of the Whole, reported and passed by the House, but was defeated in the Senate. The disagreement between the two houses necessitated the appointment of a joint conference committee. Passing over the formal proceedings in such cases, we come to the deadlock between the House and Senate. One motive in the President's action was his fear that the important appropriation bill, in which the amendment had been inserted by the House, would fail. But the sharpest spur was his anger at the thought that the friends of labor had developed sufficient strength to insert the amendment in the first instance. My former report contained a paragraph which I here insert without change:

"The situation evidently angered the President, as he immediately took the matter into his own hands. He suspended other public business and swept aside every engagement. He called 'wavering' Representatives to the White House and insisted upon their active opposition, even going so far as to say that, if it cost him the support of every laboring man in the country, he would not approve of such a proviso in the law. It is reported that when he learned that the House had receded from its insistence upon the proviso by the close vote of 138 to 130, he made no effort to conceal his great gratification because he had succeeded in defeating labor to this extent."

But under stress of political exigencies he has been known to make amazing changes of front on questions of great importance. As we do not know Mr. Taft's uttermost capacity for shifting his position, let us hope that he will ultimately conclude that the cause of justice which this measure represents will outlive his lease of power, and that it is a movement whose successful culmination is among the things inevitable, whether he approves or disapproves.

The very best arguments have been presented to the Judiciary Committee of the House, before which this measure was pending, and the opposition, as far as argument goes, has been thoroughly discomfited. Non-action has not been for the lack of conviction with respect to the merits of the bill, but because of the inertia of some members of the committee and the hostility, open or secret, of others. Indeed, the situation prior to the Sixty-second Congress was such, owing to the complete subservience of the House membership to a Speaker and Rules Committee which were controlled by special interests, that it seemed scarcely worth while to put forth our reserve forces. But, unless I am greatly mistaken, the changed situation, in the matter of House and Committee organization and the formation of rules, encourages prompt and aggressive action at this time, and suggests the folly of either delay or half-hearted action.

Political history is made largely through the ebb and flow of public opinion. We are just passing from an era of reaction, otherwise designated as "standpatism." The particular reform we are now advocating is in harmony with the present progressive trend, and if we do our full duty in having it catalogued among the important causes to be pressed forward for legislative action we shall only be acting in accord with the spirit of the times.

In self-defense, labor and its officials have in times past been compelled to criticize judicial action. For this course our spokesmen have been censured in unmeasured terms. But we are no longer singled out for targets by the subsidized organs of the privileged. The list of critics of the judiciary now includes the best thought, the best talent, and the best character of the nation. It required, however, something other than ultra-jurisdictional injunctions in labor disputes to bring about the situation in which about the only defenders of the injunction courts and of their most important recent decrees are the President and his Attorney-General. But let me remind you that, before the House Judiciary Committee and elsewhere, I and my co-workers often predicted that if the courts were permitted to annex to rightful jurisdiction a discretionary domain, constituting an invasion of legislative power, the courts would not stop with trampling upon the rights of labor. It gave me no pleasure to question or criticize court decisions, and I shall never do so, unless and when absolutely necessary. But no leader of labor in all this land ever so fiercely or successfully attacked a court as did Mr. Justice Harlan. I say successfully, because among the hundreds of lawyers and statesmen who have expressed themselves with respect to the decisions in the oil and tobacco cases few have failed to regard the trend and significance of these decisions as did Justice Harlan, that is to say, as a menace to the very life of the Republic and as a usurpation of legislative power. Even such newspapers as usually assume the task of defending the courts in all circumstances have either remained silent or have evasively and feebly replied to the court's critics.

Here are some of Justice Harlan's words:

"In order that my objections to certain parts of the court's opinion may distinctly appear, I must state the circumstances under which Congress passed the anti-trust act and trace the course of judicial decisions as to its meaning and scope. This is the more necessary because the court by its decision, when interpreted by the language of its opinion, has not only upset the long settled interpretation of the act, but has usurped the constitutional functions of the legislative branch of the Government."

Then, after a review of the history of the act and of the prior decisions thereunder, he thus proceeds:

"It remains for me to refer, more fully than I have heretofore done, to another, and in my judgment, if we look to the future, the most important aspect of this case. That aspect concerns THE USURPATION BY THE JUDICIAL BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FUNCTIONS OF THE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT. The illustrious men who laid the foundations of our institutions deemed no part of the national Constitution of more consequence or more essential to the permanency of our form of government than the provisions under which were distributed the powers of government among three separate, equal and co-ordinate departments—legislative, executive, and judicial. This was at that time a new feature of governmental regulation among the nations of the earth, and it is deemed by the people of every section of our own country as most vital in the workings of a representative republic, whose Constitution was ordained and established in order to accomplish the objects stated in its preamble, by the means, but only by the means, provided, either expressly or by necessary implication, by the instrument itself. No department of that Government can constitutionally exercise the powers committed strictly to another and separate department."

The learned Justice was not merely deciding or giving his opinion of the law, but testifying to facts. In that testimony he has been corroborated almost universally, the only dissentients being President Taft and Attorney-General Wickersham.

I have referred to this part of current history because the ignorant and unreasoning have ever heretofore received with incredulity and scorn our complaints that the courts were usurping legislative powers in labor disputes by issuing blanket injunctions where the law had provided legal remedies. The judicial usurpation pointed out by Justice



Harlan is no more flagrant and obvious than in each of dozens of instances to which we have from time to time referred.

Surely the declaration of Justice Harlan in his dissenting opinion is sufficient to give us pause. It not only recalls our declarations, frequently made upon the same subject, but the one which was most emphatically stated in the editorial appearing in the March, 1908, issue of the *American Federationist* under the caption, "Labor Must Not Be Outlawed—The Supreme Court's Decision in the Hatters' Case," and from which the following is quoted:

"We are proud of the institutions of our country and try to uphold them with all our power, but we do protest against the assumption of law-making power by the courts. In assuming such functions they invade the sphere of the legislative and executive, which must necessarily result injuriously to the very fabric of our republic. Such action by the courts not being contemplated by the Constitution, there are no safeguards, no checks, as to what may be attempted."

A comparison of the utterances of Justice Harlan with this quotation is suggested. The identity of thought, and almost of language, is most complete.

Well may the business men of the country heed Justice Harlan's note of warning. Indeed, all men who love their country and its institutions should fear for their own safety, even if not for that of the men of toil, and should join hands with us in lopping off the sinister, poisonous excrescence of judicial jurisdiction invasion.

Not only workingmen but all classes and callings are at the parting of the ways, the one road leading to government by judicial edict, the other to government by laws enacted by a free people.

Justice Harlan, in the course of his opinion, made a prediction that the majority decision would "throw the business of the country into confusion and invite widely extended and harassing litigation, the injurious effects of which will be felt for many years to come." How literally and exactly his predictions have been fulfilled all know. We are in a position now to extend heartfelt sympathies to business men, for we have known for years what it was to have our rights so unsettled by court "decrees" that we knew not where we stood or what next to expect. We have also known the harassment of litigation referred to by the Justice, as well as its cost. The men of "big" business are at present at a loss in managing their affairs, because they do not know whether they are going to jail or not. The administration whose duty it is to impartially enforce the laws is as much in the dark as are others. One day it says that it will enforce the Sherman act to the letter, and on the next, after having read the morning papers, it fears that it has spoken too strongly and withdraws the statement. One day it indiscriminately denounces all restraints and interferences with interstate commerce, and on the next "roars like a sucking dove," claiming that it was misunderstood or didn't really say anything at all.

It is not my present purpose either to restate the conditions which render the enactment of a Federal law, limiting within its proper sphere the issuance of injunctions, a matter of vital importance, or to repeat the arguments advanced by me on former occasions. The conditions are known to you all, and the arguments were set forth last year at the St. Louis Convention and also have been placed before the rank and file of labor and the public on similar occasions and in various forms. I have myself, aided by others, held up the torch of reason before Congress and its committees so often and so earnestly that it would seem that little more remains to be said. Nevertheless, for the benefit of any who may wish a reminder of the underlying reasons for the legislation asked, I append an exhibit containing their restatement.

In closing this part of my report, I wish to make a practical suggestion. The Wilson bill will not pass itself. Your national officers will, of course, do their part to the utmost of their ability, as heretofore. But that, alone, is not enough. Members of the House and Senate are very much like other men. They are oftener than otherwise creatures of immediate environment and local influences. Many of them, when spoken to upon this measure, put up a barricade which is hard to scale. They say, "Your bill is all right," or, "I have always been in favor of some such legislation, but I don't know what my people think of this particular bill." Now, it is difficult to criticise that attitude, especially in the political atmosphere recently created based on the plea for popular rule to which we are emphatically committed. But this attitude presents a condition which is not only easily understood but can be met without great difficulty. It is only a question of a little expense and some labor to give every member of Congress

and every Senator the information which, sincerely or otherwise, he claims to lack. I shall make no recommendations of a plan for meeting it, but suggest that the committee to which this report shall be referred seriously consider the matter and then formulate a simple, feasible method for getting from the various congressional districts, for Congressmen, and from the various States, for Senators, an individual as well as a general expression of opinion, or demand for action, on this measure.

I append a copy of the Wilson bill. It is the product of our own thought, aided by men learned in the law. It is comprehensive without ambiguity and has stood the test of criticism running through several years.

#### THE PEOPLE—THE JUDICIARY—INJUNCTIONS—DEFENSE.

The signs of the times are portentous for injunction Judges. A movement looming up rapidly in the West indicates that the people are about to have their day. The courts, "that human institution that likens itself to a divine institution," to quote the President, who is a product of that institution, are on the point of finding out that final decisions of justice must come, not from one class in a republic, but from all its people. As time passes, evidence accrues that the injunction habit must go down before common sense and the general sentiment of liberty. Unauthorized edicts from the bench are proving to be naught as against the barriers placed before them by public opinion.

In the course of the long series of attacks upon the trade union movement, made by a certain type of Judges, the attitude of the organized laborers has been strictly that of legal defense, exercised through the usual methods of employing counsel and pleading before the courts. The time may now be opportune to raise the question whether our organizations may not adopt more direct means in obtaining justice for the individuals and the trade unions exposed to a reign of tyranny which has been established by the employing classes through the instrumentality of subservient courts. The continual drain on the finances of the unions, the uncertainty of the fate of accused union officials and other labor representatives, the doubt in the minds of the working classes as to what the law really requires, the possibility of our enemies on the occasion of labor disputes obtaining the aid of court machinery against us—these facts all present reasons for the trade unionists endeavoring to make short work of ascertaining what their rights are and of enlightening the public upon the question.

How great the obstacles interposed by courts have been to the organization of labor, and to the exercise of the fundamental legal rights of trade unionists, may be inferred from the number of injunctions petitioned for and the number granted in the course of a decade. As in the State of Massachusetts, from 1898 to 1908, employers petitioned for injunctions in sixty-six cases, and injunctions were actually issued in forty-six, it may be estimated that the entire number granted throughout the United States in that time reached not less than a thousand. The damage to trade union effort lies not only in the injunctions actually issued, but also on occasions in the partial paralysis of union activity because of the threat of injunctions by employers and because of the aggressions of police authorities acting on the assumption that injunctions already granted give them extraordinary powers in case of strikes or lockouts.

Now, what are the rights claimed by the trade unionists which have been interfered with by the courts? The trade unionist asserts, first of all, that his labor power is his own, to be exercised or not, according to his own will. He asserts, as well, that his purchasing power is his own, to be applied, with respect to all things legitimately on sale, according to his own discretion and judgment. The trade unionist's right to the so-called "primary" boycott has been recognized by the higher courts in the country, and he asserts the same right in every successive application he deems fit to make of it. A trade unionist further holds that his union is legal; that it has a right to exclude unqualified workmen from membership; that its rules and by-laws are an element in determining the legitimacy of a strike. He holds that it is not unlawful to attempt to peacefully persuade persons not to enter or remain in the employment of any one against whom a strike is being carried on. He, of course, holds that a strike is lawful when directed against an employer with whom the striking workmen have a direct dispute with regard to wages or conditions of labor for the purpose of obtaining a betterment of these conditions. He also holds that no restraining order or injunction should be issued by any court as against striking or locked-out employes which would not be issued against other citizens and not even against workers who were not engaged in a strike or lockout with employers. He holds that an injunction rightfully lies to protect from injury property or a property right of the party making the application for which injury there

is no adequate remedy at law, such property or property right to be described in detail in the application. He holds that no right to continue the relation of employer and employe can lawfully be construed as property. He holds that it can not lawfully be regarded as a conspiracy for two or more persons to agree concerning the terms or conditions of employment of labor or the determination of any relation between employer and employe, nor concerning any act to be done or not to be done with reference to a labor dispute, unless the act or thing agreed to be done or not to be done would be unlawful if done by a single individual.

The trade unionists hold that in case of lockout or strike, their representatives, in their rightful enjoyment of the common property of the community, may go about anywhere in the public highways just as may be done by other citizens—no more, no less. They hold that they have a right to approach persons in the public highway and in a peaceful manner converse with them for the purpose of informing them of actual conditions, facts, and circumstances in regard to labor disputes, and if possible inducing them not to enter into or not to continue in the service of an employer. In all cases trade unionists regard a trial by jury as a fundamental right of a citizen charged with an offense against the laws. They are prepared at all times to maintain as a primary principle that courts should be restrained from enjoining members of a union, as they are restrained from enjoining other citizens, from exercising the rights of free speech and of a free press.

Often have decrees and decisions issued by the lower courts been revised and modified by the higher courts. Nearly all labor officials of experience are today acquainted with the clearly illegal character of those decrees of the lower courts which have often been eliminated, at least partially, by their superiors or have been refused by other courts, their equals. Whereas, for example, peaceful "picketing" and "patrolling" are frequently forbidden by one court, they are upheld by another. The same is true of approaching non-unionists on the streets, or, in the words of an injunction, "interfering with any person or persons who now are or may hereafter be in the employment of the complainant or desirous of entering the same," etc. Likewise as to union action, or, in legal parlance, "any scheme or conspiracy among unionists for the purpose of preventing persons from continuing in the employ of certain employers." Unionists have been enjoined from "following any products of the plaintiff's business for the purpose of learning what person or persons have purchased such products;" "or in any way interfering with the conduct of business by the plaintiff as now carried on by him," etc., etc.

All such indefinite and far-reaching inhibitions find no legitimate place in injunctions. They are a perversion of the intent and purposes of the injunctive writ. If any trade unionist should be guilty of violating any law, we ask no immunity for him; we insist that the course to be pursued by justice is arrest, indictment, and trial by jury.

It is time that the unjustifiable peremptory charges, brow-beating, censures, and threats of fines and imprisonment by injunction Judges should cease.

It is time for the laboring people to know precisely how far their rights carry them when facing courts in labor disputes.

We have been assured by high judicial authority that "the modern writ of injunction is used for purposes which bear no more resemblance to the ancient writ of that name than the milky way bears to the sun." Judges have not only restrained and punished the alleged commission of crimes defined by statute, but they have proceeded to frame a criminal code of their own, extended as they have seen proper, by which various acts innocent in law and morals have been made criminal. The tendency of the jurisdiction of the "equitable octopus called injunction," has been to "grow and extend perpetually and unceasingly."

The people of this country have witnessed, in the course of a celebrated injunction case, how it has dragged on until years have been consumed, how the trade unions have been subjected through it to extraordinary expenditures, and how the injunction which began it has been used during all that time as a menace to prevent the proper and rightful activities of workers.

To our 1908 Denver Convention, I took occasion to report:

"It is quite evident that it is the purpose of labor's opponents to entangle us in constant litigation before the courts, involving not only our time and attention, but enormous expense for legal counsel, printing, and court fees. The expenditures of time and money have been enormously increased in recent times, since the further abuse of the injunction writ and the Hatters' decision of the Supreme Court, all of which have been taken advantage of by all union haters." . . .

"The contempt proceedings against Messrs. Mitchell, Morrison, and myself have just closed. The Executive Council or I may again be cited for contempt of court because I have undertaken to report the status of the case to this convention; and no one can foretell to what limits the contempt proceedings, injunction cases, and other suits may extend. For one, I am free to say that I shall not recommend the levying of additional assessments or making appeals for voluntary contributions in legal defense of these cases. If it is the intention of those who are hostile to the interests of the toilers of our country, to take advantage of the trend of court decisions for the usurpation of the toilers' rights by the injunctions, let them proceed as they will without our assuming to do the impossible—that is, to be represented by competent legal counsel. If the situation is to become so acute, let us personally, as best we can, defend our rights before the courts, taking whatever consequences may ensue. For one, I can see no remedy for these outrageous proceedings, unless there shall be a quickening of the conscience of our Judges or the relief which the Congress of our country can and should afford."

The committee to which this subject was referred made a report, upon which ensued a prolonged discussion and which was finally amended and adopted by the convention, as follows. (The committee quoted part of my report upon the subject, which has already been mentioned herein):

"Bearing this in mind your committee desires to state that whenever the courts issue any injunctions which undertake to regulate our personal relations either with our employer, or those from whom we may or may not purchase commodities, such courts are trespassing upon our relations which are personal relations, and with which equity power has no concern; that these injunctions are destructive of our rights as citizens, as well as of popular government, and we therefore declare that we will exercise all the rights and privileges guaranteed us by the Constitution and the laws of our country, and insist that it is our duty to defend ourselves at all hazards, and we recommend that such be our action, taking whatever results may come.

"We further recommend that when cited to show cause why such injunctions should not be issued, we should make no defense which would entail any considerable cost, and we further recommend that when cited for contempt the proper policy is as outlined above. We further desire to warn our fellow unionists that testimony extorted under equity process may be partially used in a damage suit under the Sherman Anti-Trust law.

"However, your committee feel constrained to say that when blanket injunctions are applied for or issued by the courts against the members of unions for no other reason except that they are members of the unions, and these injunctions are applied for or issued solely for the purpose of intimidating the members, we believe that such legal advice and protection as may be necessary should be provided for them by the organizations in interest."

Since that declaration of our 1908 convention the situation has not materially changed, except that events have made it, perhaps, more acute.

The question has therefore arisen in my mind as to whether in the recent past we have pursued the most practical course in the legal defenses we have presented to the courts when unwarrantable injunctions have been issued and we have been cited to show cause why we should not be punished for alleged violation of the injunctions—for contempt of court. Labor's antagonists have sought to entangle us in all forms of litigation involving large expenditures of the hard-earned money of the workers; they have to a considerable extent made impossible much constructive uplift work of our men and of our movement. The conclusion reached in one case has not had its definite determination by which the courts of other or of equal jurisdiction have limited their course. The question of doubt which has arisen in my mind as to the course we have pursued raises the further thought whether at some time we shall not appear in our own persons and in our own defense without the aid of attorneys; that is, whenever, after due study and consideration of the facts relative to an unwarrantable injunction in a labor dispute, it is decided by the union or unions interested that the members have good grounds for holding and maintaining that their fundamental, constitutional, and inherent rights are invaded by the injunction, and if arrest ensues, those workers who

are taken before the courts shall decline to employ the services of counsel, but shall themselves assert their rights under the law and then abide by the consequences—if imprisonment follows, the victim in any case to accept his fate; the members of the union concerned to take care of his family or dependents, and the usual agents of publicity, especially the labor press and the spokesmen for the unions, to appeal the case to public opinion. By such a course any usual terrors of jail imprisonment will be annulled. It is clearly no disgrace to have been convicted under court decrees which the masses of the people know are oppressive and ill-grounded, which form mere fiat law which has not been made through elected representatives in the course of legislation, and the general terrorism of which, by recent votings, the citizens of whole States have shown that they oppose.

The laborers of this country want to know where they are with regard to the law. In labor injunction cases in general they hold that not they themselves, but the courts, have been violators of the law. To continue the perplexing wrangle over what is the law, to keep up the hair-splitting by bench controversialists, to live under the uncertainties raised by contradictory court decisions, is unworthy of a people who believe themselves to be free. Let the masses themselves proceed to cut the Gordian knot in this question and by the effective measures suggested rid labor and the people generally of the obstacles to their legitimate progress erected through the manifest partiality of the injunction courts.

#### POLITICAL CHANGES AFFECTING LABOR.

At length it has become evident to all open-minded men that important changes are impending in our methods of government, and especially with reference to the status of political parties. Voters are now demanding better reasons for their support of a particular candidate than his nomination by a party or his indorsement by some official or unofficial boss. The spirit of revolt and change is abroad in the land, and the spirit of liberty which first inspired the revolutionary leaders in 1776 has again entered the hearts of the American people. The people who form the rank and file of political parties are more progressive than their leaders. They will no longer submit to the rule of evasion and false pretense found in platforms, Presidential messages and public addresses. They demand straight talk and open, honorable methods.

I hope to find henceforth that the millions of intelligent men of labor, having passed beyond the influence of campaign buncombe, have come to understand that the welfare of the people and the promotion of the cause of labor are more important than any party candidacy or empty partisan success.

In the progress being made toward popular rule, now seen not only in our own country, but in all nations, labor can justly claim an important, if not indeed a leading, part. In this movement, international boundaries may be disregarded. The manhood and intellect associated in the war for the rights of man, differentiated from the claims of wealth, privilege and hereditary rank, belong to no particular race, class, or nationality. The spirit of liberty and self-assertion overleaps mountain ranges and speeds across the seas separating empires and continents. It can not be stayed by Kings, nor Emperors, nor even by Presidents, nor by armies and navies, nor by injunctions and jail sentences.

We have often been ridiculed for claiming too much for organized labor. But, where today would have been the initiative, referendum and recall, direct nominations and direct election of United States Senators, had it not been for the energetic and persistent demand, advocacy and support of workingmen—of "labor leaders," if you please, of twenty years ago? You may have observed of late that the press has moderated its tone in speaking of "labor leaders" in derision, showing a tendency to admit the designation to its rightful place in the language.

The initiative and referendum are now in full force in several States, are indeed recognized in the constitutions of nine States, and are operative on fundamental, and occasionally financial, propositions in all, or nearly all, the States of the Union, and besides in many cities on local propositions. California, with a population of two and a half millions, is the latest convert, by an enormous majority to true democracy. Labor has been fighting for this reform in that State for twenty years or more. While in a broader sense it was a long stride upward and onward for all the men and women of that State, let me ask what chance the recent amendments to California's constitution would have ever had if her brave and loyal "labor leaders" had not demanded them years ago, and continued to demand and advocate them? And so it has been in a greater or

less degree in every State where the people have had the sense and courage to strike off the shackles of the corporate agent working as a corrupter of legislative bodies, and to rebel against an autocratic boss-owned and syndicated judiciary. We are no longer journeying in the wilderness. We are no longer in the season of mere planting and hoping. We are in the harvest time.

The last battle line of the opposition is at the provision for recall of Judges. But that part of this general reform has been in force in several cities for several years and in four States during a shorter period. It was only within the last half century that the experiment of an elective judiciary was tried in the States of this Union. Rarely has an honest, independent Judge, putting forth proper effort, been refused a re-election. No case of a worthy, deserving Judge being recalled, or a case where the recall of a Judge was of even doubtful propriety, can be cited.

Why all this fuss and fury in opposition? Is there any reason, based upon the fitness of their social relations, the character of their offices or the nature of their calling, for the placing of judicial officers on pedestals above other public servants? This semi-deification of the judiciary, this sanctimonious cant about "mob rule," some of which was in President Taft's message vetoing the Arizona admission bill, is mere cant and drivel. The people who pay the taxes, bear the brunt of wars, do the work of the world, have as clear a right to recall and discharge unfaithful officers, including the judiciary, as they have to choose them in the first instance. And they are as capable of forming an intelligent opinion in the one case as in the other.

As a matter of fact, speaking with the utmost sobriety, and in unison with most respectable authority, we have never had the benefit of a real representative democracy in this country, because of the absence from our constitutions and laws of the right of initiative, referendum, and recall. In opposing them, sordid capital and buttressed privilege are merely making a last desperate struggle against the inevitable.

True progress has never been by rapid strides, notwithstanding that a change from the old to a new order comes with a suddenness which is almost startling, when after a long period of dissension and preparation the people are ready. Labor has been patient and persistent, enduring many wrongs and sacrifices. There should be no retreat from the points of vantage it has conquered.

Labor's contentions of many years have at length become merged into, or have rather co-ordinated with, those of the progressive of all parties. The people as a whole, irrespective of class, condition, calling or partisan alignment, have declared for freedom in fact, and not merely in name. They are taking affairs political into their own hands. They will no longer tolerate the sale of legislation to the highest bidder or the granting of franchises to the richest bribe-giver. Under the coming régime, assuredly there are to be no more court decrees entered as prepared in advance and ordered by the attorney for the stronger party—stronger politically or financially. Along with these abuses will depart the midnight injunction and the policeman's ready club, at the behest of those claiming a property right in the labor of the vicinage, whether at work or on strike. In lieu of the political boss and his machine, we shall have leadership of intelligence, pleading for public justice, with adherents proportioned in number to the strength of the arguments. The stuffed ballot-box, the false count, and the perjured election return will likewise disappear. With these opportunities, with these stimulating inducements to free thought and action, the cause of public justice will be advanced in all directions. Labor, acting from the point of enlightened self-interest, and yet with a full sense of responsibility respecting the just rights of all others in society, will manfully and patriotically meet its enlarged responsibilities.

Under the prevailing system of cut and dried platforms and slated nominations, preceded by fake primaries, the ballot in our hands has not been, in any adequate sense, either a protecting shield against wrong or a means of redress. We may not for some time be entirely rid of the rule of parties. If they be an evil, they are such as are incident to all governments based on popular suffrage. I deem it unwise, or rather impolitic, to waste our energies now in efforts to abolish political parties. Perhaps they are institutional in all free governments. But if we can not now destroy them, we may, by more assiduous and regular exercise of our privileges and rights of citizenship do much in the way of controlling them.

Under existing conditions, we must obtain various measures of legislation at the hands of dominant parties in legislative bodies, and if party affairs are to remain in the hands of corporate agents and corrupt bosses as heretofore, then our interests will be imperilled and the desired relief retarded, no matter which party has the majority.

But political parties should, after all, be treated as means to an end. The success of a party should never outweigh the accomplishment in legislation or administration of the important purposes of labor. In casting our ballots we should ever distinguish, whenever possible, between our friends and our enemies, and between these should be no division on party lines among us. On general party issues it would be useless to attempt bringing about unity of action, and perhaps it is better in the long run that such is the case. But when we are seeking legislation from Congress on so vital a matter as curtailment of judicial power in the matter of injunctions and in all matters involving our personal liberties, including the right of free speech and free press, we should be a unit in opposition to candidates who stand in the way, no matter how exalted the office sought by them.

#### LABOR GROUP IN CONGRESS.

The fifteen members of the House of Representatives holding trade union cards of membership frequently held conferences with the officers of the American Federation of Labor, counselling with us as to the best methods by which they could be of service to the cause of labor and to the people generally. At the meetings no resolution was either adopted or proposed. The measures before Congress or its committees were freely discussed. The general consensus of opinion expressed, impressed itself upon the minds of these Representatives. While no conclusion of a binding character was reached, yet the labor group in the House of Representatives, regardless of political party affiliation, acted in unison and with advantageous results.

For convenience as well as the record I give the names of the labor group who are members of the House of Representatives in Congress, with the names of the organizations of which they are members and the parties to which they are attached:

Wilson, W. B., Coal Miners, Democrat.  
 Lee, Robert E., Blacksmiths, Democrat.  
 Martin, John A., Locomotive Firemen, Democrat.  
 Cary, Wm. J., Commercial Telegraphers, Republican.  
 Berger, Victor L., Typographical, Socialist.  
 Hughes, Wm., Textile Workers, Democrat.  
 Buchanan, Frank, Str. Iron Workers, Democrat.  
 McDermott, James T., Commercial Telegraphers, Democrat.  
 Lewis, David J., Coal miners, Democrat.  
 Smith, Chas. B., R. R. Telegraphers, Democrat.  
 Anderson, Carl C., Musicians, Democrat.  
 Sherwood, Isaac R., Typographical, Democrat.  
 Roberts, E. E., Metal Miners, Republican.  
 Farr, John R., Typographical, Republican.  
 Maher, James P., Hatters, Democrat.

The good this group of labor men has already accomplished, the good they can and no doubt will do in Congress, should imbue the men of labor and all liberty-loving citizens with the duty, the responsibility, and the advantage of not only securing the reelection of the members of this group, but also increasing the number and the possibilities of their influence and power for just and humane legislation.

#### OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES.

Resolution No. 114, adopted at St. Louis, recommended that the American Federation of Labor should urge the further enactment of legislation giving greater protection to the workers in factories, mines, etc., through the provision, in a scientific way, of safety measures for the preservation of the life, limb, and health of the workers, and especially through the adoption of comprehensive means that would eliminate the unnecessary suffering and economic loss occasioned by occupational poisons and by such diseases as are peculiar to certain occupations.

Communications were addressed to all of our State Federations and city central bodies asking them to exert themselves in behalf of the enactment of legislation in their States in harmony with the spirit of this resolution. The following is a brief summary of such safety and health-preserving legislation as was passed during the last legislative period of the States:

- Illinois: (1) Legislation establishing fire fighting and rescue stations at coal mines.
- (2) A State commission appointed to inquire into and render a report to the Legislature

on occupational diseases. (3) A special investigation undertaken on mining accidents and casualties.

Kentucky: (1) Adequate life-saving apparatus made obligatory in and around coal mines. (2) Mine foremen to be licensed and examined by State officials.

Louisiana: (1) State bureau of mines established, with a State inspector in charge.

Maryland: (1) Shirt-factory floors to be sprinkled with water every morning made mandatory. (2) Examination and licensing of plumbers made mandatory. (3) Better ventilation laws for coal mines. (4) Stationary engineers and those in charge of steam boilers to be licensed after examination.

Massachusetts: (1) Medical inspectors for schools made mandatory. (2) State inspector of health authorized to prosecute manufacturers employing persons under eighteen years of age in unhealthy occupations. (3) State inspectors of health authorized to fix a standard as to permissible degrees of humidity in textile factories. (4) Plumbers to be examined, licensed, and registered. (5) A State commission of five appointed to investigate the general subject of factory inspection and report its findings to the Governor.

New York: (1) Children under 16 prohibited from operating drill presses, paper-cutting machines, and other dangerous machinery. (2) Factory inspection law amended, strengthening the sanitary and ventilation requirements of factories and work-shops. Also providing for proper supply of pure drinking water, suitable and convenient washrooms, clean and sanitary separate toilet-rooms for the sexes. Created State Commission to investigate sanitary machine and fire dangers. (3) All accidents occurring to employees must be reported to the Commissioner of Labor within forty-eight hours after occurrence. (This requirement should be made mandatory in all States.)

Ohio: (1) Mine laws practically rewritten, greatly improved and strengthened. (2) Safety appliance law extended, standardizing equipment, and also ordering proper protection of railway frogs and switches. (3) All persons operating steam boilers must be duly examined, licensed, and registered. (4) All accidents to factory operatives to be immediately reported to the State factory inspector. (5) Elevator and elevator shaft sections of factory inspection law strengthened. (6) Penalty for failure to guard dangerous machinery increased. (7) Penalties for failure to carry out orders of State factory inspector increased and State factory inspectors and State building inspectors granted co-equal powers in the protection of men engaged in the construction of buildings.

Rhode Island: (1) Passenger elevator section of factory inspection law improved. (2) Bakery shop inspection law strengthened by increasing the number of inspectors and making more rigid the ventilation and sanitary regulation of bakeries.

Virginia: (1) The factory inspection law improved and strengthened as to sanitary requirements, adding a penalty for violation. (2) Public washhouses and laundries placed under the authority of city inspectors of health. (3) Safety appliance law on railroads, standardizing equipment.

California: (1) Full crew bill on railroads enacted. (2) Protecting electrical workers and other building mechanics. (3) Physicians treating patients suffering from lead, phosphorus, arsenic and mercury poisoning, also anthrax or compressed air illnesses are directed to report all particulars to the State Board of Health. (4) Appropriation of \$5,000 for an investigation to reduce the prevalence of tuberculosis. (5) Tenement house law amended, improved, and strengthened regarding ventilation and sanitation.

Kansas: (1) All coal mines to be provided with suitable washrooms for employees. (2) All coal mines to have a telephone system installed.

Washington: (1) Legislation for full crews on all railroad trains enacted.

During the Sixty-first Congress a determined effort was made to obtain adequate legislation to eradicate the dangers to the health of employes in match factories. Bills were introduced by Representative Esch of Wisconsin for this purpose, which were referred to the Committee on Ways and Means. Every one whose assistance it was possible to enlist was urged by us and other sympathetic organizations to bring pressure to bear on Congress to obtain this much needed legislation. I addressed the following appeal to each member of the House Ways and Means Committee:

JANUARY 28, 1911.

DEAR SIR: The Esch Phosphorus bill, H. R. No. 30,022, is freighted with the greatest potentiality for good. It will save the workers from endless suffering, expense, disfigurement and early death; it will contribute to the well-being, the safety, the comfort, and the economy of the general public. It is one of the real measures before the third session of the Sixty-first Congress that would



earn well-merited public praise, and place our country along with others in the vanguard of civilization, from the standpoint of real, practical, serviceable and necessary conservation of human life.

In behalf of the great rank and file of the American Federation of Labor, in the name of humanity, I respectfully ask you to exert your every talent and energy to see to it that this life-conserving measure is enacted before the close of the Sixty first Congress. May I have the pleasure of saying to our membership that you have pledged yourself in behalf of H. R. No. 30,022, and that you will do your utmost to see that it becomes a law during this Congress?

Thanking you in advance and hoping to hear from you, I am, very truly  
yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
*President, American Federation of Labor.*

To this letter the following members of the committee replied, representing themselves in sympathy with the measure: Representatives Ellis, McCall, Randell, Payne, Needham, Harrison, Broussard, Pou, and Hill.

On February 21 Representative Dalzell of Pennsylvania, member of the committee, reported, in lieu of the bills introduced by Mr. Esch, a joint resolution authorizing President Taft to appoint a committee to make a thorough examination of the match factories and the disease common in them known as "phossy" jaw. That resolution passed the House February 27. The Senate passed it on March 4, after making a few minor amendments. It was sent back to the House later the same day, when everything was in the utmost confusion during the closing moments of the session. While the turmoil was at its height, Mr. Dalzell called the resolution up and deliberately moved to disagree with the Senate amendments and asked for a conference, to which the House agreed. A few moments later Congress adjourned sine die. The conferees had no time to meet and, of course, will never report upon the match bill; consequently this measure died in conference. Who will pass judgment upon this inhuman act of Dalzell of Pittsburg?

#### MINERS' SAFETY—U. S. BUREAU OF MINES.

The Bureau of Mines was created by Congress in the year 1910 as a result of a demand coming, not alone from the mining industry, but from the organized labor movement, backed by the general public sentiment. The chief purpose of the bureau is the development of greater safety and efficiency in the mining industry, or, expressed in another way, its duty is to develop means whereby health, life, and limb, as well as the mineral resources, may be best conserved.

The bureau is making diligent investigations of mining, especially in relation to the safety of miners and the conservation of the mineral resources. Of the common causes of the mine accidents, such as falls of roof and coal, gas and dust explosions, mine fires and the misuse of explosives, all of which are often closely related, each must be studied and fought in a manner peculiar to itself. The misuse of black powder and other explosives is sometimes considered the least important of the causes of mine accidents; but its importance is much greater than statistics indicate, as it is the true cause of many of the fatal mine fires, gas and dust explosions, and falls of roof that are credited to other causes.

Both the quantity of explosives and the number of purposes to which they are applied are increasing. They are now made at 150 plants, in different parts of the United States, and the product of a single year is estimated at nearly 500,000,000 pounds. Nothing in all this material is a safe, or safety, explosive when in the hands of careless or ignorant persons either in shipment or use.

In addition to the large losses of life and property resulting from improper use of explosives in mining, the recent statistics of the Railway Bureau for Safe Transportation of Explosives have shown more than 400 persons killed or injured and over \$3,000,000 worth of property destroyed by explosives in transit by rail. The fact that three years of co-operative effort under the supervision of the bureau has reduced these losses to almost nothing encourages the hope that similar co-operative effort may likewise greatly lessen losses of life and property from the use of explosives in mining.

The additions to the large death roll of our mines make a recurring appeal to the public for fair treatment of the coal mining industry, and to the miners and to the managers that they join in every possible effort for greater safety. It may never be

possible under conditions such as exist today to prevent mine accidents entirely. Little can be accomplished in that direction by either the operators or the miners working alone, but experience in all countries shows that through the hearty, determined co-operation of both, the accidents may be greatly reduced. This will require wise laws and regulations, based on fact and experience, and the strictest possible discipline.

The accidents resulting from the improper use of explosives in mining can most certainly be prevented, (1) through the use of the best and safest explosives; (2) through the handling and firing of these explosives in the safest manner by carefully selected and trained men; and (3) through strict and competent supervision.

Among the important problems before the Bureau of Mines is the reduction of the number of deaths in the mines, and it is gratifying to note that in the last three years, for which statistics are obtainable, there has been a decrease of 25 per cent.

In the year 1907, 3,125 miners lost their lives, or 4.86 in every 1,000 employed; in 1909, the last year for which there are official statistics, 2,412, or 3.62 in every 1,000 employed.

The record of the three years is as follows:

Year.	Killed.	Injured.	Death rate per 1,000 employed.
1907	3,127	5,316	4.86
1908	2,451	6,772	3.60
1909	2,412	7,979	3.62

In 1907 Great Britain, in each 1,000 men employed, had 1.13 killed; France, 1.1; and Belgium, 0.194, or less than one man in every 1,000 employed, showing that three or four times as many men were killed in the United States in that year as in any of the European coal-producing countries.

Since the bureau was organized, it has placed seven fully equipped rescue cars in the principal coal fields of the country—Wilkesbarre, Pa.; Trinidad, Colo.; Evansville, Ind.; Rock Springs, Wyo.; Billings, Mont.; Huntington, W. Va., and Pittsburgh, Pa. In addition, the bureau maintains rescue stations at Pittsburgh, Pa.; Knoxville, Tenn.; Birmingham, Ala.; Urbana, Ill.; McAlester, Okla., and Seattle, Wash.

Each rescue car and station is in the immediate charge of a mining engineer and a practical miner who is trained in rescue work. The stations and cars have complete outfits of oxygen helmets, which permit breathing for two hours in a deadly atmosphere; oxygen reviving apparatus used in bringing asphyxiated miners back to consciousness; a collapsible steel cage, to take the place of one shattered by an explosion; a portable telephone for use in the mine; safety lamps, etc.

Within the last twelve months 5,000 miners throughout the country have been thoroughly trained in rescue work. It is hoped that these men will volunteer their services whenever there is a disaster.

Each Bureau of Mines rescue car has a specified territory over which it travels, visiting the mining camps. At each stopping place, demonstrations in the use of the oxygen helmet are given, also lessons in first aid to the injured. In the evening, the mining engineer gives an illustrated lecture to the miners on greater safety in mining. Thousands of miners have attended these lectures in the last few months and have gone back to their hazardous work with a keener sense of its dangers, a desire to be more careful and to live up to the precepts of safe mining. All of this must necessarily have a salutary effect.

More than 5,000 men are injured in the coal mines of the United States every twelve months. Some recover sufficiently to return to work, but several thousands of men are so maimed and crippled each year as to be useless to themselves and burdens to their families. Many of the injured men who are taken from the mine die later, perhaps within a few months. In instances, the death of these men or their crippling for life is due to the fact that they did not receive intelligent emergency treatment at the time of the accident.

It is to better this condition of affairs that the Bureau of Mines carries on each car a practical miner trained in first-aid-to-the-injured work. This employe, while not engaged in actual rescue work, teaches the miners how to care for an injured comrade. Simple lessons in bandaging wounds and providing splints for broken legs are given at every mining camp visited. The miners are taking special interest in this feature of the work, and it promises to have an important bearing on the reduction of the death rate.

**DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.**

Mr. Sulzer of New York has reintroduced his bill for the establishment of a Department of Labor. It is known as H. R. No. 13. It has been referred to the House Committee on Labor, and the prospect for a favorable report upon it from that committee during the next session of Congress is encouraging.

In spite of the fact that the House Committee on Labor in the Sixty-first Congress decided to report this bill favorably, and so instructed its chairman, Mr. Gardner, of New Jersey, he failed to report it before that Congress adjourned.

No organized opposition has made itself apparent on this measure. Congressmen generally seem to favor the establishment of a Department of Labor, and it is confidently expected, if continued pressure is brought to bear from the members of organized labor and other broad-visioned citizens on the members of Congress in behalf of the creation of such a department, that such requests will meet with an early and favorable response.

**CIVIL SERVICE EMPLOYEES' RIGHTS.**

During the Sixty-first Congress, at the request of the American Federation of Labor, Representative Poindexter and Senator Jones of Washington, introduced in Congress bills for the purpose of restoring to Civil Service employes of the United States Government the rights of free speech and of mutual voluntary association. No material progress was made with these measures other than what could be done in the direction of crystallizing sentiment in behalf of these principles. At the St. Louis Convention resolution No. 52 was adopted, "protesting against executive orders that deprived Federal Civil Service employes of their constitutional rights as citizens to petition Congress for redress of grievances and the right of free speech," etc. In response to this resolution, the American Federation of Labor drafted a new bill, which was introduced in the Senate by Senator La Follette of Wisconsin, and is known as S. 1162; and in the House by Representative Lloyd of Missouri, as H. R. 5970. They were referred to the committees on reform in the Civil Service. Prompt action was taken by the House committee. The bill, introduced on April 18, 1914, had its first hearing on April 20, with all of the members of the committee present. Secretary Frank Morrison, Oscar F. Nelson, President of the National Federation of Post-Office Clerks, and myself, with other labor representatives, made arguments before the committee in behalf of the Lloyd bill. Considerable interest was manifested upon the subject, and the hearings were extended throughout the session. Copies of the printed hearings have been widely distributed. In opposition, Second Assistant Postmaster-General Stewart and representatives of the National Association of Manufacturers appeared before the committee. From all indications the House committee appears to be favorably disposed to the general principles contained in the Lloyd bill, H. R. 5970, and from a canvass of the House it develops that many members are in favor of legislation upon this subject. The members of Congress themselves apparently feel deeply aggrieved because of the drastic character of the executive orders, issued by ex-President Roosevelt and President Taft, forbidding Civil Service employes and subordinate officials from approaching Congressmen on matters affecting their welfare while in the Federal employ. Congressmen take the position, and in my mind it is a perfectly correct one, that they are representatives of all of the people, including those who are employed by the National Government, and, in order that they may be correctly and amply informed upon public matters, no restriction should be placed in the way of any of their constituents from approaching them, either with a complaint or with a request for a remedy for grievances.

The Senate Committee took no action upon the La Follette bill, S. 1162, during the last session, but Senator La Follette issued a circular letter with a scheduled list of questions, and sent them broadcast among the railway mail clerks, so that he might be thoroughly fortified with the most accurate information when he makes his argument for his bill before the Senate committee.

Every endeavor will be made during the next session of Congress to secure the enactment of this legislation, in order that all Government employes may thoroughly and completely enjoy all of the prerogatives contained in that clause of the Constitution of the United States which reads: "Congress shall make no laws abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or of the right of the people to peaceably assemble and to petition Congress for a redress of grievances." We, of the American Federation of Labor,

consider this to mean all the people of our nation—including those who may be permanently or temporarily employed by our Government, and we intend to see to it that these constitutional rights shall not be transgressed or invaded by whosoever occupies the White House or holds a position as a Cabinet officer.

#### LABOR OF CONVICTS.

To the St. Louis Convention I reported that the House Committee on Labor had through its chairman made a favorable report upon the convict labor bills before that Congress. I also urged that every effort be put forth in the forthcoming session of Congress to obtain favorable action on these measures. Such efforts were duly made, but Chairman Gardner (of New Jersey) declined to call the bills up, even after he had been assured that the Speaker (Cannon) would give him recognition for that purpose. Consequently the bills died upon the calendar of the Sixty-first Congress.

In the session just closed, Mr. Gardner introduced both measures again. They are known as H. R. 1239 and H. R. 1240. The first prohibits officials of the United States Government from purchasing convict-made goods for public use in the Government service; the second is the same that has been so frequently and profusely indorsed by employers, publicists, penologists, and humanitarians in general co-operation with organized labor, but which is always being caught in some peculiar dilemma in its tortuous passage through Congress; first with one mishap or excuse, and then with another. It is therefore deemed advisable to urge the friends of this measure to inaugurate a most determined and vigorous campaign for the enactment of this essential legislation during the next session of Congress. And, in view of the fact that the House Committee on Labor is more favorably disposed than the former committees to give a reasonable consideration to matters submitted to it for consideration, the prospects are bright for favorable action upon this measure.

Because the views and sentiments are in such complete accord with the avowed position of labor, I can not refrain from making a reference here to that part of the report made before the American Prison Association last month, at Omaha, Nebraska, by its President, Mr. T. D. Patton, in which he said, in part, the following:

"We are today building on the foundations which were deeply and strongly laid in the years gone by, by men who were moved by an impulse not born of man, but divinely implanted, and who were led to undertake the inauguration of measures which have finally resulted in the accomplishment of such humane results as are now generally observed in the prisons of this and of other countries. Not alone this, but this movement, under the fostering care of this organization, has been largely instrumental in securing the co-operation of other kindred organizations and societies, whose beneficent ministries are being expended, not on the prisoner directly, but upon those who are called upon to suffer by reason of the prisoner's wrongdoing; and these united efforts mark the onward progress of organized co-operation on the part of various organizations, which are justly entitled to and are freely given our highest encomiums of praise, because of the magnificent results they have accomplished.

"The enactment of such wise legislation as is best calculated to properly protect society and to provide, under humane discipline and restraint, an adequate punishment for the offender; the securing of the proper and regular employment of the prisoner in prison, under wise State law; the obtaining of a rightful portion of the prisoner's earnings for the use of his dependent family; the systematic investigation of their real needs, and the furnishing of prompt relief to the worthy, and possible effort for their rehabilitation or removal to more favorable surroundings, are some of the things for which we strive and which we are achieving."

Prisoners should be required to work not for private profits of contractors, nor even for the financial profit of the State, but for the benefit of their dependents and for their own reformation.

#### UNIFORM LAWS TO PROTECT HUMAN LIFE.

The work of prosecuting our endeavors to secure a uniformity of State laws for the protection of the health and lives of the workers is being continued. While we have not reached that position which we can proclaim is satisfactory, yet we have been much more successful than formerly, as the technical details of this report verify.

Our correspondence is steadily increasing from all parts of the country on some

detail of this vital question, and the only regret we have is that there are times when we do not have in our possession the very last word on the subject inquired about. Therefore I am constrained again to urge every central body and every State Federation to maintain a permanent Legislative Committee, to keep us supplied with the latest happenings in their localities, and to whom we can apply and in turn supply local and State information concerning legislation.

#### SEAMEN'S RIGHTS.

During the Sixty-first Congress strenuous efforts were made by the International Seamen's Union to obtain legislation that would accord to seamen the possibility of self-help and make of them free men, and in addition improve the safety of travel at sea and make more attractive the opportunities that the sea offers for American boys. Exhaustive hearings were held before the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, at which President Furuseth, of the International Seamen's Union, Secretary Olander of the Lake Seamen's Union, and Secretary Flynn, of the Marine Firemen and Water Tenders' Union, made masterful arguments in behalf of the bill (H. R. 11193), introduced by Representative Spight of Mississippi. On account, however, of the fierce opposition by Mr. McKinlay, from the Second California District, Mr. Humphreys of the First Congressional District of Washington and the sharp political practices of the Chairman of the Committee, William R. Green, of the Thirteenth District of Massachusetts, no report was made upon the bill.

Through the sympathetic co-operation of Senator La Follette, two Senate documents were printed and widely distributed. These have been of material assistance in giving publicity to the need of remedial legislation affecting maritime law and for the restoration to the men who follow the sea all of the honor, rights, and privileges which free-men hold dear.

During the present Congress, Senator La Follette has re-introduced the same bill. Its number is now known as S. 468, and Representative Wilson has introduced an identical bill in the House, known as H. R. 11372. Both have been referred to the Senate Committee on Commerce and the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

In justice, I urge all members of organized labor to aid the seamen in their worthy efforts to obtain the legislation they are seeking.

#### INSURANCE LAWS AND TRADE UNIONS.

This subject was again called to the attention of central labor bodies and State Federations in a special circular, and some considerable correspondence ensued that has been helpful, but in view of the fact that a dangerous situation might develop and menace our interests if strict vigilance is not exercised, I therefore again urge the membership in all of the States to exert themselves to secure the enactment of such definite legislation dealing with insurance matters as will permanently prevent any interference with the rights of organized labor in the humane work of caring for the sick, the injured, and the bereaved ones. It is particularly requested that the officers of our Federation be promptly advised concerning any proposed insurance legislation in any of the States at any time.

#### R. R. TRACK INSPECTION—LOADING VESSELS REGULATION.

Resolution No. 78, of the St. Louis Convention, directed the Executive Council to take such steps as they might deem proper to secure the passage of legislation by Congress providing for Government inspection and supervision by skilled inspectors, under the Interstate Commerce Commission, of the physical condition of the interstate railroad tracks, so as to insure to the traveling public the greatest possible degree of safety from accidents that might occur through defective tracks.

This matter was taken up with the Railroad Employees' Department, and after giving the whole subject careful consideration it was agreed that it would be wise to hold this matter in abeyance for the time being. The same course is being pursued in regard to the Government regulations in loading vessels.

#### SECOND-CLASS POSTAL RATES.

The Dodds Trade Union and Fraternal Publications Bill, H. R. 22,239, which passed the House June 6, 1910, in the Sixty-first Congress, was not reported out of the Senate Committee on Post-office and Post-roads by Senator Penrose, the Chairman, in spite of many thousands of petitions and resolutions which were received by him and other mem-

bers of the committee from trade unions, fraternal organizations, and other associations, urging the passage of the bill.

When the Post-office appropriation bill was before the Senate, on March 3, 1911, Senator Owen of Oklahoma offered the Dodds bill, which had passed the House, as an amendment, and he vigorously urged its adoption, but a point of order was made against it by Senator Kean of New Jersey, who contended it was new or general legislation included in an appropriation bill, and it was ruled out of order by the chair, the Senate sustaining the ruling.

The Post-office Department induced the committee to propose raising the rate on advertising matter on second-class mail to 4 cents a pound, and this proposition was incorporated in the bill, but it raised such a furious protest from all parts of the country that Senator Penrose withdrew it from the bill on the floor of the Senate. A new section was later added to the bill providing for the appointment of a special commission to take the whole subject-matter of second-class mail under investigation and report to the President by December 4, 1911. The members of the commission appointed are: United States Supreme Court Justice Charles E. Hughes; A. Lawrence Lowell, President of Harvard University; Harry A. Wheeler, President of the Chicago Association of Commerce.

About fifty editors, representing an equal number of official trade union journals, met in Chicago on July 31, to consider the proposed increase of postage rates on second-class matter and the various rulings and interpretations placed upon the laws to enter second-class matter as applied to trade union publications and the labor press.

After a careful and mature consideration the conference unanimously expressed its protest against any increase in postal rates of any kind regardless of classification, and indorsed the Dodds bill.

Two committees were formed by the conference, one of which was to appear before the commission to acquaint it with the attitude of the labor press and the labor movement on the subjects the commission had to consider. This committee was composed of Matthew Woll, President of the International Photo-Engravers' Union, and Editor of the *American Photo-Engraver*; W. J. Adames, Editor of the *Carmen's Journal*, and myself. We appeared before the commission August 10 and presented to it the views of organized labor upon the subject-matter, describing in detail the declarations of the Chicago Conference of Labor Editors; namely, that organized labor and the labor press were unalterably opposed to any increase in postal rates whatever, and we entered our protest against the administrative discrimination now prevailing against the trade union publications. At the same time, we called the commission's attention to the fact that the present effort of the Administration and Postmaster-General Hitchcock is the first attempt on record of any civilized government to increase postage rates and make the interchange of ideas among intelligent people more difficult and expensive.

We also called the commission's attention to the fact that no one, excepting the Postmaster-General, proposed changes in the present postage rate on second-class matter, and by effective comparison with other departments of the Government the demands of the Postmaster-General were shown to be illogical and inadvisable for the public good. We also urged the commission to recommend the abrogation of the present arbitrary rules and restrictions upon a free press, and particularly the ruling against the right to publish advertisements in trade union publications.

The Third Assistant Postmaster-General, Mr. Britt, undertook to reply to the statements made by labor's representatives, but instead of disproving our statements he supplemented and gave greater weight to our protest and argument. Upon examination by me, Mr. Britt not only admitted that there was a wide scope of discretionary power now in the hands of the Post-office officials, but made other statements conflicting with the past attitude of the Post-office officials, all of which, no doubt, may have some bearing upon the report of the commission.

Our committee was frequently questioned while pressing its arguments before the commission, and great interest was aroused by our presentation of facts. What effect our arguments may have had upon the commission can not be stated at this time, but can be best judged when the report of the commission is submitted. Reports of the conferences and of the committee were duly printed and widely distributed in pamphlet form.

In the meantime, during the recent extra session of Congress, Mr. Dodds reintroduced his bill known as H. R. 3972. Mr. Martin of Colorado introduced H. R. 9319, and Senator Burton of Ohio introduced S. 1713, the two latter being identical measures, only applying to the interests of trade union and fraternal society publications. These

bills have been referred to the proper committees on Post-offices and Post-roads, but no public consideration was given to them by the committees during the last session. We should take vigorous steps to urge the Congress to enact this legislation. Our interests and the public interest demand from us this imperative service.

#### IMMIGRATION.

The Sixty-first Congress during the short session refused to take up for consideration the immigration bill, requiring an educational test for immigrants, by Mr. Gardner of Massachusetts, which had been placed on the discharge committee calendar in the previous session, and it refused to take up for consideration the bill by Mr. Hayes of California, introduced by him for the purpose of obtaining legislation excluding Asiatic immigrants.

The Commission appointed by the Fifty-ninth Congress, February 29, 1907, to inquire into the general subject-matter of immigration, made its final report to Congress December 5, 1910. The Commission recommended several methods of restricting immigrants, among which were:

- (1) "The exclusion of those unable to read or write in some language.
- (2) "The reduction of the number of each race arriving each year to a certain percentage of the average of that race arriving during a given period of years.
- (3) "The exclusion of unskilled laborers unaccompanied by wives or families.
- (4) "The limitation of the number of immigrants arriving annually at any port.
- (5) "Material increase in the amount of money required to be in the possession of the immigrant at the port of arrival.
- (6) "Material increase of the head tax.
- (7) "The levying of the head tax so as to make a marked discrimination in favor of men with families."

No more splendid indorsement of the far-sighted economic position taken on this great question by the American Federation of Labor would be possible than these specific recommendations from the Immigration Commission, unless it could be the following addition to its recommendations by the Commission, in which it said:

"All these methods (quoted above) would be effective in one way or another in securing restrictions in greater or less degree. A MAJORITY OF THE COMMISSION FAVOR THE READING AND WRITING TEST AS THE MOST FEASIBLE SINGLE METHOD OF RESTRICTING UNDESIRABLE IMMIGRATION.

I think we may congratulate ourselves that this particular part of the Commission's recommendation adds emphasis to the foresight and the wisdom of the members of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, because of the fact that this suggestion and demand came originally from such bodies.

Anticipating the report of the Immigration Commission in its recommendation of the illiteracy test, the House Committee on Immigration decided, on January 13, by a vote of 6 to 4, to report out the bill, H. R. 15,413, by Mr. Gardner of Massachusetts, which provided for the educational requirement. The committee also decided that this illiteracy test bill should have preference for consideration in the House over the other bills reported by it to the House. It was reported on January 20, but never called up from the calendar, in spite of the persistent endeavors of the author, Mr. Gardner of Massachusetts, and other friends of the bill. Mr. Gardner even went so far as to introduce a resolution calling upon the Rules Committee to report out a special ruling so the bill could be considered, and I wrote the members of the Rules Committee, on January 21, urging action on their part.

All the committeemen were personally polled by our Legislative Committee and other representatives of immigration restriction organizations who were advocating the educational test bill, and many thousands of resolutions and petitions were received by Congressmen in behalf of the bill from trade unions and other organizations, but the effort was apparently in vain. Representative Dalzell of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the Rules Committee, sat stubbornly "on the lid" and refused to budge; he and his stand-pat colleagues evidently believing that free trade in labor, literate or illiterate, is positively the safest and surest method by which the vested interests can obtain an unlimited supply of low-priced, docile labor.

During the present Congress Mr. Gardner of Massachusetts has reintroduced his bill requiring an educational test for immigrants. It is known as H. R. No. 1343.

Mr. Burnett of Alabama, the new Chairman of the House Immigration Committee, has introduced bill No. 8155, which covers in a greater measure the recommendations of the Immigration Commission. It includes a broad educational qualification. It increases the head tax from four to five dollars, and contains other salutary provisions for the purpose of improving the regulations in regard to immigration. These bills have been referred to the Committee on Immigration, but no action has yet been taken. Many other bills, too numerous to specify, have been introduced by other representatives for the purpose of the better regulation of immigration.

#### PACIFIC COAST TRIP.

For several years a number of central bodies and other unions in the organized labor movement of the Pacific Coast have urged that I undertake a lecturing and organizing trip through their section of the country, stating, by formal resolutions, that it would be helpful to our cause, especially in bringing a clear understanding to the public with regard to trade union philosophy, policy, and achievement. Twice resolutions were introduced by delegates from the Pacific Coast at conventions of the American Federation of Labor, which unanimously adopted them, authorizing and directing me to accept the invitations, but owing to litigation in the courts and the sentence hanging over my head it seemed to me that I had no right to undertake a trip which would carry me so far from headquarters and from the jurisdiction of the court. Responding to the importunities, I stated that if the Supreme Court reversed Justice Wright's sentence I should endeavor to arrange to make the Pacific Coast trip.

The Supreme Court decision reversed the sentences, and though Justice Wright initiated a new contempt proceedings at once, he later announced that the case would not be taken up until October. When learning these facts, in May last the San Francisco Labor Council, by unanimous vote, repeated and insisted upon my acceptance of the invitation to visit the Pacific Coast at as early a date as possible. In the course of the correspondence on the subject during the next two months, I pleaded the difficulties in the way of sparing sufficient time for the trip, and the large amount of physical exertion incident to the journey, and the various forms of union work during it which I should necessarily be called upon to undertake. On the other hand, many of our friends of the Pacific Coast, speaking in their representative capacity, urged that the proper place for me to speak on Labor Day, in view of results, would be San Francisco, and that also more good could come from a short campaign in Los Angeles and the neighborhood than possibly could be effected by me anywhere else in the country. It was represented that a noteworthy solidifying and strengthening effect might be expected from the meetings which would take place on the coast during my travels there. No one else, they insisted, could bring to the movement the same attention that might be brought by the President of the American Federation of Labor. The correspondence to date on the question was turned over by me to the Executive Council at its meeting in June. After discussion of the various methods in which I might best employ my time, it was decided that it would be well to partially drop the routine work at headquarters and to set aside the various other engagements that had been made and that I be authorized to visit the Pacific Coast at my convenience.

Accordingly, an itinerary having been carefully arranged, I left Washington for the West on August 17, and after successfully following the route of travel laid out and fulfilling the engagements that had been made for me, I returned to Washington on October 4. In detail my itinerary was as follows:

- August 18, arrived at Chicago.
- August 19, arrived at Denver.
- August 21, arrived at Salt Lake City.
- August 23, left Salt Lake City for Butte.
- August 25, left Butte for Missoula.
- August 25, left Missoula for Spokane.
- August 27, left Spokane for Seattle.
- August 28, left Seattle for Vancouver.
- August 29, left Vancouver for Seattle.
- August 30. Addressed public meeting at Tacoma.
- August 31, left Tacoma for Portland.
- September 1, left Portland for San Francisco.



September 5, left San Francisco for San Jose.  
 September 6, left San Jose for Santa Cruz.  
 September 7, left Santa Cruz for San Francisco.  
 September 9, left San Francisco for Los Angeles.  
 September 14, left Los Angeles for San Diego.  
 September 15, left San Diego for Los Angeles.  
 September 15, left Los Angeles for Bakersfield.  
 September 17, left Bakersfield for Fresno.  
 September 23, arrived San Francisco.  
 September 25, left San Francisco for Sacramento.  
 September 28, left Sacramento on return trip to Washington, during which I stopped at Denver and at St. Louis.

On the trip I delivered thirty-four public addresses of from one and a half to two hours' duration; made about twenty short speeches, and held a large number of conferences with representative men upon important phases of our movement.

The course of my journey was marked by interesting and important events. I can not say that anywhere I met with any serious disappointment or in fact disappointment of even a trivial nature. On the contrary, from the time that I arrived in Denver and made an address there until the day when I made my last speech on the trip in Sacramento my presence was the occasion for manifestations of enthusiasm and expressions of confidence in the labor movement such as I had never before witnessed. The press gave to the incidents of my journey, and to my utterances on various occasions during it, an extraordinary amount of space. Indeed, the Western country recognized the significance and timeliness of the visit. The press seized the occasion for indirectly, when not directly, exhibiting both a sympathy with the trade union movement and a concurrence of opinion with our authorized spokesmen regarding the most important events in the recent history of organized labor. I have no complaint whatever to make regarding my treatment, either in the news columns or the editorial columns of the entire Western press, with one or two exceptions, which were to be expected. An appreciation was shown of the consistent and well-considered attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward the great social questions of the day. In short, the newspapers "printed the news" relative to my utterances and to the great assemblages which greeted me and to the reception of my views by my audiences.

The public meetings which I addressed were much of the same character, whether they took place in Denver, in Spokane, in Missoula, in Portland, in San Francisco, or Los Angeles. Everywhere the gathering was mainly made up of a fine type of intelligent wage-workers, with, on all occasions, a considerable representation from the professional, official, and business elements of society. My audiences evidently believed I had something to say, and they listened so as to hear me say it. On only one occasion was there the slightest interruption. I purposely occupied the necessary time in making my addresses to reach the general understanding, taking up a subject and so treating it that all present might have a correct impression of the subject and know my opinions as to how labor in general interpreted it. The greatest occasion naturally was that of Labor Day, on which I addressed a gathering in Shellmound Park, San Francisco, estimated at 25,000 persons. The features of the demonstration of that day, such as a parade of 45,000 workers in the principal streets of San Francisco, a decoration which was general in many parts of the city, enormous crowds on the sidewalks and in the squares, and the reading of two essays written by school children on the lessons that Labor Day teaches—these will of a certainty be long remembered in the city by the Golden Gate.

My reception in Los Angeles, considering the crusade that has been carried on by powerful enemies against trade unions, was nothing short of triumphant. Labor took the opportunity of declaring itself, its sentiments, its purposes, and its opposition to the forces which would bring dissension and disintegration to trade unionism in Southern California.

In the course of my seven weeks' trip, I was daily brought into communication with men representing other institutions than that of united labor, and in every case I was listened to with respect, and almost invariably with expressions of sympathy for the cause of labor as represented in trade unionism. The meetings were held in the largest auditoriums, "stadiums," and halls that the cities afforded and with one exception they were crowded to overflowing.

In looking back over this memorable trip, I feel that all the efforts that were made by every one who participated in the work of getting it up and in the various meetings

that were held were amply repaid. It is a common desire among men to give public expression to the faith that is in them, and the gatherings in the various cities I visited brought out thousands upon thousands of men beyond the usual membership of the unions which might be expected to be in attendance at such meetings. The wheel-horses of our movement in the various cities had but one verdict to pronounce on the outcome of the project of bringing the President of the American Federation of Labor to the Pacific Coast. In saying that the movement is the stronger as the result of that series of meetings, I trust I am not guilty of thrusting my personality before the membership. Quite apart from the personal commendations of my efforts on the coast, I have received a number of letters from the active trade unionists since my return. I quote from a letter under date of October 2 from Andrew J. Gallagher, Secretary of the San Francisco Labor Council, as a type of the general expression. It is as follows:

"I trust you arrived home safely, and while I know that you were not over-well, because of such strenuous trip, I hope that at least the recollection of your visit will reward you for the energy expended.

"Now that your trip is concluded, permit me to say, without any desire to flatter or over-estimate things, that you may return home conscious of having performed a great service for the cause. The result of your visit has been a strengthening influence for our people, and a tremendous impetus to our movement; indeed I do not know of any happening in the labor world in recent years that has stiffened the backbone of labor to the true realization of their purpose as your advice, instructions, and appeal to them.

"It is hardly probable that we may see you again, but we hope that it won't be long before the West will be again calling upon you."

The American Federation of Labor is indebted to the strong, forceful, courageous body of men who form the leadership in the unions on the Pacific Coast. In the face of the denunciations of their enemies, I declare that I found them animated by high principles, the best evidence of which is the solid support given them by the men in the trade union movement. That movement has been of the highest benefit in the cities and industrial centers of the West. Without it, wages would be at a point far below what they are, and the long day would be the prevailing one instead of the eight-hour day, as it is. It is to the credit of trade unionism that commercial men in that part of our country are doing a better business than when wages were lower and the working people unable to consume what they do now. Society is the better off in all the West for trade unionism. The working people there have the spirit to advance the labor cause. They are progressive, capable, independent. They have correct conceptions of their rights. Their future is safe in their own hands. Their affiliation with the American Federation of Labor is one of loyalty and solidarity.

#### MIGRATORY LABORERS.

Resolutions 44 and 86 of the St. Louis Convention, relating to migratory laborers, were referred by it to the Executive Council. By reason of my then contemplated visit to the Pacific Coast States, the Executive Council referred the subject-matter to me for investigation. I have seen and spoken with some of the migratory laborers and their spokesmen, and held prolonged conferences with the representative labor men of the Pacific Coast who have given this subject of migratory and casual labor their closest observation, and the following is the result of my investigations, with the recommendations I submit for your consideration and action.

The lot of the migratory laborer in the United States today is in some points worse than slavery. The slave was at least sufficiently well-nourished to enable him to perform his allotted tasks. He was assured of a shelter and in case of illness of as much care as a thrifty farmer will give to his horse or other domestic animals. But the very large proportion of unskilled or casual workers who at the present time usually find employment only on short jobs or at season work suffer a precarious existence. As they move from place to place, they often go hungry, and while at work their food is usually of a poor quality, ill prepared. Many of them do not earn enough to establish a home or to pay for medical attendance when sick or suffering from accidents. The character of much of the work performed in the United States does not permit of the steady employment of a regular body of men. Railroad extension work, the construction of bridges and highways, much work in lumbering, waterway, canal, and drainage, and in the building trades, which are mostly carried on in the less inclement seasons of the year, are

characterized by idleness for months together of tens of thousands of men. In agriculture, large bodies of men are employed during the seasons of ploughing, seeding, planting, and harvest, only to be left without steady work the rest of the year. In all, it is difficult to estimate how many men are thus living in the United States today, but the number reaches into the millions.

The Pacific Coast has its own immediate problem with regard to migratory labor, though within a few years to come local conditions will probably be so changed as to present few features distinguishable from those of the general labor situation of the United States. As has been the case for years, the question of moving the migratory laborers to the place where and at the time when needed has been a serious one affecting the Pacific Coast trade unions. While there may be congestion at one point, there may be a dearth of labor at another. While there is the general division of laborers into Asiatics and whites, there is a sub-division of non-American whites into "colonies" of Mexicans, Italians, Greeks, Russians, and others. The private employment bureaus of the Pacific Coast have been and are badly conducted. On consideration of the facts as they now exist, the establishment of State employment agencies would, in the judgment of some of the union officials of the Coast, be of benefit to the unskilled wage-workers in general and might have a tendency to aid in the special organization of the migratory workers.

The early completion of the Panama Canal, however, will without doubt bring about a total change in the labor situation of the Pacific Coast, both internally and with relation to other countries. It has already been calculated, and semi-officially published, by the agents of the steamship companies, that immigrants from Europe may be landed via the Panama Canal at Pacific Coast seaports for a less sum than is required to pay the passage to inland points in States of the Middle West. It is to be remembered that the enormous fleets of foreign vessels which are in the immigration trade are seeking business the world over. All countries, except their own, are in every case the same to them. In the pursuit of their interests they are engaged in moving vast bodies of immigrants so that the gross result will tend to be the equalization of the wage rates for less skilled grades of labor in all the civilized, or indeed semi-civilized, world. In a single year, aided by the climate, the present transatlantic fleet could carry 500,000 wage-workers from the southeast of Europe to the Pacific Coast ports, while also transporting the average yearly number to the Atlantic Coast ports. This is a more than probable forthcoming condition to be faced by our fellow trade unionists of Washington, Oregon, and California.

My own investigations of the subject of State and national labor exchanges and distribution bureaus in this country have shown me that they are inevitably linked up with the schemes of the steamship combine to bring immigrants to, and distribute them over, the United States. (See article on "Schemes to 'Distribute' Immigrants," July, 1911, issue, *American Federationist*.) In general the wage-workers seeking situations through State labor exchanges are persons engaged in hotel, restaurant, and domestic service. But whatever other laborers have been moved in gangs by such exchanges have usually been freshly landed from foreign shores. The movement of American wage-workers commonly takes place through trade union labor bureaus, newspaper advertisements, and the information given one another by fellow workmen of the same or kindred trades. It is a serious question how State labor exchanges may be established, immigration being as it is, without their becoming simply one more advantage and benefit to the corporate or private capitalists whose business is to carry labor to markets for it which in many cases are already vastly oversupplied or which may readily be supplied by our own migratory laborers elsewhere idle.

Turn which way we may, the fact invariably confronts us, in our endeavor to ameliorate the lot of the laborers now in America, that there must be a restriction of immigration. Restriction, as recommended by the United States Immigration Commission, is, if not the first step toward organizing migratory laborers, at least an essential step. There are sufficient workers on the Pacific Coast at the present time, were their shifting about intelligently systematized, to perform all the pressing work there throughout all the seasons of the year. The main trouble has been that the employers have not paid any adequate attention to the laborer as a social entity except at the moment when one is to be hired. Society has not concerned itself seriously about the casual worker. State labor exchanges might answer the purpose of distributing what laborers are on the Pacific Coast, but, we repeat, with the influx of hundreds of thousands more, they would in connection with the agencies and systems of information maintained by the steamship combine,

simply give advantage to the newcomers over the labor already in the country as is now the case in the East.

It might be well to establish a Department of the American Federation of Labor in which trade union migratory laborers should be enrolled.

A card in one union must, in case one is formed, permit the holder to transfer his membership to any other union in the Department.

The organization in the whole country, with respect to this class of laborers, would have the same relationship to the American Federation of Labor as that of the international unions through the other departments. Trade union methods in the operation of labor bureaus, in devising systems of relief, insurance, etc., might be established in the case of these laborers.

A well-conducted migratory labor exchange, or office of information, would be of far more help to the migratory laborers' union than any State labor exchange could possibly be. Such a union office could make itself thoroughly acquainted with the character of contractors and other large employers of labor. They could ascertain what any given job was to be, what the food, and what kind of sleeping quarters were to be given the men, with the pay, the hours of labor, time of payment, kind of payment, and all other particulars which the laborer has a right to know, but singly can not obtain.

The American Federation of Labor recognizes the fact that the migratory workers must be organized, and that the labor and expense of so doing must be borne by the organized workers. Its maintenance must be by the members themselves. A patronizing attitude would react and prove the undoing of the entire project to help them to help themselves, and to have them take their position side by side with the others in the ranks of the organized labor movement. Through the exertion of great energy in the labor movement of California ten unions of migratory or casual laborers have been organized in that State within the past year and chartered by the American Federation of Labor. That work must be aided and supplemented by our Federation.

#### THE MCNAMARAS-OTIS' CAMPAIGN FOR REVENGE.

When, on October 2, 1910, the newspapers published accounts of a terrible disaster in Los Angeles, in which, by the burning of a part of the Times building, twenty-one human beings lost their lives, our whole country was shocked and grieved. To no circle of society did the news bring greater distress, anxiety, or horror than to the trade unionists, for with the relation of the circumstances connected with the accident came the announcement that the owner of the *Times* and men who were allied with him in opposing organized labor had seized the occasion to denounce unionists and unionism. But, as every active member of every international or local union in the country can certify, trade unionists with one voice rose up and declared their feeling that such deeds of violence as were alleged would be the undoing of trade unionism and their desire that if it could be shown that the explosion which started the fire was wilfully caused by human agency the persons implicated should be condignly punished, no matter who they might be. As was done by all prominent union officials, I made every effort possible to gain publicity to my views on the occasion. Without the possibility of consultation on the subject, labor men, on the instant, everywhere sincerely and earnestly exhibited similar sentiments with regard both to the loss of life and the accusations of their enemies. To them and the cause, from every point of view, the event was a misfortune, an injury, a disaster.

While the débris of the wrecked Los Angeles *Times* building was still aflame, after the explosion which caused the consuming fire, Gen. Harrison Grey Otis, proprietor of the *Times*, although many miles from the spot, lost not a single moment in laying the cause of the disaster, in words of fury and hatred, to the trade unions. He could then have known little of the circumstances which might solve the mystery of the explosion, excepting as he might have been well acquainted with the fact that for some time there had been in the building a leakage of gas. He had no facts whatever, except his insane enmity, upon which to base his charge against the unions. Had he been a conscientious man, or a cool and sensible man, he would have awaited the developments of a forthcoming investigation. But Otis, in a bitter tirade, exhibited to the world his rancorous spirit toward trade unionism, his violence of character, and his thirst for revenge on union men.

As everybody knows, the dragnet investigation of the explosion and fire, after the lapse of months, left the case simply one of mystery. For half a year it was plain to all observers that circumstances were favorable for the hatching of a plot against such

union men as should be selected as the objects of Otis' diabolical revenge. Time and again the thought must have occurred to union officials: Which of us shall be the ones to have charges framed up against him? With Otis' money, of which he has millions, to be used in hiring detectives, "the biggest lot of blackmailing thieves that ever went unwhipped by justice," a plot could be concocted involving any man in the United States whose organization or whose principles had ever attracted the poisoned pen of Otis. It was not until nearly seven months had expired that, in a series of events intentionally made theatrical, organized labor and the public were apprized of the fact that Otis' victims had at length been found. The Secretary and two other members of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Association had meantime had weaved about them a body of purely circumstantial evidence sufficient to justify, not their arrest and transportation to California by the regular processes of law, but what amounted to their kidnapping attended by the slightest degree of legal formality possible.

I may be permitted to interrupt the narrative at this point to say that from that day to the present the proceedings of Otis' agents and detectives have time and again served to throw suspicion on their honesty, on their alleged facts, and hence upon their entire side of the case. The daily press in general indicated, by their slighting the information, that it was too much for their credulity to ask them to believe in the placing of suitcases near the home of General Otis and of the Los Angeles Secretary of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association the day of the explosion, except as the transparent acts of superserviceable detectives. Moreover, it is preposterous to suppose that if John J. McNamara were a dynamiter he would have any of the explosive substance either in the basement of the building containing the offices of the Structural Iron Workers' Union or in any outbuilding belonging to or rented by a member of his family. The slipping of dynamite into the hand-baggage of the two other members of the union would be a trick of legerdemain easily accomplished by any of the thieves and blackguards who are alleged by undoubted authority to be in so great a majority in their sneaking profession. The finding of clockwork dynamite bombs in various parts of the country could easily be arranged for by the veriest amateur in sleight-of-hand play.

The manner of the stealing away of John J. McNamara, without opportunity given him to make a proper defense, rendered it obligatory upon union labor to take up his case for examination and for the protection of other labor representatives who might at any time be treated in a similar manner. Therefore, as early as May 6, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor issued a circular declaring it to be the duty of union labor to defend the kidnapped men in the courts and to promptly prosecute those men most closely concerned in their wrongful and illegal arrest. This call met immediate response in the ranks of labor throughout the country. In accordance with a general sentiment, the Executive Council, together with the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, the Executive Board of the Metal Trades Department, and the executive officers of the Union Label Trades Department, met in joint session in Washington, D. C., on June 17, for the purpose of formulating such tentative plans as might be found to be immediately necessary. The joint committee adopted as a plan of action an appeal to all national and international labor organizations to contribute an amount equal to 25 cents per member, the international officers to raise the amounts from their respective membership or locals in the form and manner best adapted to each organization, the total amounts to be transmitted weekly to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, who should also be Secretary of the McNamara Legal Defense Committee. The same appeal was directed to be made to the local and Federal Labor unions directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor, and central bodies were asked to select committees for the purpose of collecting funds from workers and friends not contributing through other channels. A conference was also arranged for, to take place in Indianapolis, Indiana, on Thursday, June 29, for the purpose of discussing energetic co-operative action in the collection of funds and the defense of the McNamara case. The organizers of international unions, the officers of all labor organizations, and the labor and reform press were at the same time urged to keep continually before the people the defense of the kidnapped men. In addition, a permanent committee on ways and means was created, consisting of Frank M. Ryan, President of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Association; Samuel Gompers and Frank Morrison; James Short and William J. Spencer, President and Secretary respectively of the Building Trades Department; James O'Connell and A. J. Berres, President and Secretary respectively of the Metal Trades Department; John B. Lennon, President, and Thomas F. Tracy, Secretary of the Union Label Trades Department. It was directed

that the disbursement of all moneys should be upon the advice and through Clarence S. Darrow, chief counsel for the defense, who was empowered to employ (subject to the approval of President Gompers and Secretary Morrison) attorneys and assistants for services in the case.

The activity of our enemies was quickly shown in the circulation and publication in the press of exaggerated statements of the immense sums of money which were to be contributed for this defense fund, the transparent purpose being to forestall the collection of the money necessary.

At the conference in Indianapolis, June 29, a large number of officers of international unions were in attendance. The entire subject-matter of the defense of the McNamara brothers and the prosecution of the kidnappers was thoroughly gone into. After the discussion of all the facts of the case developed up to that time, confidence in the innocence of the imprisoned men was felt and unanimously expressed. It was decided that not only should the kidnappers be prosecuted, but that every effort be made to prevent a recurrence of such outrages in the future. The unions were urged to advance the amount equal to 25 cents per member at once to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, reimbursing their treasuries by subsequent collections from the members.

At the regular quarterly meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in June it was decided that the President and Secretary should issue a circular calling on all central labor bodies to arrange for public meetings of protest against the illegal and outrageous kidnapping of the McNamara brothers and the denial to them of the constitutional rights guaranteed to persons suspected of crime. It was also recommended that Labor Day be celebrated more generally than ever by demonstrations and addresses, and that the proceeds of the celebration be devoted to the legal defense fund in the McNamara case and the prosecution of the kidnappers. The following is a paragraph from this appeal of the Executive Council:

"The prosecution, or more properly speaking, the persecutors, have at their back the unlimited wealth and power of corporate interests. The liberty and the lives of our men must not be frittered away for want of ample means. The best legal talent, faithful to their clients and our cause, have been retained. It is easily conceivable that it requires more work and ability, entailing more expense, to unearth and expose false accusations than it requires to manufacture them. Upon labor is imposed a difficult and tremendous responsibility, which it is our purpose not to evade in the slightest degree, but it will be necessary for the great rank and file of the organized labor movement of America to respond in hearty accord, generosity, and promptness with every effort and suggestion made."

For convenience and the record, I quote the following circular letter:

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 27, 1911.

To All Workers:

For right is right, since God is God,  
And right the day must win;  
To doubt would be disloyalty,  
To falter would be sin.—Faber.

From Los Angeles last October came the news that a terrible catastrophe had occurred in that city—that the Los Angeles *Times* building had been destroyed, with the loss of a number of lives. The first word spoken, even before the flames had completed their destruction, by the emissaries of the *Times* contained positive declarations that organized labor was responsible for the disaster. Qualifying statements were conspicuous by their absence. Wide publicity was given, warped and unsupported allegations against the organized workmen of the entire country were featured, vast sums of money were dangled in the faces of unscrupulous men to fasten the crime upon some member or members of the trade unions. The National Manufacturers' Association, flanked by the Erectors' Association, Citizens' alliances, detective agencies, and a hostile press brought their, every influence to bear and appropriated every available circumstance to bulwark and fix in the public mind a mental attitude that the charges made against organized labor had been proven beyond the peradventure of a doubt.

The authors of the charge, after months of intrigue and searching investigations, utterly failed to substantiate the flamboyant and positive accusations that had been made. The public mind was slowly emerging from the hypnotic spell in which it had been enveloped, and mutterings of suspicion began to be heard against the originators of the indictments against labor men. The position of the hostile employers' associations became exceedingly desperate. The *Times* management, with its years of relentless warfare against humanity, fearing that its Belshazzar feast of organized labor's blood

was about to be denied, redoubled its efforts, and demanded that a sacrifice must be furnished that its unholy appetite might be appeased, specifying that some union workman or workmen must be supplied to assuage its unnatural and abnormal hunger.

The record of events is too well known to make it necessary to recount them in detail. That "the end justifies the means" became the slogan, is patent. With all the forces of greed compactly joined, there began a campaign of vandalism, the like of which has never before found lodgment on the pages of our American Republic's history. A prominent member of union labor was selected, J. J. McNamara, and one at whom the finger of suspicion had never before pointed, whose life had been characterized by an uprightness of purpose and loyalty to the cause of labor, and whose activities in every walk had drawn to him the commendation of his fellows. To give the stage the proper setting and to involve other trades than the iron workers, J. B. McNamara, the brother, was selected for the sacrifice.

With intrigue, falsehood, and an utter disregard for all forms of law, applying individual force, conniving with faithless officials, the two McNamaras were rushed in feverish haste to the scene of the alleged crime. The rights of these two men have been trampled upon, wilfully, flagrantly, and wantonly.

Every man, even the meanest, under the constitutional guarantees of our country, is entitled to a trial by a jury of his peers, and every man is presumed to be innocent until proven guilty. Thus far the proceedings have been outside the pale of those guarantees. The charge has been lodged against organized labor, and two of its members are now before the bar to answer to these charges. What is the duty of the organized labor movement? What shall be our course? What efforts shall we put forth to see to it that justice shall finally obtain?

The intellect, heart and soul of the men of labor yield to no body or class of citizens in their fidelity in obedience to the law, and their history is replete with instances of sacrifice that humanity may be protected. If within the ranks of labor there are those who commit infractions of the law, then they should be punished, but there should not be instituted a double standard of justice—one for the wealthy malefactor and another for the workman.

The organized labor movement believes that the McNamaras are innocent. Upon that belief there devolves upon us another duty. The accused men are workmen, without means of their own to provide a proper defense. The assault is made against organized labor equally with the McNamaras. If we are true to the obligations we have assumed, if it is hoped to forever settle this system of malicious prosecution of the men of labor, our duty is plain.

Funds must be provided to insure a fair and impartial trial. Eminent counsel has been engaged. Arrangements are proceeding that a proper defense may be made. The great need of the hour is money with which to meet the heavy drains incident to the collection of evidence and other necessary expense.

Every man who was connected with the kidnapping of the McNamaras will be prosecuted to the full limit of the law. It is proposed that the interests of organized labor shall be fully protected, and punishment meted out to detective agencies that assume to be superior to the law. The rights of the men of labor must, shall be, preserved.

The men of labor, unlike the hostile organizations arrayed against us, have not vast sums of wealth to call upon, but they are imbued with the spirit of justice, and are ever ready to make sacrifice for principle.

The trial of the McNamaras is set to commence on October 11. In the name of justice and humanity all members of our organizations are urgently requested to contribute as liberally as their abilities will permit. All contributions toward the legal defense of the McNamara cases and for the prosecution of the kidnappers should be transmitted as soon as collected to Frank Morrison, 801-809 G street N. W., Washington, D. C., who will forward a receipt for every contribution received by him, and after the trials a printed copy of the contributions received, together with the expense incurred, will be mailed to each contributor.

Fraternally,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
*President, American Federation of Labor.*

Attest: FRANK MORRISON, *Secretary.*

Approved by the McNamara Ways and Means Committee.

To raise necessary funds for the defense, the Committee on Ways and Means has devised various projects:

(1) The issuance of a McNamara stamp which might be affixed at the back of envelopes or upon letter-heads for use in official and other correspondence in the trade union movement and by sympathizers generally; these are sold at 1 cent each.

(2) The issuance of McNamara buttons, protesting against kidnapping, sold at \$4 per hundred.

(3) The committee has had made a motion picture, which has been and is being exhibited to convey to the public generally rightful pictorial information as to several instances connected with the outrageous entry into the offices of the Iron Workers and the kidnapping of McNamara, part of the proceeds of the picture to be turned over to Secretary Morrison.

The committee recommends:

That the members of national and international unions contribute liberally through their respective locals and internationals.

That central bodies appeal to workmen and other right-thinking, liberty-loving citizens for voluntary contributions.

That labor and friends of labor and to the cause of justice hold protest meetings against the kidnapping and the persecution of the McNamaras.

That the labor and friendly papers publish and keep standing an appeal for aid and assistance to the defense fund and the kidnapping prosecution; that the names of contributors be published in the labor press and that the proceeds be weekly transmitted to Secretary Morrison.

And, further, by every honorable means within our power, the obligation be met in order that sufficient funds may be at the disposal of counsel and their assistants and for defraying the necessary expenses of experts and witnesses. Every dollar thus far received has been, and all moneys received in the future will be, placed in the hands of counsel in these cases for proper expenditure.

The trial opened at Los Angeles October 11 in impaneling of the jury, the progress of the trial being watched with the closest interest, not only by labor union membership but by the country in general. Any review of the trial, so far as it has proceeded, it is not my purpose to present at this time.

In considering this case, attention should be given to the article "The McNamara Case," appearing in the June, 1911, issue of the *American Federationist*, and the editorial in the July issue under the same title.

#### THE TRIANGLE SHIRT-WAIST FACTORY FIRE.

In the first week of April last 143 employes of the Triangle Shirt-Waist Company came to their death through the burning of the company's factory in Washington Place, New York. No event ever taking place in this country occasioned severer denunciation of a firm of employers. It came out that the employes working in the two upper stories of the ten-story building were so placed while at work that escape during a panic was almost impossible. Doors which opened inward were locked; barely space for one person to move at a time was left between the rows of sewing machines; the goods being worked up were of a flimsy and inflammable character, and no fire drills had ever been performed by the force. The Chief of New York's Fire Department later testified that it would have taken more than an hour for the employes to make their escape through the fire exits provided.

When the fire occurred most of the employes, of whom nine-tenths were women, were left to the dreadful choice of burning in the workrooms or leaping to their death from the height of the ninth or tenth story of the building.

A public demonstration of labor took place in New York on Thursday, April 6, at the time at which many of the victims were being buried in another part of the city. The number of persons marching at the demonstration was estimated at from seventy-five to one hundred thousand. The procession was one of the largest of wage-earners ever taking place in New York. It attracted half a million spectators along the lines of march, in spite of a heavy downpour of rain and the muddy streets.

In the numerous investigations, official and otherwise, following the burning of these poor wage-earners, the fact was brought to light that very few factories in the clothing trades in New York were fire proof or so arranged as to prevent similar catastrophes. The Legislature of New York created a Commission of nine (to which I have been appointed a member) to act without compensation, for the purpose of making a



thorough investigation of the safety of workers in regard to sanitation, dangerous machinery and fire. The Commission has had several sessions and contemplates thoroughness in its investigation and recommendations.

In view of the cruel and blind selfishness of a class of employers in regard to the health and safety of workers in several parts of our country, it is urgently recommended that our State Federations and city central bodies in industrial centers demand not only the enforcement of existing law in factories, workshops, mills, and mines, but also the promotion of inquiry as to the needed laws for better—aye, humanly considered, absolutely necessary—sanitary home and workshop conditions, including safety from dangerous machinery and from fire and panic.

#### **LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' STRIKE.**

Cleveland is one of the chief centers of importance in the ladies' garment trade. It being the policy of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to improve and to more nearly equalize conditions all over the country, an attempt was made to so organize the Cleveland workers at that calling as to enable them to support the requirements of the general scale. A combination of rich and powerful employers determined to break down all attempts at organization. The consequence was a strike, which was declared early in June. By the middle of the month the number out was about eight thousand. On the first of August, the number out was still six thousand. For weeks and months since, the strikers stood firm.

The strike has been characterized by oppression by the police, by a stubbornness of the combined employers which puts their business in jeopardy, by the loyalty of the strikers to one another, and by the extraordinary amount given in relief by the wage-workers of the trade throughout the country. The strike has cost the union \$20,000 a week.

Much of the time of the strike has covered a good part of the dull season in the trade.

The Cleveland manufacturers have for years pursued a selfish and dictatorial course toward their employes. It has been the custom elsewhere in the cloak and skirt shops, union or non union, to adjust prices on the various styles of garments through a committee representing the piece workers, known in the trade as a "price committee." The Cleveland manufacturers are the only ones in this country who never have followed that system. The employes were obliged to accept the prices fixed by the employer or leave the shop. They have never known what their wages were until their pay envelope was opened. The Manufacturers' Association on every occasion has rejected the peaceful advances of the officers of the international union. They stood for no collective bargaining in any form. They insisted upon dealing with their employes, who are chiefly women and children, individually.

The demands of the strikers are a fifty-hour week, no Saturday afternoon and no Sunday work; the abolition of charging for use of machines, power and material; the abolition of subcontracting; a minimum scale for week workers, and price committees for piece workers. Regardless of the immediate outcome of this contest, if labor and the sympathetic public will give their moral support to the struggling ladies' garment workers, their cause will surely triumph.

#### **THE BALDWIN STRIKE.**

On the 26th of last May, 1,200 of the 14,000 employes of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, in Philadelphia, Pa., were laid off, the cause, as alleged by the managers, being merely a reduction of the working force. But among the 1,200 were sixty out of seventy-five of the shop committeemen of the machinists, together with officials of the dozen other crafts in the Allied Locomotive Builders' Council. Two days afterward (28th), this council called special meetings of all the local unions having members working for the Baldwin Company, and at these meetings (30th) the council, in conjunction with the representatives of the international unions concerned, was authorized to take up the issue, and if necessary to call a strike in the works. A committee representing the various trades and the international officials called on Superintendent John Sykes, of the company (31st), who refused to go into conference with them, but expressed a willingness to meet delegated employes of the company. A committee so composed, on conferring with him, the same afternoon, and again on June 1, found that he would make no promises regarding reinstatement of the men. On June 4, in the afternoon, the international officers, after a three hours' discussion, decided that a strike would be inopportune. The same evening, after a discussion of equal length, the workmen's Locomotive Build-

ers' Council concurred in this decision. Excitement ran high among members, and some of them attempted to call a strike, late the same night, after the conclusions of their two representative bodies became known. For a week afterward some of the Baldwin employees clamored for a strike, and then numbers began quitting the works, until on June 13 about 12,000 of the 14,000 were out. Their spokesmen alleged that the company's system of "espionage, punishments, discharges, and victimization" was beyond human endurance, and that, despite the advice to the contrary of their council delegates and international officers, they had determined to take the risks of a strike. The company (July 8) refused to entertain any committee from the men unless it was understood that the men return as non-unionists. Public sentiment in Philadelphia was strongly with the strikers, and the latter stood by their colors with stubborn resisting power, but as the weeks went by it became plain that their funds were insufficient. By the middle of August the contest was over.

The lesson that was taught by this action of the wage-workers for a great corporation is the necessity for thorough organization, for a large treasury, and for heeding the advice of officials of experience, who possess a knowledge of the state of trade and employment throughout the country. It is true that on occasions, when practically all the workers of a calling may reasonably be expected to respond to the demands of the more outspoken and venturesome, everything may be risked on a general walkout and a complete tie-up of an industry. Enthusiasm, public opinion, financial aid from many quarters—these may, in such circumstances, stand in the place of the usual reliance of established trade unions on their financial resources. Successes, and notable ones, have thus been gained; but the international officers and the local union delegates may usually be trusted to foresee the chances for or against victory.



#### EFFICIENCY.

The year has witnessed a discussion on a national scale of the doctrines and practice of "Scientific Management." This new economic gospel has its prophets and its policies, and for a brief time had its crusade. While its leaders professed that its objects comprised many reforms in management, arguments in favor of what came to be popularly called "efficiency" principally turned upon the idea of getting more product out of the toil of the laborer. The phases of efficiency presented to the wage-workers were those of systems long known, both to indoor and outdoor workers. Included in the scheme were the bonus and piece systems, together with methods of contracting and of fining which have long been fought by trade unionists, and also a method of sweating, by which if a stated task were not completed the promised bonus for it was entirely lost and wages fell to a point at which they would have stood on the ordinary day's production.

Many absurd or unfounded claims were for a time advanced in support of the so-called "Scientific Management." It was said, for example, that in the course of its application, now extending over more than a decade, it had never occasioned a strike. The truth is that only during the last year its attempted introduction has brought on a series of labor disputes, the employees in the navy yards and on other Government work having struck against it by the means immediately at their hand, namely, an appeal to Congress against the changes, and especially the sweating, the system brings into practice.

As one book after another, or one pamphlet after another, was issued on the subject, numerous public addresses being made meantime by its supporters, it became more and more evident that the men whose names were chiefly associated with it were not in agreement as to the principles of "efficiency" and its application. It is to be said today that the system has been far from uniformly successful. It has been abandoned in some of the largest works where some years ago it was adopted. The fallacy in the statement that wages were increased by the application of scientific management is now generally recognized. For the time being, after its adoption, the wages of a small proportion of a force may be raised, whereas much of the work usually done by skilled men is turned over to unskilled helpers, working far below the wages usually paid to mechanics. It is plain that the system is not adaptable to most of the work done on time. It has been said that in America 50,000 persons were working under the system. If so, the fact can not be proven by any detailed statistics taken by any census, so far as trade unionists have been able to ascertain. It originated in, and has been chiefly confined to, the workshops of certain large companies which have been notorious employers of non-union and freshly-arrived foreign labor. In large shops it has long been known that certain operations which are performed without variation day after day may only require a low-wage

machine attendant, and if the preliminary stages of the work have been systematized, of course the output will be large at a low cost. In small shops, however, and in industries in which the shopwork is not the main factor, the field for the pyramidal labor arrangement, or organization, of scientific management is small. Moreover, the promoters of the system have so extravagantly advertised its claims, and especially their charges of wilful loafing against American laborers, that the general conclusion is that they are mere discoverers of a "mare's nest." They have expected the public to give credence to the absurdity that workmen in general "soldier" to the extent of "one third or even one-half of a proper day's work." The public has refused to believe this slander on the American workingman, and the workers themselves have everywhere challenged these traducers to bring forward proofs of their assertions. In view of the fact that America's workers are the greatest producers per man and in the aggregate in the whole world, it is an offense against the common sense of men to ask them to believe that, in shops where foremen are ever on the alert, where the penalty for loafing is discharge, where all the men strive to be among those kept on in dull times, where the great majority of them are responsible fathers or supporting members of families, the workers would by common consent endeavor to deceive and defraud their employers by delivering only half a day's work for a full day's work. All of "Scientific Management" which is built upon this basis of detraction must obviously be disbelieved.

As the discussion now stands, the wage-workers have by far the best of it. The system has not been taken up by employers in general. The number that have shown much interest in it form a very small proportion throughout the country. Railroad managers have treated the estimated possible savings to industry by "efficiency" prophets with contempt. It may also be said that employes have been slow to believe that such wonderful improvements could be made in management as they have proclaimed. In a book issued by one of the authors supporting the system, the statement is made that where one point relating to the wage-earner was to be improved, nine points relating to the employer could be improved. Inasmuch as the advocates of "efficiency" have failed to make much of a success on the one point pertaining to the workshop, we respectfully invite their attention to the nine points in the office department which await their labors.

The verdict on efficiency has been pronounced by society. It has already been relegated to a place on a shelf among the nostrums, sensations, and paraphernalia of magic workers of the past. The American public has not welcomed the spectacle of steel works where, under an inspector, stop-watch in hand, one man is carrying five tons of pig iron where he formerly carried one, or of a bicycle shop where one girl does the work formerly done by three, when she is not carried out fainting, or where in a textile mill a girl is paid for the ordinary day's work after she has striven and strained and almost completed the allotted bonus task of doing two days work in one.

It may be interesting to state that the Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives, Hon. William B. Wilson, chairman, is conducting an investigation into the claims of so-called "Scientific Management" or "Efficiency."

#### LABOR DAY AND LABOR SUNDAY.

Labor Day is now an American continental holiday as well established as the Fourth of July in the United States. No conspicuous new feature is to be recorded in its observance of recent years, although it may be said that the tendency is less to make it a day of devotion to sports, a considerable proportion of the laboring people now devoting the day, or a part of the day, to a serious study of the important social questions before the people. Meetings and parades on a scale seldom surpassed were held in most of the principal cities. The turn-out of the workers was in some of the larger centers of population double what had been expected, and the enthusiasm and determination of the workers in support of trade unionism and in defense of union principles caused unusual comments in the daily press.

Labor Sunday was better observed than ever before. The churches are manifesting a desire to become more helpful to union labor and are certainly coming to a better understanding with its supporters. In many churches in the country, labor men were invited to address the congregations in advocacy of our cause. The number of prominent professional men who contributed articles to the labor periodicals, especially to the *American Federationist*, on the occasion of Labor Day, was noteworthy, which is indicative of the turning tide in favor of union labor even among those who can not be regarded as wage-workers.

### ORGANIZERS.

The total number of organizers at present holding commissions issued by the American Federation of Labor is 1,594, an increase over last year of 132, when the number was 1,462. This corps of organizers, of course, does not include those directly representing the local and international unions, but is composed only of men and women working without compensation for the labor movement as a whole under the direction of our Federation.

In their labors our organizers especially illustrate the zeal, courage and intelligent effort which may always be relied upon in movements intended to promote the common good. There is not one of these organizers but has considered the various methods by which he, or she, might aid their fellow-workers, and has selected organization as the most promising in achievement. Most of them have proceeded with their labors year in and year out, asking no remuneration other than the feeling of having performed a duty. They have been unselfish. They are honored by their co-workers, who know and appreciate them. They deserve the sincere thanks of the delegates here assembled, which I take pleasure in expressing on behalf of the great movement in which we are enlisted.

### THE LABOR PRESS.

The labor press is yearly becoming more harmonious in its aims, its teachings, and in its strict trade union policy. It is less liable today than ever to drift off into advocacy of movements aside from that of trade unionism, which occasionally succeed, but only for a while, in misleading the working classes. The promotion and maintenance of the organizations of wage-workers and the advancement of our cause being the chief aim of labor editors, the latter, taught by experience, are today fighting a clearer-cut trade union battle. The news matter furnished from the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor has been generally reprinted to a considerable extent in the labor press of the country.

We renew our recommendation to trade unionists thoroughly to support their local labor paper. Every industrial center is the better off for having an organ representing the sentiment of the organized wage-workers, ever ready to be the defender of the trade unionists in any dispute which may break out with the employing classes. The work done for the cause of the trade unions by a good labor paper can never be fully repaid. The labor press of America is a credit to the movement. Without it, education, not only in trade unionism but with respect to all the various classes of social reform, would be sadly incomplete. In a number of instances during the last year, labor papers have been the courageous exponents and champions of the rights of the people. They should not be forgotten by their constituents. Thousands of labor men have been brought into the movement through what they have read in the labor press, and thousands in the ranks could never obtain a correct impression of current labor topics were they to depend on periodicals other than the labor press. It is to be said today of the hundreds of labor newspapers in this country that never were they more deeply united, never had they a better understanding with one another and their readers, and never were they held in higher esteem by the rank and file of the wage-workers in their respective territories.

### AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST.

I believe we can point with pardonable pride to the contents of the Labor Day edition in September of the *American Federationist*. The number of men prominent throughout the country who contributed articles or sentiments for that edition is remarkable. It is to be remembered that many men of the professional and business classes run the risk of injury to their personal interests in expressing sentiments favorable to trade unionism in the national organ of the trade unions.

The many able articles contributed during the year to the pages of our official organ, taken together, form a body of literature relating to labor topics such as few other publications have endeavored to command. Any one who has read the last twelve numbers must have received a fair education with regard to the labor movements of the world.

It was never expected that the publication of an organ for our national movement would result in declaring dividends. Its purpose is educational. That is, it has been, and is intended to be, the medium by which the earnest and serious reader may be educated in the principles of trade unionism, and may obtain the views of prominent trade unionists and of qualified writers regarding the events of the day.

The splendid work of our organizers from month to month is duly recorded in the *American Federationist*, giving an insight into the details of advancing the cause in all parts of the great territory in which our Federation is at work. It has come to our knowledge that on several occasions the contents of the *American Federationist* during the past year has caused our opponents to change the conduct of their campaign or to give up contemplated moves against trade unionism. We have also been informed quite frequently of alteration in the opinions of employers who have been prejudiced against our movement. It is our endeavor, in conducting our national magazine, to present the cause of labor in such form and in such manner as to commend it to the minds of reasoning men. We feel sure that this policy has been appreciated by our trade union readers.

While it is true that it has never been expected to be a paying venture in the sense of making sufficient money above expenses to add anything to our treasury, the magazine ought at least to pay for itself. The delegates are therefore asked to do what lies in their power on their return home in obtaining new subscriptions for their own magazine, the *American Federationist*.

### CONCLUSION.

Despite all opposition of the most relentless kind the American labor movement grows and thrives; its beneficent influence for the common uplift of labor and of all our people extends to all fields of useful activity and is becoming more generally recognized. The power which labor holds within its grasp is understood by our opponents as well as—aye, perhaps better than—by many of the toilers themselves. The fact is that labor's opponents, like the Tories of the past, many of whom are still with us, are afraid to trust the people, forgetful of the fact (and some never learn) that the entire history of the human race has been, as particularly exemplified by the people of our country, that power vested in a free people is safer, more progressive, and humanizing than power vested in a few or in an autocrat. With power in the hands of labor and of the people generally comes a quickening sense of responsibility. And though errors are liable to occur, they bring experience and an avoidance of recurrence. The errors or encroachments of the few or of an autocrat teach them no lessons and are rectified only by the people's revolt. How perfectly safe freedom is, is a truth not yet fully understood.

I have sincere pleasure in reporting that my relations with my colleagues of the Executive Council have continued to be all that could be desired as between men engaged at serious work for an honorable cause. The Council is as one man with respect to the policies and operations of the labor movement as exemplified in the American Federation of Labor. Its sessions during the year have been business-like and harmonious.

I also am enabled by the facts to report that in our work at headquarters we have been gratified throughout the last year at the testimony, reaching us from all parts of the country, of the satisfaction of the masses of the wage-workers with the continual progress of trade unionism. That satisfaction is usually entertained to the highest degree and expressed most emphatically by the veterans whose experience has covered decades; though, on the other hand, the enthusiasm of the newer recruits is frequently boundless in consequence of their sharing for the first time in the helpfulness of their organized fellow-workers. In either case, the recognition and appreciation of our movement is a source of encouragement, than which none could be better in character.

This report, naturally, considering the large number of matters constantly coming up for discussion by the wage-workers on a national scale, leaves many subjects either untouched or inadequately presented under its various headings. A question in preparing it has at every stage been the selection of the more pressing phases of our labor problem. I have endeavored to put before you the points which, to my mind, are most necessary for your consideration. That the task might be better done I am only too deeply sensible. But, in the stress of my daily routine, with the time I am called upon to employ in traveling, and the endless special work of adjudicating cases referred to me in jurisdictional controversies and the like, my days for preparing the annual report are none too many. Such as the report is, I turn it over to your hands for your consideration, feeling that under the circumstances I have done my best to render it worthy of our cause.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
President, American Federation of Labor.

## SECRETARY MORRISON'S REPORT.

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:*

FELLOW-UNIONISTS—I have the honor to submit a report to you of the receipts and expenditures for the past twelve (12) months, beginning October 1, 1910, and ending September 30, 1911.

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I report at the close of this fiscal year \$189,579.56 in the treasury. Of the amount on hand, \$133,782.34 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions, and can be used to pay benefits only in the case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions. The balance, \$55,797.22, is in the general fund. Of that fund only \$15,155.29 is available for the general expenses of the American Federation of Labor. The balance, \$40,641.93, is divided as follows: In the fund created by the one-cent assessment levied in accordance with the recommendation of the Norfolk Convention, and the receipts from the appeals issued for the same purpose, i. e., to be used for the legal defense of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and officers and members of affiliated unions in the injunction suit, \$22,433.15. In the fund created by the three-cent assessment for the Hatters' strike, \$226.45. In the fund created by the two-cent assessment levied to take an appeal from the decision rendered against the United Hatters in favor of Loewe & Company, \$17,909.48. In the fund created by the one-cent assessment levied in accordance with the recommendation of the Norfolk Convention, for the purpose of placing organizers in Los Angeles and other cities, \$72.85.

The total receipts from all sources are \$182,188.68; the total expenses are \$175,524.08; leaving a balance of receipts over expenditures of \$6,664.60.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending September 30, 1911:

### RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand September 30, 1910.....		\$182,914 06
Per capita tax.....	\$122,968 90	
Supplies.....	9,805 44	
Interest on funds on deposit.....	4,372 10*	
<i>American Federationist</i> .....	18,213 98	
Assessment, Los Angeles.....	19 06	
Assessment, for legal defense.....	19 00	
Assessment, United Hatters three-cent (3-c).....	182 54	
Assessment, two-cent (2-c).....	7,638 80	
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	16,010 75	
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	2,988 55	
	<hr/>	182,188 08
Total.....		\$365,103 04

### EXPENSES.

General.....	\$137,973 74	
<i>American Federationist</i> .....	20,013 58	
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	4,192 00	
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	1,414 38	
Assessment, for legal defense.....	70 78	
Assessment, United Hatters, two-cent (2-c).....	10,955 62	
	<hr/>	175,524 08
Balance on hand September 30, 1911.....		\$189,579 56

### RECAPITULATION.

In general fund.....	\$55,797 22
In defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	133,782 34
Total.....	<hr/> \$189,579 56

\*Treasurer Lennon collected \$600 additional interest; but his check for that amount, mailed at Bloomington, Ill., Friday evening, September 29, did not reach headquarters until Monday morning, October 2, too late to be included in the receipts of the fiscal year ending September 30, 1911, but it is included in the receipts for October 2, 1911.

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses:

**Appropriations:**

Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.....	\$600 00
Union Label Trades Department.....	87 73
Rent.....	4,597 00
Refunds of premiums on bonds and supplies returned.....	27 20
<b>Premiums:</b>	
Bonds, local unions.....	1,426 38
Treasurer's bond.....	125 00
Secretary's bond.....	30 00
Fire insurance.....	21 60
Committee on Industrial Education.....	119 90
Expressage, freight, and drayage.....	1,267 71
International Secretariat per capita tax for 12 months on 1,700,000 members.....	608 02
Legislative expenses.....	2,455 27
Newspapers, magazines, and books.....	109 53
Office fixtures.....	21 75
Postage stamps.....	2,438 58
Printing and binding bound proceedings of St. Louis Convention.....	1,571 85
Stamped envelopes.....	900 48
Supplies and printing.....	13,361 56
Telegrams.....	803 51
Expenses American Federation of Labor delegate to St. Louis Convention of the Union Label Trades Department.....	50 00
Expenses American Federation of Labor delegate attending Convention of the International Secretariat, Budapest, and visiting other countries according to instructions of the Executive Council, American Federation of Labor.....	850 00
Expenses on account of illness of Miss Z. J. Taylor, delegate from Topeka, Kans., to St. Louis American Federation of Labor Convention.....	17 50
Expenses doctor bill and hospital services to Frank L. Coffey, delegate from Lincoln, Neb., to St. Louis American Federation of Labor Convention.....	189 50
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada.....	426 45
Expenses of fraternal delegates to British Trades Union Congress and Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	951 20
<b>St. Louis Convention:</b>	
Committee rooms.....	232 00
Expenses Secretary attending St. Louis Convention.....	168 95
Messenger, Sergeant-at-Arms, and Assistant Secretary.....	307 07
Printing and supplies.....	121 23
Printing daily proceedings.....	1,320 50
Stenographers.....	995 70
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, baggage, stationery, reading proof, sending out daily proceedings, rent of typewriters, photographs.....	121 25
<b>Salary:</b>	
President.....	5,000 00
Secretary.....	4,000 00
Treasurer.....	500 00
Office employees.....	27,063 73
Janitor service.....	23 25
<b>Expenses:</b>	
Auditing and Credential Committee.....	268 95
Executive Council meetings.....	4,018 57
President.....	1,340 20
Secretary.....	564 82
<b>Defense Fund:</b>	
Strike benefits.....	4,192 00
<b>Assessment:</b>	
For United Hatters of America (2-cent).....	10,925 62
For legal defense (1-cent).....	70 78
<b>Appeal:</b>	
Legal defense fund.....	11,504 17
Organizing expenses.....	46,962 05
Printing and publishing <i>American Federationist</i> .....	20,913 56
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$175,524 08</b>

## RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES 1881 TO 1911.

I herewith furnish a table giving the receipts and expenditures for the past 31 years:

YEAR.	Receipts.	Expenditures.
1881.....	\$174 00	\$154 00
1882.....	268 20	252 25
1883.....	690 19	352 32
1884.....	387 42	548 30
1885.....	584 08	450 53
1886.....	474 11	635 06
1887.....	1,989 62	2,074 39
1888.....	4,512 55	3,933 67
1889.....	6,838 40	6,573 33
1890.....	23,949 74	21,070 57
1891.....	17,702 36	13,190 07
1892.....	17,684 61	18,324 60
1893.....	20,864 62	21,383 36
1894.....	15,346 43	17,302 08
1895.....	13,751 75	15,612 42
1896.....	16,290 18	15,452 95
1897.....	18,639 92	19,113 33
1898.....	18,894 15	19,197 17
1899.....	36,757 13	30,599 22
1900.....	71,125 82	68,373 59
1901.....	115,220 89	118,708 59
1902.....	144,498 21	119,098 74
1903.....	247,802 96	196,015 57
1904.....	220,995 97	208,991 15
1905.....	207,417 62	196,170 10
1906.....	217,515 18	218,540 04
1907.....	174,330 26	159,860 84
1908.....	207,655 23	196,887 86
1909.....	232,577 64	203,702 07
1910.....	193,470 84	177,359 84
1911.....	182,188 68	175,524 08
Total.....	\$2,430,668 81	\$2,241,089 25

## RECAPITULATION.

Receipts.....	\$2,430,668 81
Expenses.....	2,241,089 25
Balance on hand September 30, 1911.....	\$190,579 56

## ONE-CENT ASSESSMENT.

This assessment was levied on November 29, 1907, to place organizers in Los Angeles, Cal., and other cities where the manufacturers were, and are now, endeavoring to disrupt labor unions. There was a balance of \$53.79 September 30, 1910. There has been received into this fund during the fiscal year \$19.06, and no money paid out; hence there is a balance of \$72.85.

## ONE-CENT ASSESSMENT.

This assessment was levied November 29, 1907, to be used for the legal defense of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and officers and members of affiliated unions in injunction suits. There was a balance of \$54.33 September 30, 1910. There has been received into this fund during the fiscal year \$19.06, and paid out of it \$70.78 on account of attorneys' fees and expenses to Ralston, Siddons & Richardson; hence there is a balance of \$2.61.

## THREE-CENT HATTERS' ASSESSMENT.

This assessment was levied on February 20, 1909, to assist the protracted strike of the United Hatters of North America. There was a balance of \$63.91 September 30, 1910. There has been received into this fund during the fiscal year \$162.54, and no money paid out; hence there is a balance of \$226.45.



## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

## APPEAL FOR VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS.

The following is an itemized statement of the amount received from the appeals issued to local unions requesting appropriations to be used for the legal defense of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and officers and members of affiliated unions in the injunction suit, and an itemized statement of the moneys paid out of that fund during the fiscal year ending September 30, 1911:

## RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand September 30, 1910.....	\$34,024 71
Receipts from October 1, 1910, to September 30, 1911.....	
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$34,024 71</b>

## EXPENSES.

## On account of attorney fees and expenses:

Parker, Hatch & Sheehan.....	\$5,562 97
Balston, Siddons & Richardson.....	6,275 53
Balance for cost of writ of certiorari to Court of Appeals.....	19 40
Cost of appeal from Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia.....	270 92
Cost of reporting arguments in contempt case.....	180 00
Expenses for month of October, 1910, Samuel Gompers, President.....	183 75
Expenses incurred in attending conferences relative to the injunction and contempt proceedings, John Mitchell.....	66 00
Stenographic services in the contempt proceedings against officers of the A. F. of L.,.....	35 00
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$11,594 17</b>

## RECAPITULATION.

Receipts .....	\$34,024 71
Expenses .....	11,594 17
<b>Balance on hand September 30, 1911.....</b>	<b>\$22,430 54</b>

## TWO-CENT ASSESSMENT.

This assessment was levied on the membership of all affiliated organizations on April 22, 1910, upon the application of the officers of the United Hatters based upon the instructions of the Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor to the Executive Council to take whatever action was necessary to carry into effect the resolution adopted by that Convention, pledging the moral and financial assistance of the American Federation of Labor in their struggle. The proceeds of this assessment are being used to defray the expenses in taking an appeal from the decision of the Federal Court of the State of Connecticut, under which the Loewe Company was awarded damages against the members of the Hatters in the sum of \$222,000, to the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of New York and New England.

## RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand September 30, 1910.....	\$21,196 80
Receipts from unions, October 1, 1910, to September 30, 1911.....	2,289 40
Refund from Anti-Boycott Association of costs incurred in appealing Hatters' case.....	5,348 90
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$28,835 10</b>

## EXPENSES.

## On account of attorney fees and expenses:

Parker, Hatch & Sheehan.....	\$5,014 55
Bristol, Stoddard, Beach & Fisher.....	2,524 27
Frank L. Mulholland.....	1,975 23
Fee of clerk of Circuit Court of Appeals.....	825 00
Balance for printing appeal in case of Lawlor vs. D. E. Loewe et al.....	596 57
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$10,925 62</b>

## RECAPITULATION.

Receipts .....	\$28,835 10
Expenses .....	10,925 62
<b>Balance on hand September 30, 1911.....</b>	<b>\$17,909 48</b>

## CHARTERS ISSUED.

During the twelve months ending September 30, 1911, there have been issued **326** charters to National and International, Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.

Of this number, three were granted to the following Internationals:

White Rats Actors' Union of America.

American Brotherhood of Slate Workers.

Western Federation of Miners.

Trade unions, 207; Federal Labor unions, 55.

Sixty-one Central bodies, as follows:

<b>Arizona:</b>	<b>Kentucky:</b>	<b>Oklahoma:</b>
Prescott.	Lexington.	Durant.
Tucson.	Maine:	Henrietta.
<b>Arkansas:</b>	East Millinocket.	Muskogee.
Russellville.	Rumford.	<b>Oregon:</b>
<b>California:</b>	<b>Massachusetts:</b>	Baker.
Petaluma.	Norfolk County.	Medford and Vicinity.
Richmond.	<b>Michigan:</b>	Roseburg.
Santa Rosa.	Ludington.	Salem.
Stanislaus County.	<b>Minnesota:</b>	The Dalles.
<b>Colorado:</b>	Crookston.	<b>Pennsylvania:</b>
Alamosa.	International Falls.	Hazleton.
Silverton.	Virginia.	Point Marion.
<b>Connecticut:</b>	<b>Mississippi:</b>	Quakertown and Vicinity.
Meriden.	Meridian.	<b>Porto Rico:</b>
South Norwalk.	<b>Montana:</b>	Juncos.
<b>Florida:</b>	Cascade County.	<b>Tennessee:</b>
St. Augustine.	Lewistown.	Knoxville:
<b>Georgia:</b>	<b>Nevada:</b>	<b>Texas:</b>
Augusta.	Ely.	Bridgeport.
<b>Illinois:</b>	<b>New Jersey:</b>	Cleburne.
Calro.	Atlantic City and Vicinity.	Paris and Vicinity.
Lincoln.	Passaic.	Temple.
Olney.	<b>New York:</b>	Texarkana.
<b>Indiana:</b>	Hudson Falls.	<b>Washington:</b>
Frankfort.	<b>North Carolina:</b>	Klma.
<b>Iowa:</b>	Rowan County.	Wenatchee.
Mason City.	<b>North Dakota:</b>	<b>West Virginia:</b>
<b>Kansas:</b>	Grand Forks.	Huntington.
Arkansas City.	<b>Ohio:</b>	<b>Wisconsin:</b>
Coffeyville.	East Palestine	Beloit.
Fort Scott.		

## CHARTERS ISSUED 1897-1911.

YEAR.	In-ternational.	De-part-ment.	State.	Central.	Trade Unions.	Federal Unions.	Total.
1897	8	.....	2	18	154	35	217
1898	9	.....	0	12	129	53	203
1899	9	.....	1	35	303	101	449
1900	14	.....	5	96	484	250	849
1901	7	.....	4	123	575	297	916
1902 (eleven months)	14	.....	6	127	598	279	1,024
1903	20	.....	3	171	743	396	1,333
1904	11	.....	5	99	179	149	443
1905	3	.....	1	67	143	73	287
1906	6	.....	4	53	167	87	317
1907	3	.....	1	72	204	93	373
1908	0	2	4	73	100	55	234
1909	3	2	2	40	77	52	176
1910	2	0	1	83	152	95	334
1911	3	0	0	61	207	55	326
<b>Totals.....</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>1,130</b>	<b>4,215</b>	<b>1,981</b>	<b>7,481</b>

International .....	8
Central .....	61
Federal Labor Union .....	55
Local Trade Union .....	207
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>326</b>

## VOTING STRENGTH.

The following table, shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1908 up to and including 1911. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor by affiliated organizations:

ORGANIZATIONS.	1908.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.
Allied Metal Mech. Intl.	118	70	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs. Intl. U. of A.	154	162	120	106	110	105	107	127	183
Barbers' International Union, Jour.	308	236	227	231	241	255	255	265	285
Bill Posters	10	18	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of	70	106	100	82	98	100	100	100	100
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders	174	190	184	128	157	152	126	161	199
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	297	321	320	321	320	320	320	325	327
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of	81	65	66	68	89	79	71	73	79
Bottle Blowers' Asso. of U. S. and Canada	61	66	70	78	80	88	93	100	100
Brewery Workmen, International Union	800	905	840	860	*	400	400	400	450
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers'	55	73	41	64	43	28	25	38	34
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.	11	11	10	10	9	8	8	6	7
Brushmakers' International Union	7	7	6	5	*	*	*	2	2
Building Employees of Amer., Intl. Union of	8	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated	45	50	48	43	58	81	73	71	78
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of	1090	1554	1482	1637	1929	1796	1640	1904	1946
Carriage and Wagon Workers	49	55	32	81	31	15	15	11	20
Carvers' Union, International Wood	24	21	16	16	16	18	13	12	13
Car Workers, International Association of	128	102	50	49	50	44	50	50	46
Cement Workers	55	44	38	42	58	73	90	90	90
Chainmakers' National Union	6	6	6	6	6	6	8	2	c
Cigarmakers' International Union	888	405	414	391	399	409	398	432	438
Clerks, Bro. of Railway	500	500	500	500	500	500	150	50	50
Clerks, Intl. Protective Asso., Retail	500	500	500	500	500	500	150	150	150
Clerks, National Post-office	25	29	26	21	28	18	15	21	22
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, United	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Clothingmakers, Special Order of	10	30	30	20	35	19	10	10	10
Commercial Telegraphers	12	12	13	18	18	8	6	6	6
Compressed Air and Foundation Workers'	72	71	56	55	58	49	41	41	43
Coopers' International Union	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
Coremakers' International Union	5	6	7	8	8	8	8	8	9
Curtain Operatives, Amalgamated Lace	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Cutting Die and Cuttermakers, Intl. Union	183	210	210	210	302	321	188	160	189
Electrical Workers, International Bro.	21	22	22	22	26	25	20	21	21
Elevator Constructors	142	176	175	175	175	168	161	160	160
Engineers, International Union of Steam	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
Engineers, National Bro. of Coal Hoisting	143	180	122	123	125	173	107	81	80
Firemen, International Bro. of Stationary	48	33	34	32	63	78	46	47	40
Fishermen's National Prot. Asso., Lobster	21	21	9	7	7	8	8	8	*
Freight Handlers, Bro. of Railroad	21	10	10	10	10	7	5	7	5
Flour and Cereal Mill Employees	8	4	4	4	4	4	2	2	c
Foundry Employees, International Bro. of	15	15	15	14	14	14	14	14	14
Fur Workers, International Association of	457	457	319	240	334	439	534	542	525
Furnace Workers and Smelters of America	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**
Garment Workers of America, United	20	17	17	16	14	12	11	12	12
Glass Workers' Union, Flint	58	61	58	61	61	61	61	61	61
Glass Workers' International Asso., Amal.	6	6	2	2	11	11	11	11	11
Glass Workers of America, Amal., Window	9	11	12	10	6	*	*	*	*
Glass House Employees' International Asso.	80	20	11	8	8	8	8	8	9
Glass Snappers, Window	8	3	3	3	5	5	5	5	5
Glove Workers	8	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Gold Beaters' Protective Union, National	8	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Grinders' National Union, Table Knife	8	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Grinders and Finishers, Pocket Knife Blade	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Granite Cutters' International Asso. of A.	94	99	103	113	126	180	181	184	185
Hatters of North America, United	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85
Heat Frost, Genl. Insulators, and Asbestos	83	85	47	50	97	112	88	114	127
Hodcarriers and Building Laborers	44	42	42	41	44	61	72	72	49
Horseshoers of United States and Canada	891	494	387	345	363	386	368	370	430
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, etc.	150	135	100	100	100	100	60	80	45
Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers' Amal. Asso.	180	115	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Iron Workers, Bridge and Struc. Intl. Asso.	24	24	7	4	6	4	3	4	3
Jewelry Workers' International	30	22	18	13	23	16	18	187	668
Ladies' Garment Workers, International	44	59	43	40	40	58	50	50	50
Lathers, Int. Union of W. W. and Metal	80	65	46	55	81	40	25	29	26
Laundry Workers, International Union	48	46	40	40	40	40	40	37	26
Leather Workers on Horse Goods	36	25	10	10	10	8	8	8	6
Leather Workers of America, Amal.	30	23	11	18	17	18	17	21	21
Lithographers' Intl. P. and B. Asso.	400	500	478	340	320	315	213	208	250
Lithographic Pressfeeders	488	557	485	500	560	621	484	560	671
Longshoremen's Association, International	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	5
Machinists, International Association of	87	123	120	120	132	135	100	87	100
Machine Printers and Color Mixers	12	6	19	17	20	22	24	27	28
Maintenance of Way Employees, Intl. Bro. of	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Marble Workers, Intl. Association of	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Mattress, Spring, and Bedding Workers	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15

## VOTING STRENGTH—Continued.

ORGANIZATIONS.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen .....	253	344	62	50	53	63	63	54	31
Metal Workers' Intl. Alliance, Amal. Sheet.	126	153	130	129	153	161	160	162	172
Metal Polishers, Buffers, and Platers, etc.	128	128	103	109	100	100	100	100	100
Metal Workers' Intl. Union, United .....	87	96	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Mine Workers of America, United .....	2173	2577	2619	2379	2549	2525	2670	2327	2504
Miners, Western Federation of .....									513
Mine Managers and Assts. Mutual Aid Asso.	4	4	4	4	+	+	+	+	+
Mineral Mine Workers, United .....	7	a	**	**	**	**	**	**	**
Molders' Union of North America, Intl. ....	300	300	300	450	500	500	500	500	500
Musicians, American Federation of .....	140	220	308	354	375	375	394	400	500
Oil and Gas Well Workers' Union, Intl. ....	4	4	4	++	++	++	++	++	++
Painters of America, Brotherhood of .....	536	607	542	555	624	648	596	635	676
Paper Box Workers, International Union of		12	9	7	+	+	+	+	+
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of .....	107	88	50	35	31	43	10	16	24
Patternmakers League of N. A. ....	29	37	36	40	50	55	50	52	56
Pavers and Rammers, Intl. Union of .....			10	12	15	15	15	15	15
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. & Can.	9	12	13	15	18	20	26	32	32
Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. ....		17	22	22	28	29	32	35	37
Piano and Organ Workers' Union of A., Intl.	65	99	90	80	50	50	40	40	40
Pilots' Association .....	5	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Pilots' Association of the Great Lakes, Lake				10	+	+	+	+	+
Plasterers' Intl. Asso. of U. S. & Can., Oper.						+	145	152	147
Plumbers, Gasfitters, Steamfitters, etc. ....	152	165	150	150	160	180	184	200	237
Potters, Stoneware .....	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Powder and High Explosive Workers .....	7	7	5	6	5	5	2	2	2
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative	61	58	56	56	58	59	59	58	59
Potters, National Union of America .....		c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
Printing Pressmen, International .....	144	160	170	166	166	172	178	186	190
Printers, Plate, of U. S. A., Intl. Steel and									
Copper .....	9	10	11	12	12	12	12	13	13
Print Cutters' Asso. of A., Natl. ....	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Printers, Machine Textile .....	4	4	4	4	**	**	**	**	**
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers .....							10	7	28
Quarry Workers, International .....	12	26	36	38	41	45	45	50	35
Railway Carmen of A., Bro. ....								228	209
Railway Clerks .....	13	6	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Railway Employes' Amal. Asso., St. & Elec.	256	300	300	300	320	320	333	367	393
Railway Expressmen .....	14	3	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Roofers, Comp. Damp & Waterproof Wkrs.					10	10	10	11	12
Rubber Workers .....	10	2	1	+	+	+	+	+	+
Sawsmiths' National Union .....	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Seamen's Union of America, Intl. ....	139	201	195	194	248	255	168	160	160
Shingle Weavers .....	13	14	16	17	18	17	18	18	15
Shipwrights, Joiners and Calkers .....	26	34	24	20	19	16	16	9	7
Slate and Tile Roofers .....	5	7	6	5	6	6	5	5	5
Slate Workers .....	8	8	9	18	30	27	21	14	7
Spinners' Intl. Union .....	25	25	22	22	22	22	22	22	22
Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers	*	*	*	54	55	56	56	56	56
Steel Plate Transferers' Asso. of America				1	1	1	1	1	1
Stereotypers & Electrotypes' Union of N.A.	21	24	28	28	29	31	35	40	42
Stonecutters' Association, Journeymen .....				85	83	89	80	86	86
Stone Mounters' International Union .....	16	17	15	15	15	14	10	9	11
Switchmen's Union of North America .....				81	92	93	80	80	87
Tackmakers .....	1	2	2	++	++	++	++	++	++
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen .....	138	159	160	166	167	161	132	117	120
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of .....	320	840	783	402	396	377	320	358	382
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad .....	95	150	150	150	150	150	150	200	250
Textile Workers of America, United .....	150	105	100	100	114	129	100	100	100
Theatrical Stage Employes, Intl. Alliance .....	45	50	55	60	60	62	80	91	98
Tile Layers and Helpers, Intl. Union .....	14	17	14	19	21	19	17	19	21
Tin Plate Workers, Intl. Protective .....	18	16	14	14	14	14	15	8	3
Tip Printers .....	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2
Tobacco Workers' Intl. Union of America .....	52	56	54	55	51	46	43	41	40
Travelers' Goods & Leather Novelty, Intl.	16	15	13	9	7	5	5	6	8
Tube Workers of United States & Canada .....	15	15	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Tunnel & Subway Constructors, Intl. Union								13	17
Typographical Union, International .....	435	467	467	438	428	440	475	491	518
Upholsterers, International Union of .....	25	30	28	26	26	28	28	28	28
Watch-case Engravers, International .....	4	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2
Watch-case Makers, International .....		d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
Weavers, Elastic Goring .....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
White Rats Actors' Union of A. ....	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	80
Wire Weavers' Protective, American .....	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	4
Woodsmen and Saw Mill Workers .....			11	12	10	3	7	6	+
Wood Workers, Amalgamated .....	273	283	260	150	93	40	41	32	31
Centrals .....	549	569	601	538	574	606	594	632	631
Locals .....	828	553	1046	759	713	616	608	647	680
State Branches .....	29	32	34	36	37	38	39	39	38
<b>Total vote of Unions .....</b>	<b>15238</b>	<b>17355</b>	<b>16338</b>	<b>15639</b>	<b>16425</b>	<b>16892</b>	<b>15880</b>	<b>16737</b>	<b>18093</b>

\* Charter revoked. + Suspended for non-payment of per capita tax. ++ Disbanded.

a Merged with Machinists. b Merged with Molders. c Surrendered charter. \*\* Withdrew.

**CHARTERS**—Reports from the Secretaries of 85 of our National and International organizations furnish us with the information that 2,345 charters have been issued during the past year and 1,358 surrendered—1,129 of the charters surrendered were locals of the National and International unions, and 229 affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor.

**GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP**—The gain in membership reported by the Secretaries of 63 International organizations over the membership on the first of September last year is 117,506.

**STRIKES**—Reports from 71 National and International organizations and from local unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor show that there were 1,359 strikes, in which there were 170,526 involved. Of that number 104,655 were benefited and 16,176 not benefited. The total cost of the strikes reported on was \$4,709,550.69. Adding to that amount \$173,302.06, donations made by local unions to other unions, we have a grand total of \$4,882,852.75 expended to sustain members on strike during the past year.

ORGANIZATIONS.	Charters issued.	Charters surrendered.	Gain in membership.	No. of strikes won.	Strikes compromised.	Strikes pending.	Strikes lost.	No. involved.	No. benefited.	Not benefited.	Reduction in hours per day.	Gain in wages.	Cost of strikes.	Donations to other unions.
A. F. of L., directly affiliated locals	262	229	5,799	16	6	2	2	711	419	.....	.....	.....	\$4,525 70	\$5,703 57
Asbestos Workers.	3	1	200	1	.....	.....	.....	35	.....	.....	.....	.....	25,512 00	11,000 00
Bakers.	38	8	1,734	12	8	4	.....	1,250	561	.....	1 1/2 hr.	10%	12,200 00	.....
Barbers.	42	19	2,012	4	4	.....	.....	561	180	20	2	40%	800 00	.....
Bell Posters.	1	.....	10	4	3	.....	.....	200	.....	.....	.....	33 1/2%	120 00	.....
Blacksmiths.	45	12	.....	6	4	.....	.....	1,800	.....	.....	.....	2%	13,000 00	.....
Bookbinders.	40	46	.....	81	41	.....	1	2,804	1,229	472	.....	22 1/2%	115,022 15	705 60
Book and Shoe Workers.	11	2	124	12	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	12,273 50	.....
Brewery Workmen.	8	6	.....	8	8	.....	.....	212	5,000	.....	.....	.....	811 27	12,000 00
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Wks.	10	14	3,052	34	19	3	2	2,900	.....	.....	.....	.....	72,011 00	16,304 00
Bridge and Structural Iron Wks.	5	17	.....	3	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Broommakers.	11	3	1,300	3	2	.....	.....	200	.....	.....	1	40%	3,000 00	700 00
Brushmakers.	.....	7	26	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	249,177 20	125 00
Carpenters, Brotherhood.	158	154	8,764	38	15	20	3	8,000	7,000	1,000	1	2% to 5 1/2%	3,394 97	2,114 00
Carpenters, Amalgamated.	24	4	650	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,000	920	80	.....	20%	400 00	.....
Carriage and Wagon Workers.	8	2	1,100	4	3	.....	1	290	100	190	.....	40%	11,620 81	.....
Carvers, Wood.	.....	.....	.....	6	2	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Car Workers.	.....	.....	3,500	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Cement Workers.	20	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	221,044 70	.....
Cigarworkers.	11	14	.....	55	24	3	21	9,064	3,395	85	.....	.....	15,769 46	200 00
Clocks, Retail.	69	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	434	307	127	.....	.....	.....	.....
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.	4	1	178	26	17	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Commercial Telegraphers.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Compressed Air Workers.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Coopers.	12	6	300	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,716 85	.....
Curtain Operatives, Lace.	3	.....	97	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Cutting Die and Cutter Makers.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Electric Workers.	31	5	4,500	6	6	.....	.....	.....	7,000	.....	.....	3%	12,000 00	90 00
Elevator Constructors.	4	68	.....	2	.....	1	.....	1,800	1,800	.....	.....	25%	.....	.....
Engineers, Steam.	46	6	500	18	8	3	7	286	71	150	2 to 4	50% to 1.50%	2,302 50	.....
Engravers, Watch-case.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Firemen, Stationary.	14	4	6,000	4	3	1	.....	217	217	.....	4 1/2	.....	3,700 00	200 00
Fitters, Steam.	14	3	250	5	2	.....	.....	640	300	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,200 00
Foundry Employees.	11	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	200	18,000	6,000	.....	.....	.....	8,000 00
Freight Handlers.	45	19	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	38,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	138,823 07	117 00
Garment Workers.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	15,802	402	.....	.....	.....	800,000 00	15,000 00
Garment Workers, Ladies.	39	7	.....	19	10	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....

CHARTERS, GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP, AND STRIKES—CONTINUED.

ORGANIZATIONS.	Charters issued.	Charters surrendered.	Gain in membership.	No. of strikes.	Strikes won.	Strikes compromised.	Strikes pending.	Strikes lost.	No. involved.	No. benefited.	Not benefited.	Reduction in hours per day.	Gain in wages.	Cost of strikes.	Donations to other unions.
Glass Bottle Blowers.....	6	3	350	2				2	180		180		c	\$5,277 90	\$5,374 50
Glass Workers, Amalgamated.....	5	7	50												125 00
Glove Workers.....	7	2	45												
Granite Cutters.....	22	8		19	14		5		2,650	2,650			25%	66,880 26	6,300 00
Grinders, Pocket Knife Blade.....	2	1													
Hatters.....	73	29	1,756	16	12	4	1		4,000	4,000			40%		4,850 00
Hodcarriers.....	22	11		2	2				60	60			50%	1,200 00	687 87
Horsehoers.....	72	56	5,242	42	29	7	4	2	744	534	210	1	5%	20,488 55	13,197 52
Hotel and Restaurant Employees.....	6	15													50 00
Iron and Steel Workers.....	1														
Jewelry Workers.....	16	19													
Laundry Workers.....	19	17	2,600	1	1				700	700				75 00	
Leather Workers on Horse Goods.....	3														
Leather Workers, Amal.....	3		462												
Lithographers.....	3		100						600	600			35%		125 00
Lithographic Press Feeders.....	37	26	5,060	1	1				600	600			30%		4,000 00
Longshoremen.....															
Machine Printers & Color Mixers.....	59	29	10,000	60	35	12	13		12,000	20,000			10%	386,900 19	
Machinists.....	6	2		11	7	1	1	2	2,600	730			36%	15,000 00	6,400 00
Maintenance of Way Employees.....															
Marble Workers.....	22	19		5	3		2		1,040	350		1½ to 2	50%	30,000 00	
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.....	17	20	1,000	15	9	1		3	500	150					1,850 00
Metal Polishers.....	36	12	400	16	11			1	1,400	1,400			10%	24,700 00	
Metal Workers, Sheet.....	112	159	1,247	8		2	5		20,000					1,942,566 18	
Mine Workers.....	25	13	3,000	8	3				3,000	500				228,832 25	16,262 56
Miners, Western Federation of.....	20	12					82							329,746 24	
Molders.....	40	15	1,000												
Musicians.....	105	86	4,020	2											
Painters.....	12	1	1,500	8	7			1	400	269			10%	3,000 00	3,000 00
Papermakers.....															
Pattern Makers.....															
Payroll and Hammermen.....	9	3	300	6	1	5			450	450			15%	17,000 00	960 00
Printing Cutters.....	6		277	4	1		3		272	272		2-6 to 2-3		52,463 97	62 40
Photo Engravers.....	4	4	1,200	1					80	80				2,322 50	450 00
Piano and Organ Workers.....									18	8	10		3%	408 00	712 50
Plate Printers.....	49	20		m 3	37	3	1	1	8 0	700				66,318 00	
Plasterers.....	55	15		108			65	3							
Plumbers.....	2		584	1					121					5,382 76	700 00
Post-office Clerks.....	1		32	d 1			1		32						1 00
Potters.....															
Powder & High Explosive Wks.....															

## CHARTERS, GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP, AND STRIKES—CONTINUED.

Char- ters issued.	Char- ters sur- ren- dered.	Gain in mem- ber- ship.	No. of strikes won.	Strikes com- pro- mised.	Strikes pend- ing.	Strikes lost.	No. in- volved.	No. ben- e- fited.	Not ben- e- fited.	Reduc- tion in hours per day.	Gain in wages.	Cost of strikes.	Dona- tions to other unions.
Print Cutters	36	4	1,400	3	2	1	125	115	10			\$82,000 00	\$140 00
Printing Pressmen	4	1	300	3		1	500	500				1,500 00	9,400 00
Pulpan and Sulphate Workers	9	1	300	9	9		600	600		1	82%	4,137 00	150 00
Quarry Workers	3												
Railroad Telegraphers	124	31	9,592	1		1						42,084 99	
Railway Carmen													
** Railway Clerks	25	4	2,000	18	12	4	10,000	9,000	1,000			24,875 00	10,169 54
Railway Employes, Street	5	1	145	3	1	1	212	200	12	1	40%		500 00
Roofers, Composition							75	6,000	6,000				
Sawmills							12,000	6,000				18,000 00	500 00
Seamens	3	1		2	1	1	150	150			25%		
Shingle Weavers	2	4	50	3	3								
Slate and Tile Roofers													
Slate Workers													
Spinners	41	1	11,000	2	1	1	200	100	100	$\frac{1}{2}$ hr.		500 00	800 00
Stage Employes				60	54	5	4,500	4,200		$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 hr.	25 to 50%	3,500 00	3,500 00
Steel Plate Transferrers	7		267	6	4	2	61	61				1,004 25	17 00
Stencotypers and Electrotypes	24	2	2,090	66	66		2,650	2,650				960 50	80 00
Stencotypers	1	1	271	6	3	3	119	47	72			4,670 00	
Stove Mounters	9	3	69										
Switchmen	20	13		18	7	5	320	139	30				
Tailors	100	64	1,066	8	7	1	244	224		k	20%	9,901 00	2,324 65
Teamsters	29	13		3	3	1	225	225				9,777 00	2,128 90
Textile Workers	5		145	2	1	1	100	63			37%	1,000 00	500 00
Tile Layers													
** Tin Plate Workers				10		1	20					620 00	700 00
Tin Printers													
Tobacco Workers													
Travelers' Goods and Leather	4	1	250	2	1	1	250	50	200		3%	400 00	48 00
Novelty Workers	26	14	8,217	25	7	11	60	60			25%	65,651 18	500 00
Tuan and Subway Constructors	4	2		3	2	1	189	67	46%		50%	4,000 00	200 00
Typographical Union							280	108					
Upholsters													
** Weavers, Elastic Goring													
** Weavers, Wire			5,000	91	91		480					1,800 00	30 05
White Rats Actors			184										
Wood Workers													
Totals	2,315	1,358	117,596	1,359	642	291	170,526	104,655	16,179			4,709,550 09	173,302 08

a in one city; b for 40 members; c \$1 per member per week in one city; d lockout; e 76 involved in pending disputes; f gains in wages for all members totaled \$4,167,734.00; g lockout; h for 900 men; i \$1 to \$3 per week; j for 10,000; k  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 hour; m lockouts; n 200 returned to work under same conditions; o for 1,098 men.

\*Per day. + An hour. \*\*No report.



**BENEFITS PAID TO MEMBERS BY INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DURING THE PAST YEAR.\***

ORGANIZATIONS.	Death benefits.	Death benefits members' wives.	Sick benefits.	Traveling benefits.	Tool insurance.	Unemployed benefits.
A. F. of L. locals	\$2,814 00	\$75 00	\$4,076 56	\$905 04		\$744 00
Bakers	1,847 85	500 00	17,499 25			150,000 00
Barbers	24,955 00		40,886 00			
Boilermakers	3,500 00					
Bookbinders	4,450 00					
Boot and Shoe Workers	11,500 00		75,402 08			
Brick, Tile & Terra Cotta Wkrs.	400 00					
Bridge & Structural Iron Wkrs.	12,300 00					
Broommakers	2,000 00		1,000 00			
Brushmakers	100 00			125 00		
Carpenters, Brotherhood	279,717 07	34,775 00				
Carpenters, Amalgamated	1,450 00		8,970 83	150 25	\$3,629 00	28,899 61
Carriage and Wagon Workers	1,050 00					
Carvers, Wood	2,750 00				1,040 00	
Cigarmakers	226,717 53		189,438 59	39,828 77		39,917 00
Clerks, Retail	10,410 00		25,690 00			
Coopers	3,150 00					
Curtain Operatives, Lace	2,900 00	200 00				
Cutting Die and Cutter Makers	875 00					
Electrical Workers	11,300 00					
Engravers, Watch-case			157 00			
Firemen, Stationery	6,500 00	1,250 00	840 00			
Fitters, Steam	2,500 00					
Foundry Employees	250 00		485 00			
Glass Bottle Blowers	58,664 60					12,854 00
Glass Workers, Amalgamated	425 00					
Hatters	58,164 09					
Hodcarriers	3,150 00					
Hotel and Restaurant Empl's	41,135 78		34,345 75			
Iron and Steel Workers	3,350 00	700 00	8,130 00			
Jewelry Workers			56 00			
Lathers	5,900 00					
Lithographers	12,300 00					
Lithographic Pressfeeders	300 00					
Machinists	55,110 00					
Meat Cutters and But. Work	1,550 00					
Metal Polishers	5,350 00					
Metal Workers, Sheet	11,400 00					
Miners, Western Fed. of	32,711 90		136,429 21			
Molders	72,448 85		156,791 60			25,806 00
Painters	90,125 00	11,075 00	12,675 00			
Patternmakers	2,800 00		5,170 32		979 70	4,200 50
Paving Cutters	3,200 00					
Photo-Engravers	2,125 00		5,355 14			27,414 60
Piano and Organ Workers	2,100 00	400 00	3,987 56			1,209 60
Plasterers	18,450 00		38,960 00			
Plate Printers	2,000 00					
Plumbers	12,800 00					
Potters	4,325 00					
Powder and High Ex. Wkrs.						68 00
Print Cutters	1,000 00					
Printing Pressmen	18,500 00					
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers						1,000 00
Quarry Workers	850 00					
Railroad Telegraphers	92,500 00					
Railway Carmen	3,217 00					
Railway Employes, Street	24,300 00		20,452 17			
Roofers, Composition	2,500 00		1,000 00			
Shingle Weavers	1,185 00					
Slate and Tile Roofers	1,100 00					
Slate Workers	250 00	50 00				
Spinners	600 00	100 00				20,000 00
Stage Employes	4,000 00	800 00		2,000 00		6,000 00
Steel Plate Transferrers				20 00		
Stereotypers & Electrotypers	4,700 00					
Stone Cutters	16,000 00					
Stove Mounters	1,300 00					
Switchmen	129,367 50					
Tailors	11,027 70		21,196 35			
Textile Workers	385 00					50 00
Tip Printers						
Tobacco Workers	950 00		5,993 00			
Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers			300 00			
Tunnel and Subway Con.	1,600 00		500 00	1,600 00		500 00
Typographical Union	47,920 00					
Weavers, Elastic Goring	200 00					20 00
Weavers, Wire	500 00		768 65			
White Rats Actors	217 50		2,000 82	14,155 65		
Totals	1,471,381 37	49,925 09	818,556 88	58,784 71	5,648 70	218,742 71

†Paid locally. \*See top of following page for further information.



Your attention is called to the fact that the amounts herein reported as having been expended by the international unions on account of various benefits in the past year, are those paid directly by the internationals, and therefore the totals represent but a small proportion of the aggregate sum paid by trade unions in the way of benefits. A number of international unions have not as yet established benefit features, and others pay only partial benefits. It must be borne in mind that in every trade, local unions have existed independently prior to the formation of the international union, and almost without exception, they provide death, sick, out of work, etc., benefits for their members. In these instances benefit features have thus become identified and recognized as belonging to the jurisdiction of a local union. This system has retarded international unions in establishing and extending benefit features, for the reason that it is difficult to bring locals that have to support their own benefit funds to consent to increase the tax to such an amount as would enable the internationals to secure the means for such purpose. In most instances, benefits paid by internationals are supplemental relief, paid to members in addition to the benefits provided by their local unions.

#### NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

- Asbestos Workers.**—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 200. Number of strikes, 1; pending, 1. Number involved, 35. No reductions in wages in the past year.
- Bakers.**—Charters issued, 88; surrendered, 8. Gain in membership, 1,734. Number of strikes, 12; won, 8; pending, 4. Number of persons benefited, 1,250. Gain in wages averaging 10 per cent per member per day. Hours of labor reduced one-half hour per day. Death benefits, \$1,817.85; death benefits, members' wives, \$500; sick benefits, \$17,490.25; unemployed benefits, \$50,000. Donations to other unions, \$11,000. Cost of strikes, \$25,512. As a result of the organization hours of labor have been reduced from 15 to 18 per day to 8 and 9 per day, and wages increased from \$9 to \$10 per week to \$18 and \$20 per week, with better sanitary conditions.
- Barbers.**—Charters issued, 42; surrendered, 19. Gain in membership, 2,012. Number of strikes, 4; won, 4. Number of persons involved, 561; benefited, 561. Gain in wages of 40 cents per member per day; one-half hour reduction in the hours of labor per day. Death benefits, \$24,955; sick benefits, \$40,896. Cost of strikes, \$12,200.
- Bill Posters.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 10. Number of strikes, 4; won, 3; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 200; benefited, 180; not benefited, 20. Gain in wages of 38½ cents per member per day. Average reduction of hours of labor, 2 per day. As a result of the organization wages have been increased on an average of \$2 and \$3 per week.
- Blacksmiths.**—Charters issued, 45; surrendered, 12. Number of strikes, 6; won, 4; pending, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,800. Average gain in wages of 2 cents per hour. Gains in other respects, recognition of federated trades and better shop rules. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Secured an eight-hour agreement with the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad. Cost of strikes, \$13,000.
- Boilermakers.**—Charters issued, 40; surrendered, 40. Number of strikes, 84; won, 41; compromised, 3; pending, 25; lost, 15. Number of persons involved, 2,864; benefited, 1,229; not benefited, 472. Average gain in wages of 22½ cents per day. A number of contracts were signed and agreements secured without strike. Death benefits, \$3,500. Donations to other unions, \$705.60. Cost of strikes, \$115,022.15.
- Bookbinders.**—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 124. Number of strikes, 12; won, 6; pending, 7. Death benefits, \$4,450. Cost of strikes, \$12,273.50.
- Boot and Shoe Workers.**—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 6. Number of strikes, 8; won, 8. Number of persons involved, 212; benefited, 5,000. Secured an agreement, involving 2,500 members, resulting in an increase in wages aggregating \$300,000 a year, without strike. Saturday half-holiday secured in many factories. Death benefits, \$11,500; sick benefits, \$72,252.08; disability benefits, \$3,150. Donations to other unions, \$12,000. Cost of strikes, \$811.27.
- Brewery Workmen.**—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 14. Gain in membership, 8,052. Number of strikes, 34; won, 19; compromised, 10; pending, 3; lost, 2. Advantages gained without strikes, wages increased and hours of labor reduced through contract renewals. No reductions in wages in the past year. Donations to other unions, \$16,904. Cost of strikes, \$72,011.
- Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 17. Number of strikes, 3; compromised, 2; pending, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 2,900. Attempts were made to reduce wages in some instances, but they were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$400.

- Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.**—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 8. Gain in membership, 1,800. Number of strikes, 8; won, 2; compromised, 1. Death benefits, \$12,800.
- Broommakers.**—Number of strikes, 7; won, 5; pending, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 200. Increase in wages of 40 cents per member per day. Death benefits, \$2,000; sick benefits, \$1,000. Donations to other unions, \$700. Cost of strikes, \$8,000.
- Brushmakers.**—Gain in membership, 26. Death benefits, members' wives, \$100. Donations to other trade unions, \$125. Traveling benefits, \$125.
- Carpenters, Brotherhood.**—Charters issued, 158; surrendered, 151. Gain in membership, 8,764. Number of strikes, 38; won, 15; compromised, 20; lost, 3. Number of persons involved, 8,000; benefited, 7,000; not benefited, 1,000. From  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 5 cents per hour gain in wages. Average reduction in hours of labor of 1 per day. Death benefits, \$379,107.07; death benefits, members' wives, \$31,775. Cost of strikes, \$349,177.20.
- Carpenters, Amalgamated.**—Charters issued, 24; surrendered, 4. Increase in membership, 650. Death benefits, \$1,450; accident benefits, \$3,925; unemployed benefits, \$28,899.61; sick benefits, \$8,970.88; tool benefits, \$3,629; traveling benefits, \$150.25; superannuation benefits, \$10,264.84. Cost of strikes, \$3,364.97.
- Carriage and Wagon Workers.**—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 1,100. Number of strikes, 4; won, 3; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,000; number of persons benefited, 920; not benefited, 80. Average gain in wages of 20 cents per member per day. Successfully resisted piece-work system and open shop. Death benefits, \$1,050. Cost of strikes, \$400.
- Carvers, Wood.**—Number of strikes, 6; won, 2; lost, 4. Number of persons involved, 200; benefited, 100; not benefited, 100. Gain in wages in one city of 40 cents per member per day. Death benefits, \$2,750; tool insurance, \$1,040. Cost of strikes, \$11,620.81.
- Car Workers.**—No report.
- Cement Workers.**—Charters issued, 20; surrendered, 8.
- Cigarmakers.**—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 14. Number of strikes, 56; won, 24; compromised, 3; pending, 21; lost, 8. Number of persons involved, 9,664; benefited, 3,395; not benefited, 85. Death benefits, \$228,717.53; sick benefits, \$189,438.59; traveling benefits, \$39,828.77; unemployed benefits, \$39,917. Cost of strikes, \$221,044.70.
- Clerks, Retail.**—Charters issued, 69. Death benefits, \$10,410; sick benefits, \$25,600.
- Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 178. Number of strikes, 26; won, 17; pending, 1; lost, 8. Number of persons involved, 434; benefited, 307; not benefited, 127. Successful in adjusting prices in a number of instances without strikes. No reductions in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, \$15,789.46.
- Commercial Telegraphers.**—Seven per cent increase secured for 300 telegraphers. Donations to other unions, \$200.
- Compressed Air and Foundation Workers.**—No report.
- Coopers.**—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 6. Gain in membership, 800. In all new contracts signed, an increase in wages was secured, and in some instances reduction of hours. Death benefits, \$3,150. Cost of strikes, \$2,716.85.
- Curtain Operatives, Lace.**—Charters issued, 3. Gain in membership, 97. Death benefits, \$2,900; death benefits, members' wives, \$200.
- Cutting Die and Cutter Makers.**—Death benefits, \$375. As a result of organization hours of labor have been reduced 10 per week, and wages increased 25 per cent.
- Electrical Workers.**—Charters issued, 81; surrendered, 5. Gain in membership, 4,500. Number of strikes, 6; won, 6. Number of persons benefited, 7,000. Gain in wages averaging 30 cents per member per day. One local increased wages from \$4.50 to \$6 a day. Death benefits, \$11,800. Donations to other unions, \$90. Cost of strikes, \$12,000.
- Elevator Constructors.**—Charters issued, 4. Gain in membership, 68. Number of strikes, 2; won, 1; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,800; benefited, 1,800. Forty members in one city secured an increase in wages of 25 cents per day.
- Engineers, Steam.**—Charters issued, 46; surrendered, 6. Gain in membership, 500. Number of strikes, 18; won, 8; compromised, 3; lost, 7. Number of persons involved, 286; benefited, 71; 200 returned to work under same conditions; number displaced, 15. Gains in wages vary from 50 cents to \$1.50 per day. Working day reduced 2 to 4 hours. Large number of agreements made with employers, without strike, benefiting several thousand. Cost of strikes, \$2,302.50.
- Engravers, Watch-case.**—No increases in wages in the past year. Sick benefits, \$157. Donations to other unions, \$200.

- Firemen, Stationary.**—Charters issued, 14; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 5,000. Number of strikes, 4; won, 3; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 217; benefited, 217. Gain in wages averaging  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cents per member per day. Hours of labor reduced 4 per day for 900 men. Death benefits, \$5,500; death benefits, members' wives, \$1,250; sick benefits, \$340. Donations to other unions, \$4,200. Cost of strikes, \$3,700.
- Fitters, Steam.**—Charters issued, 14; surrendered, 8. Gain in membership, 250. Number of strikes, 5; won, 2; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 640; benefited, 300. 25 cents per member per day gain in wages. Organization has prevented reductions in wages; secured a minimum scale and increased wages on an average of 5 per cent. Death benefits, \$2,500. Donations to other unions, \$3,000.
- Foundry Employes.**—Charters surrendered, 1. Death benefits, \$250; sick benefits, \$435. Donations to other unions, \$117.
- Freight Handlers.**—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 4. Number of strikes, 1; lost, 1; number of persons involved, 200.
- Garment Workers, United.**—Charters issued, 45; surrendered, 19. 36,000 members were involved in strikes during the year; 13,000 benefited. Gain in wages averaging 10 per cent. Gains in other respects: tailors furnished needles; no charge for damages without showing the tailor or cutter the garments damaged; no charge for spools and oil cans. Donations to other unions, \$15,000. Cost of strikes, \$133,823.07.
- Garment Workers, Ladies.**—Charters issued, 39; surrendered, 7. Number of strikes, 19; won, 10; pending 5; lost, 4. Number of persons involved, 15,802; benefited, 902. Hours of labor reduced 1 per day. In some cases wages and hours were adjusted by mutual agreement and conferences with employers. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted in most cases, and in others settlement was effected on the basis of a compromise under which union standards were maintained. Cost of strikes, \$300,000.
- Glass Bottle Blowers.**—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 8. Gain in membership, 350. Death benefits, \$53,664.60; unemployed benefits, \$12,854. Donations to other unions, \$5,374.50.
- Glass Workers, Amalgamated.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 7. Gain in membership, 50. Number of strikes, 2; lost, 2. Number involved, 180. Minimum wage increased \$1 a week in one city, without strike. No reductions in wages in the past year. Death benefits, \$425. Donations to other unions, \$125. Cost of strikes, \$5,277.30.
- Glove Workers.**—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 45. Agreements have been signed with several manufacturers securing an increase in prices and better conditions.
- Granite Cutters.**—Charters issued, 22; surrendered, 8. Number of strikes, 19; won, 14; pending 5. Number of persons involved, 2,650; benefited, 2,650. An average gain in wages of 25 cents per day. Half-holiday on Saturday secured for part of the year; full half-holiday will be inaugurated after 1913. Forty branches secured 25 cents increase without strike. Donations to other unions, \$6,300. Cost of strikes, \$66,830.26.
- Grinders, Pocket Knife Blade.**—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 1. Increased wages and shorter workday were secured in some localities without strike. Organization has just inaugurated a sick benefit.
- Hatters.**—Death benefits, \$58,164.00. Donations to other unions, \$4,350.
- Hodecarriers.**—Charters issued, 73; surrendered, 29. Gain in membership, \$1,756. Number of strikes, 16; won, 12; compromised, 4. Number of persons involved, 4,000; benefited, 4,000. Gain in wages averaging 40 cents per member per day. Death benefits, \$3,150. Donations to other unions, \$697.67.
- Horseshoers.**—Charters issued, 22; surrendered, 11. Number of strikes, 2; won, 2. Number of persons involved, 60; benefited, 60. Average gain in wages, 50 cents per day. An average reduction of 1 hour per day in the hours of labor. Cost of strikes, \$1,200.
- Hotel and Restaurant Employes.**—Charters issued, 72; surrendered, 56. Gain in membership, 5,242. Number of strikes, 42; won, 29; compromised, 7; pending, 4; lost, 2. Number of persons involved, 744; benefited, 534; not benefited, 210. Average gain in wages of 5 per cent. Several cities gained a six-day week. Death benefits, \$11,135.78; sick benefits, \$34,345.75. Donations to other unions, \$13,197.52. Cost of strikes, \$20,488.55.
- Iron and Steel Workers.**—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 15. Death benefits, \$3,350; death benefits, members' wives, \$700; sick benefits, \$3,130. Donations to other unions, \$50.
- Jewelry Workers.**—Charters issued 1. Sick benefits, \$56.
- Lathers.**—Charters issued, 24; surrendered, 19. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$5,900.
- Laundry Workers.**—Charters issued, 19; surrendered, 17. Gain in membership, 2,000. Number of strikes, 1; won; number of persons involved, 700; benefited, 700. Reduction of hours and slight raise in wages secured in some localities without strike. Eight-hour day for several of the western locals through legislation. Cost of strikes, \$75.

**Leather Workers on Horse Goods.**—No report.

**Leather Workers, Amal.**—Charters issued, 8.

**Lithographers.**—Charters issued, 8. Gain in membership, 402. Eight-hour day has been extended almost universally throughout the trade. Death benefits, \$12,300.

**Lithographic Press Feeders.**—Gain in membership, 100. An increase in wages of from 8 to 12 per cent secured for every member, without strike, being second increase in four years. Death benefits, \$300. Donations to other unions, \$125.

**Longshoremen.**—Charters issued, 37; surrendered, 26. Gain in membership, 5,000. Number of strikes, 1; won. Number of persons involved, 600; benefited, 600. An average gain in wages of 30 cents per member per day. Donations to other unions, \$4,000. No reductions in wages in the past year.

**Machine Printers and Color Mixers.**—One strike pending to secure better conditions in a non-union establishment.

**Machinists.**—Charters issued, 59; surrendered, 29. Gain in membership, 10,000. Number of strikes, 60; won, 35; compromised, 12; pending, 13. Number of persons involved, 12,000; benefited, 20,000. Ten per cent increase in wages. Reduction of 1 hour per day in the hours of labor for 10,000 members. Death benefits, \$55,110. Cost of strikes, \$386,900.19.

**Marble Workers.**—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 2. Number of strikes, 11; won, 7; compromised, 1; pending, 1; lost, 2. Number of persons involved, 2,600; benefited, 730; balance in strike pending. An average gain in wages of 36 cents per member per day. Union shop and minimum wagescale for three shops secured without strike. One attempt to reduce wages is now being resisted by strike. Where organized, the trade has secured the 8 hour day. Donations to other unions, \$6,400. Cost of strikes, \$15,000.

**Meat Cutters.**—Charters issued, 22; surrendered, 19. Number of strikes, 5; won, 3; pending, 2. Number of persons benefited, 1,040. Wages increased 50 cents per day, and hours of labor reduced  $1\frac{1}{2}$  and 2 per day;  $9\frac{1}{2}$ -hour day secured in two cities. Wages increased \$3 per week in 16 cities, without strike. Death benefits, \$1,550.

**Metal Polishers.**—Charters issued, 17; surrendered, 20. Gain in membership, 1,000. Number of strikes, 15; won, 6; compromised, 1; pending, 2; lost, 3. Number of persons involved, 500; benefited, 350; not benefited, 150. Slight improvement in wages and hours. As a result of organization, wages have been increased from \$1.75 per day to \$3.50 and \$4, better blower laws in nearly every State, 9-hour day secured and in some instances 8. Death benefits, \$5,350. Donations to other unions, \$1,350. Cost of strikes, \$20,000.

**Metal Workers, Sheet.**—Charters issued, 36; surrendered, 12. Gain in membership, 400. Number of strikes, 15; won, 11; pending, 3; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,600; benefited, 1,400; not benefited, 200. An average gain in wages of about 10 per cent per member per day. Good progress has been made in the past year toward establishing the 9-hour day in railroad shops and factory work; 8-hour day prevails for members in the building trades. Death benefits, \$11,400. Cost of strikes, \$24,700.

**Mine Workers, United.**—Charters issued, 112; surrendered, 159. Gain in membership, 1,247. Number of strikes, 8; compromised, 2; pending, 5; lost, 1. Cost of strikes, \$1,942,566.18.

**Miners, Western Federation of.**—Charters issued, 25; surrendered, 18. Gain in membership, 8,000. Number of strikes, 8; won, 3; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 8,000; benefited, 500. Advantages gained through legislation in Nevada and Colorado. Wages were maintained against threatened reduction in Ontario; 10 per cent increase in wages in Kansas and Carolina; hours reduced from 10 to 8 in mills in Utah. Death benefits, \$32,711.90; sick benefits, \$136,429.21. Donations to other unions, \$16,262.56. Cost of strikes, \$328,832.25.

**Molders, Iron.**—Charters issued, 20; surrendered, 12. Thirty-two strikes pending. Death benefits \$72,448.85; sick benefits, \$156,791.60. Unemployed benefits, \$25,866. Cost of strikes, \$329,746.24.

**Musicians.**—Charters issued, 40; surrendered, 15. Gain in membership, 1,000.

**Painters.**—Charters issued, 105; surrendered, 86. Gain membership, 4,020. Death benefits, \$90,125; death benefits, members' wives, \$11,075; sick benefits, \$12,675.

**Papermakers.**—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 1,500. Number of strikes, 2; pending, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 400. Five additional mills adopted 8-hour day. Cost of strikes, \$3,000. From June 1, 1910, to October 1, 1911, increase in wages for all employes in mills aggregates about \$1,000,000. Operation of paper mills making newspaper, hanging paper, and bag paper is quite generally under the 8-hour day, while mills making book, writing, bond and other papers are, with few exceptions, working 11 hours per day and 13 hours per night. Maximum wage, 54 cents per hour; eight years ago, 33 cents per hour.

- Patternmakers.**—Gain in membership, 600. Eight strikes and 5 lockouts; 7 strikes won; 1 strike and 5 lockouts pending. Number of persons involved, 308 in strikes and 96 in lockouts; benefited, 299; death benefits, \$2,800; sick benefits, \$5,170.32; tool insurance, \$979.70. Unemployed benefits, \$4,200.50. Donations to other unions, \$3,600. Cost of strikes, \$16,542.79.
- Pavers.**—No report.
- Paving Cutters.**—Charters issued, 9; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 300. Number of strikes, 6; won, 1; compromised, 5. Number of persons involved, 450. One hundred and twenty-five secured 15 per cent increase and a slight gain for the balance. Death benefits, \$3,200. Donations to other unions, \$900. Cost of strikes, \$17,000.
- Photo-Engravers.**—Charters issued, 6. Gain in membership, 277. Number of strikes, 4; won, 1; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 272; benefited, 272. Hours of labor reduced, 2-6 to 3/4 of an hour per day. Increase in wages and apprentice ratio are among advantages gained without strike. Death benefits, \$2,125; sick benefits, \$5,355.14; unemployed benefits, \$27,414. Cost of strikes, \$52,463.97.
- Piano and Organ Workers.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 1,200. Number of strikes, 1; compromised. Number of persons involved, 80; benefited, 80. Secured a minimum wage scale for day work of 35 cents an hour for Chicago and vicinity. Death benefits, \$2,100; death benefits, members' wives, \$400; sick benefits, \$3,987.56; unemployed benefits, \$1,209.60. Donations to other unions, \$450. Cost of strikes, \$2,322.50.
- Plate Printers.**—Number of strikes, 2; compromised, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 18; benefited, 8; not benefited, 10. Three per cent increase in wages. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$2,000. Donations to other unions, \$712.50. Cost of strikes, \$408.
- Plasterers.**—Charters issued, 49; surrendered, 20. Thirty-one locals asked for an increase in wages or better conditions. Three lockouts. Number of persons involved, 900; benefited, 700. Attempt to reduce wages in one instance successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$18,450. Cost of strikes, \$2,400.
- Plumbers.**—Charters issued (to August, 1911), 55; surrendered, 15. Number of strikes, 106; won, 87; compromised, 3; pending, 65; lost, 3. Death benefits, \$12,800; sick benefits, \$38,900. Cost of strikes, \$66,318.
- Post-office Clerks.**—Reports substantial gains during the past year, and bright prospects for steady progress.
- Potters.**—Charters issued, 2. Gain in membership, 684. Number of strikes, 1; pending. Number of persons involved, 121. Renewed two-year agreement for some branches, with slight increase in wages. Death benefits, \$4,325. Donations to other unions, \$700. Cost of strikes, \$5,382.76.
- Powder and High Explosive Workers.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 32. One lock-out; pending. Number involved, 32. Forty-seven members gained an increase in wages without strike. Unemployed benefits, \$38.
- Print Cutters.**—Maintained previous year's conditions. Death benefits, \$1,000. Donations to other unions, \$140.
- Printing Pressmen.**—Charters issued, 36; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 1,400. Number of strikes, 3; won, 2; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 125; benefited, 115; not benefited, 10. 12 per cent gain in wages per member per day. Increase in wages secured for 60 per cent of the membership, without strike. Death benefits, \$18,600. Donations to other unions, \$9,400. Cost of strikes, \$82,000.
- Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers.**—Charters issued, 4. Gain in membership, 300. Number of strikes, 3; pending, 2; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 500. Unemployed benefits, \$1,000. Donations to other unions, \$150. Cost of strikes, \$1,500. As a result of the organization, Sunday work has been eliminated, 8-hour day generally established, and wages increased 20 per cent.
- Quarry Workers.**—Charters issued, 9; surrendered, 1. Number of strikes, 9; won, 9. Number of persons involved, 600; benefited, 600. Thirty-two cents average gain in wages per member per day. Hours of labor reduced 1 per day. Gains in other respects, time and a-half and double time for overtime and holidays. Twenty-two branches, affecting 1,212 men, increased wages from 1 to 3 cents per hour. Death benefits, \$360. Cost of strikes, \$4,137.
- Railroad Telegraphers.**—Charters issued, 3. Death benefits, \$92,500. Increases in wages for members, aggregate \$2,100,000.
- Railway Carmen.**—Charters issued, 124; surrendered, 34. Gain in membership, 9,592. Secured renewal of agreements with several large systems with a substantial increase in pay, averaging 2 cents per hour per man in the United States and from 8 to 5 cents per hour per man in Canada. Death benefits, \$3,217. Cost of strikes, \$42,084.99.
- Railway Clerks.**—No report.
- Railway Employes, Street.**—Charters issued, 25; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 2,000. Number of strikes, 18; won, 12; pending, 4; lost, 2. Number of persons involved, 10,000; benefited, 9,000; not benefited, 1,000. Increase in wages varies from 1/4 cent an hour to 5 cents an hour, aggregating over \$2,000,000 per year. Death benefits, \$24,800; sick benefits, \$20,452.17. Donations to other unions, \$10,169.54. Cost of strikes, \$24,875.
- Roofers, Composition.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 145. Number of strikes, 3; won, 1; compromised, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 212; benefited, 200; not benefited, 12. Gain in wages averaging 40 cents per member per day. Reduction in hours of labor averaging 1 hour per day. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$2,500; sick benefits, \$1,000. Donations to other unions, \$500. As a result of organization, wages have been raised from \$1.75, \$2, and \$2.25 for a 9 and 10 hour day to an average of \$4 for 8 hours.
- Sawsmiths.**—No reductions in wages the past year. Wages increased, in some cases, 10 and 15 cents an hour.
- Seamen.**—Charters surrendered, 1. Number of strikes, 2; won, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 12,000; benefited, 6,000; not benefited, 6,000. An average gain in wages of \$2.50 per member per month. Hours of labor reduced 1 per day. Other improvements: better food, better quarters. Cost of strikes, \$18,000.
- Shingle Weavers.**—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 1. Sick benefits, \$1,185. Donations to other unions, \$500.

- Slate and Tile Roofers.**—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 50. Number of strikes, 3; won, 2. Number of persons involved, 150; benefited, 150. Gain in wages averaging 25 per cent per member per day. Death benefits, \$1,100.
- Slate Workers.**—Death benefits, \$250; death benefits members' wives, \$50.
- Spinners.**—Number of strikes, 2; won, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 200; benefited, 100. Hours of labor reduced one-half hour per day. Death benefits, \$500; death benefits, members' wives, \$100; unemployed benefits, \$20,000. Donations to other unions, \$300. Cost of strikes, \$500. As a result of organization, the working week for members has been reduced 2 hours.
- Stage Employees.**—Charters issued, 41; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 11,000. Number of strikes, 60; won, 54; compromised, 1; pending, 5; 4,200 members secured a wage increase averaging from 25 to 50 per cent. Reduction in hours secured averaged from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 hour. Death benefits, \$4,000; death benefits, members' wives, \$800; traveling benefits, \$2,000; unemployed benefits, \$6,000. Donations to other unions, \$3,500. Cost of strikes, \$3,500.
- Steel Plate Transferers.**—Wages improved in the past year without strike. Traveling benefits \$20. Donations to other unions, \$17.
- Stereotypers and Electrotypers.**—Charters issued, 7. Gain in membership, 207. Number of strikes, 6; won, 4; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 61; benefited, 61. No reductions in wages in the past year. Death benefits, \$4,700. Cost of strikes, \$1,004.25.
- Stone Cutters.**—Charters issued, 24; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 2,000. Number of strikes, 66; won, 66. Number of persons involved, 2,650; benefited, 2,650; Sixty-six branches secured increases in wages, aggregating \$205,000 a year. Nine additional branches secured Saturday half-holiday. Death benefits, \$16,000. Cost of strikes, \$900.50.
- Stove Mounters.**—Charters issued, 1; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 271. Number of strikes, 6; won, 3; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 119; benefited, 47; not benefited, 72. Death benefits, \$1,300. Donations to other unions, \$39. Cost of strikes, \$4,670.
- Switchmen.**—Charters issued, 9; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 69. Death benefits, \$129,507.50.
- Tailors.**—Charters issued, 20; surrendered, 18. Number of strikes, 18; won, 7; compromised, 1; pending, 5; lost, 5. Number of persons involved, 320; benefited, 189; not benefited, 80. Gain in wages averaging 20 cents per member per day for members benefited by strike. Price bills were signed in one or more stores in 44 cities, without strike, averaging a gain of 10 per cent in wages. All attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$11,027.70; sick benefits, \$21,195.35. Donations to other unions, \$2,324.65. Cost of strikes, \$9,901.
- Teamsters.**—Charters issued, 100; surrendered, 61. Gain in membership, 1,666. Number of strikes, 8; won, 7; pending, 1. Number of persons involved 244; benefited, 224. Gain in wages of from \$1 to \$3 per week. Hours of labor reduced one-half to one hour per day. Donations to other unions, \$2,128.90. Cost of strikes, \$9,777.
- Textile Workers.**—Charters issued, 29; surrendered, 13. Death benefits, \$385. Number of strikes, 3; 1 compromised; 1 pending; 1 lost. Number of persons involved, 225. Cost of strikes, \$10,000. Legislation secured in Massachusetts reducing working hours from 56 to 64 per week and prohibiting the firing of weavers for imperfect work.
- Tile Layers.**—Charters issued, 6. Gain in membership, 145. Number of strikes, 2; won, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons benefited, 60. Gain in wages averaging 37½ cents per member per day. Gained union shop and increased wages in several cities without strike. Cost of strikes, \$1,000. Donations to other unions, \$500.
- Tin Plate Workers.**—No report.
- Tip Printers.**—One lockout; lost. Number involved, 20. Cost, \$620. Unemployed benefits, \$50.
- Tobacco Workers.**—Hours shortened and wages raised from 3 to 7 per cent in several instances. Death benefits, \$360; sick benefits, \$5,968. Donations to other unions, \$700.
- Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 250. Number of strikes, 2; won, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 250; benefited, 50; not benefited, 200. Gain in wages averaging 8 per cent. Hours of labor were reduced in some instances from 10 to 9, others from 9½ to 9. Donations to other unions, \$48. Cost of strikes, \$40.
- Tunnel and Subway Constructors.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 80. Number of strikes, 1; won. Number of persons involved, 60; benefited, 60. Gain in wages of 25 cents per member per day. Death benefits, \$1,600; sick benefits, \$500; traveling benefits, \$1,600; unemployed benefits, \$500. Donations to other unions, \$500. Cost of strikes, \$150. As a result of organization conditions have been improved from \$2.50 a day for 10 hours to \$3.50 for 8 hours, and on all new contracts, \$3.75.
- Typographical Union.**—(Year ending June 1, 1911.) Charters issued, 26; surrendered, 14. Gain in membership, 3,247. Number of strikes, 25; won, 7; pending, 11; lost, 7. Number of persons involved, 189; benefited, 67; not benefited, 46; 76 involved in pending strikes. Local No. 6 of New York City secured two notable settlements; namely, with the Butterick Publishing Company and the De Vinne Press, both disputes of five years' standing, as a result of the general movement of the I. T. U. to inaugurate the 8-hour day. Local unions in 166 cities secured substantial increases in wages, for their members, under new agreements. Gains in wages for the members for the year total \$1,167,724. Death benefits, \$47,920. Defense expenditure, \$65,651.18. Old-age pensions, \$128,042.53.
- Upholsterers.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 2. Number of strikes, 3; won, 2; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 290; benefited, 198. Gain in wages of 50 cents per member per day. 1,500 men secured increase in wages of 50 cents per day, without strike. Donations to other unions, \$200. Cost of strikes, \$4,000.
- Weavers, Elastic Goring.**—Death benefits, \$200; unemployed benefits, \$20.
- Weavers, Wire.**—Death benefits, \$500; sick benefits, \$768.65.
- White Rats Actors.**—Gain in membership, 5,000. Number of strikes, 91; won, 91. Number of persons involved, 480; benefited, the entire membership. Death benefits, \$217.50; sick benefits, \$2,000.82; traveling benefits, \$14,155.65. Donations to other unions, \$304.65. Cost of strikes, \$1,800. Organization has succeeded in practically abolishing arbitrary cancellation of contracts.
- Wood Workers.**—No report.

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

## AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST.

The receipts on account of the *American Federationist* for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1911, are \$18,213.98, which is \$2,699.58 less than the expenses. Notwithstanding that fact, the receipts from the *American Federationist* for the past eight years has come within \$385.06 of paying expenses. To offset that amount there are \$3,478.15 unpaid bills due the Federation for advertisements that have been published prior to September 30, 1911.

The following is a statement of the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending September 30, 1911:

RECEIPTS.	
Receipts.....	\$18,213 98
EXPENSES.	
Commissions on advertising contracts.....	\$9,478 19
Contributions.....	75 00
Outs.....	40 85
R. G. Dun & Company.....	75 00
Hauling.....	30 75
Postage stamps.....	316 91
Postage pound rate.....	296 80
Printing <i>American Federationist</i> .....	7,611 02
Printing Bulletins.....	22 50
Printing and supplies.....	46 00
Refunds.....	1 00
Salaries.....	2,919 44
Total.....	\$30,913 56
RECAPITULATION.	
Receipts.....	\$18,213 98
Expenses.....	30,913 56
Excess of expenses over receipts.....	\$2,699 58

The following are the receipts and expenses of the *American Federationist* since it was first issued:

YEAR.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Surplus.	Deficit.
1893-94.....	\$2,418 30	\$2,684 66		\$266 36
1894-95.....	8,184 21	2,075 98	\$508 23	
1895-96.....	1,917 61	2,100 08		182 47
1896-97.....	8,408 39	8,094 87	313 52	
1897-98.....	2,337 83	2,541 75		203 92
1898-99.....	3,171 00	4,083 19		912 19
1899-00.....	4,162 03	4,466 91		304 88
1900-01.....	10,498 22	10,900 54		402 32
1901-02.....	17,170 70	25,406 46		8,235 76
1902-03.....	27,718 43	42,888 68		15,169 25
1903-04.....	32,639 89	30,699 92	1,939 97	
1904-05.....	25,726 67	24,929 86	796 81	
1905-06.....	26,912 67	26,868 12		44 55
1906-07.....	26,810 66	23,580 70	1,749 96	
1907-08.....	20,722 41	20,649 84	72 57	
1908-09.....	20,148 73	22,708 67		2,559 94
1909-10.....	21,326 50	20,621 19	705 31	
1910-11.....	18,213 98	20,913 56		2,699 58

## AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HEADQUARTERS.

The following statement shows that during the twelve months ending September 30, 1911, there has been issued from headquarters an average of 1,522 letters, circular letters, and packages per day, as follows:

Packages of supplies forwarded by express and post.....	3,657
Packages of literature and miscellaneous supplies for organizers and others.....	155,969
Official and circular letters in two-cent envelopes.....	64,772
Circulars and circular letters in one-cent envelopes.....	241,271
Total.....	465,669

## ORGANIZING EXPENSES.

The following list of organizers, who were engaged in various States under salaries from the American Federation of Labor, shows that there has been expended for organizing work during the past twelve months \$46,962.05. Of this amount, \$2,020.15 was paid to district or volunteer organizers, in sums ranging from \$5 to \$50, for organizing central bodies and local trade or federal labor unions, and adjusting strikes and grievances of local unions affiliated directly or indirectly with the American Federation of Labor:

NAME OF ORGANIZERS.	STATE WHEREIN WORK WAS DONE.	Amount received.
1. Hugh Frayne.....	New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey.....	\$3,225 63
2. Stuart Reid.....	Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, District of Columbia.....	3,118 38
3. J. D. Pierce.....	New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania.....	3,057 76
4. Cal Wyatt.....	Michigan, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York.....	2,999 85
5. C. O. Young.....	Washington, Oregon.....	2,882 15
6. T. H. Flynn.....	Pennsylvania and Ohio.....	2,818 52
7. E. T. Flood.....	Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan.....	2,808 61
8. H. L. Elchelberger.....	Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware.....	2,703 28
9. W. E. Terry.....	Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, District of Columbia, South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida.....	2,594 00
10. J. A. Flett.....	British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec, Canada; New York.....	2,588 48
11. Jacob Tazelaar.....	New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire.....	2,384 26
12. J. J. Fitzpatrick.....	Illinois.....	1,896 00
13. M. G. Hamilton.....	Pennsylvania, Missouri, Florida, Colorado, District of Columbia, Washington, California, Oregon, Idaho.....	1,641 65
14. Santiago Iglesias.....	Porto Rico.....	1,561 00
15. Wm. Bork.....	Pennsylvania.....	1,096 10
16. Joseph Tytkoff.....	New York, New Jersey, Connecticut.....	985 00
17. C. A. Miles.....	New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts.....	818 45
18. F. H. McCarthy.....	Massachusetts.....	676 20
19. J. J. Cunningham.....	Massachusetts, Rhode Island.....	608 90
20. J. B. Lennon.....	Iowa, Illinois, Michigan.....	539 52
21. P. J. Shea.....	North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia.....	480 30
22. J. D. Chubbuck.....	Minnesota.....	345 03
23. Arthur Hickland.....	New Jersey.....	314 00
24. Cornelius Ford.....	New York, New Jersey.....	240 98
25. C. D. Seals.....	District of Columbia.....	238 85
26. E. C. Davison.....	Virginia.....	182 55
27. O. C. Wilson.....	New Jersey, Iowa.....	169 33
28. Phillip Jago.....	New York, Vermont.....	158 26
29. F. M. Moody.....	Tennessee, Arkansas.....	158 24
30. S. A. Bramlette.....	Kansas.....	152 85
31. Abraham Shelnies.....	New York, Massachusetts.....	137 85
32. Jerome Jones.....	Georgia.....	133 13
33. H. M. Walker.....	Texas, Oklahoma.....	111 65
34. J. F. Anderson.....	Illinois, Kansas, Missouri.....	100 00
35. O. F. Nelson.....	Illinois, Minnesota, Indiana, Ohio.....	89 73
36. Frank Paquin.....	Pennsylvania.....	84 01
37. A. Bernard.....	New York.....	84 00
38. E. N. Nockels.....	Missouri.....	84 00
39. A. E. Ireland.....	Pennsylvania.....	80 55
40. M. M. Donoghue.....	Montana.....	80 00
41. R. P. Pettipiece.....	British Columbia, Canada.....	80 00
42. C. C. Zeigler.....	Oklahoma.....	80 00
43. J. O. Walsh.....	California.....	71 60
44. C. W. Woodman.....	Texas.....	68 50
45. F. L. Rist.....	Ohio.....	67 00
46. John Mitchell.....	Pennsylvania.....	66 00
47. G. B. Howley.....	Minnesota.....	64 80
48. J. E. Galligan.....	Pennsylvania.....	55 00
49. A. A. Roe.....	Kansas.....	50 00
	Paid to District Organizers in amounts less than \$50.....	2,020 15
	Total.....	\$46,962 05



## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

## LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

On September 30th of this year we had 680 local trade and federal labor unions with a membership of 28,579 in good standing, and a defense fund of \$133,782.34 to protect the members of these unions in case of strike or lockout. Many strikes that would have cost the American Federation of Labor a large sum were averted during the past year through the assistance of organizers of the American Federation of Labor in adjusting the differences with employers and securing conditions desired by the unions.

## DEFENSE FUND.

The following is an itemized statement of amounts received from and paid to our Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, giving average membership, number of weeks benefit, and the amount received by each organization during the fiscal year ending September 30, 1911:

## RECEIPTS.

Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for Defense Fund..... \$16,010 75

## EXPENSES.

	Average membership.	Weeks.	Amount.
Plate and Sheet Glass Glaziers, No. 12836, New York, N. Y.	104+	7	\$2,920 00
Bed Spring Makers, No. 12103, New York, N. Y.	29+	5	598 00
*Tobacco Strippers, No. 12722, Bayamon, P. R.	18	6	312 00
Readers' Protective, No. 12841, Tampa, Fla.	25	2	200 00
Banders' Protective, No. 12860, Caguas, P. R.	6	6	144 00
Ladies' Felt and Straw Hat Workers, No. 12815, Boston, Mass	5	1	20 00
<b>Total.....</b>			<b>\$4,192 00</b>

Returned and redeposited in Defense Fund:

Tobacco Strippers, No. 12722..... \$168 00

## RECAPITULATION.

Balance on hand in Defense Fund, September 30, 1910.....	\$121,963 59
Received in Defense Fund.....	16,010 75
	<b>\$137,974 34</b>
Paid out of Defense Fund.....	4,192 00
	<b>\$133,782 34</b>

Balance in Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, September 30, 1911.....

There was received into the Defense Fund \$16,010.75 and paid out \$4,192, thus adding a small but substantial amount to the fund already on hand. The fund is large enough to give ample protection to the members provided a great number are not on strike at any given time. It is probable that the strike of the Machinists Helpers and Laborers on the Illinois Central and Harriman lines, which was called on September 30, may be of sufficient duration to materially reduce the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions. Even if such is the case, it will demonstrate clearly to the members the necessity for such a fund and the great assistance it is to maintain their struggle until such time as an adjustment is reached with the representatives of these railroads.

The following table will show that since the time the fund was inaugurated in 1902 up to and including this fiscal year there has been received into the fund \$207,706.70 and paid out \$73,984.36:

	Receipts.	Expenses.	Balance on hand.
1902.....	\$20,423 00		\$20,423 00
1903.....	49,663 40	\$6,690 00	63,396 40
1904.....	33,722 55	15,972 00	81,146 95
1905.....	16,966 63	8,197 18	94,916 40
1906.....	15,556 02	13,643 40	96,829 02
1907.....	17,143 65	10,893 78	108,078 59
1908.....	14,327 20	12,124 00	106,282 09
1909.....	11,383 05	788 00	115,877 14
1910.....	12,570 45	6,484 00	121,963 59
1911.....	16,010 75	4,192 00	133,782 34
	<b>\$207,706 70</b>	<b>\$73,984 36</b>	

### CHARTERS REVOKED, SUSPENDED, SURRENDERED, DISBANDED, JOINED INTERNATIONAL UNIONS, AND RESTORED.

**INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.** Suspended 2; International Union of Shipwrights and Joiners, membership 908; International Union of Woodsmen and Saw Mill Workers, membership 600. Revoked: International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employees, membership 819. Surrendered 2: on condition that local unions would receive charters direct from the American Federation of Labor: Fur Workers' International Union, membership 159; Chainmakers' International Union, 200.

Charters have been issued by the American Federation of Labor to local unions of Flour and Cereal Mill Employees, Fur Workers, and Chainmakers, whose total membership is 596, being 78 less than the membership of the three international unions when their charters were taken up.

**STATE BRANCHES.** Disbanded, 1: South Carolina State Federation of Labor.

**CENTRAL BODIES.** Revoked, 8; disbanded, 10; suspended, 43; charters restored, 4.

**LOCAL TRADE UNIONS.** Disbanded, 24; suspended, 110; joined international, 1; merged with other unions, 4.

**FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.** Disbanded, 19; joined international unions, 2; suspended, 60.

### VOTING STRENGTH OF FEDERATION, 1897 TO 1911.

Year.	No. Votes.	Year.	No. Votes.	Year.	No. Votes.
1897.....	2,747	1902.....	10,705	1907.....	16,425
1898.....	2,881	1903.....	15,238	1908.....	16,892
1899.....	3,632	1904.....	17,363	1909.....	15,890
1900.....	5,737	1905.....	16,338	1910.....	16,737
1901.....	8,240	1906.....	15,621	1911.....	18,698

### MEMBERSHIP.

A résumé of the growth of the American Federation of Labor, numerically, during the past thirty-one years can not but encourage the trade unionists to redouble their efforts to educate, organize, and federate the wage-workers of the world. The growth of the American Federation of Labor from 1881 to 1893 was gradual. During that time it increased from 50,000 to 275,000, and remained about that number up to 1899. In 1899 it reached very nearly 350,000; in 1900 it passed the 500,000 mark; in 1901 750,000; in 1902 it passed the million mark, and in 1903 very nearly reached the million and a half point, and in 1904 shot up above the million and a half, reaching a membership of 1,676,200. Thus the growth of the American Federation of Labor from 1899 up to and including 1904 was phenomenal. This marked increase in membership could not occur other than by organizations being formed rapidly within a short period, and as a natural consequence it must be expected that in adjusting the membership of the unions the membership must decrease somewhat from the high-water mark which it reached while the organization wave held sway.

There was a decrease in the membership in 1905 and 1906 from the high-water mark of 1904. This decrease was almost entirely caused by internal strife which led to secession and a number of ill-advised and unsuccessful strikes of a few international organizations.

During 1907 and 1908 the membership climbed up over 1,500,000 and receded again to a little below the 1,500,000 mark, when the tide again changed, and in 1910 it passed the 1,500,000 mark, and this year the increase in the membership of the international organizations and the addition of the 51,300 which came with the affiliation of the Western Federation of Miners, forced the average paid-up and reported membership of the international organizations to 1,761,836, which is an increase of 190,723 over the membership of last year, and 85,636 members over the high-water mark of 1904.

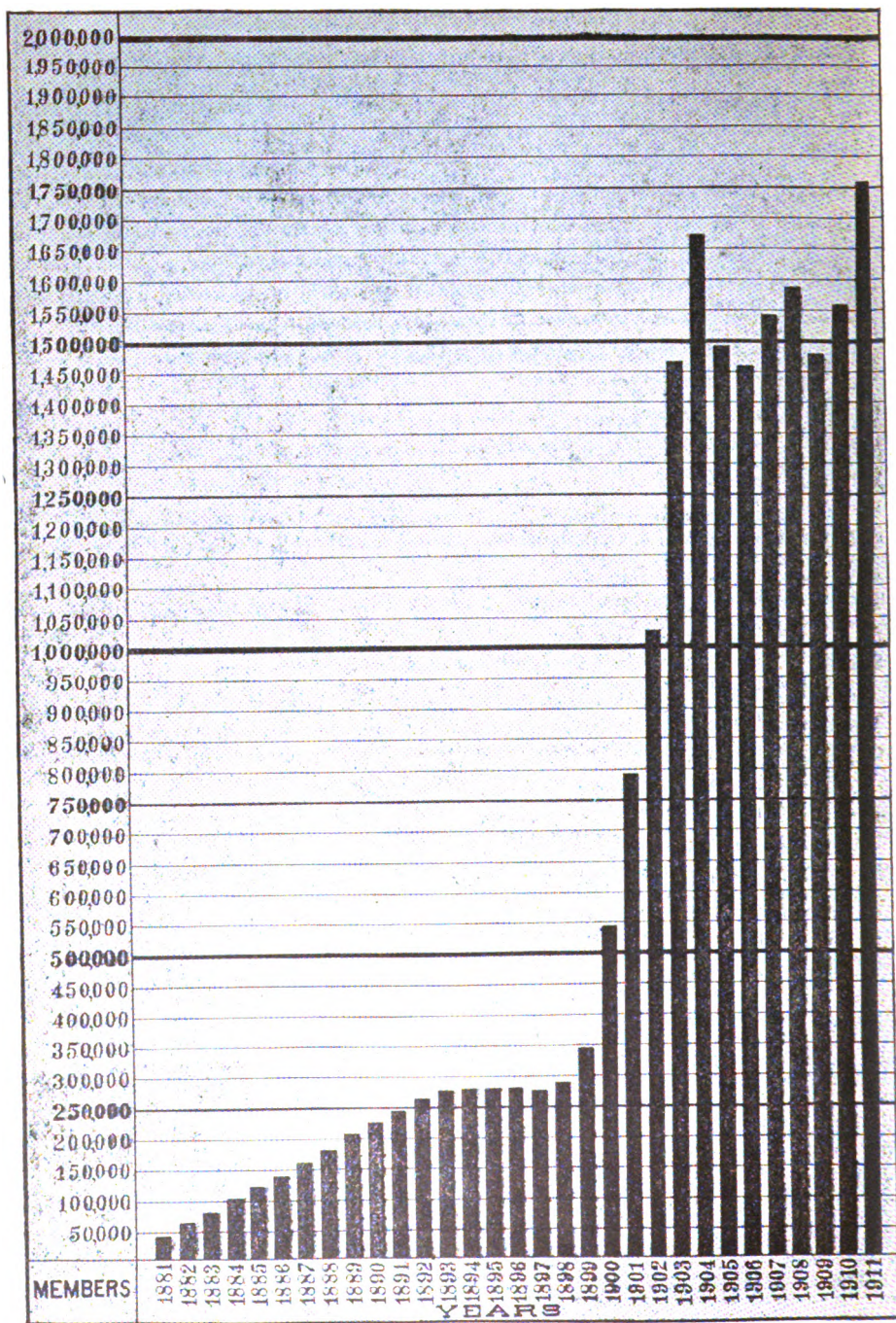
That the membership of the International Unions is steadily on the increase is indicated by the fact that the paid-up and reported membership of the directly affiliated local unions and international organizations for the month of September of this year is 1,768,614, which indicates that notwithstanding the hostile forces that are working against the labor unions, that the coming year will show an increase over the membership reported upon this year.

The following is the average membership reported or paid upon for the past fifteen years:

Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.
1897.....	264,825	1905.....	1,494,300
1898.....	278,016	1906.....	1,454,200
1899.....	348,422	1907.....	1,538,970
1900.....	548,521	1908.....	1,596,886
1901.....	787,537	1909.....	1,482,872
1902.....	1,024,599	1910.....	1,662,112
1903.....	1,466,800	1911.....	1,761,836
1904.....	1,676,200		

So that the delegates and the membership at large may, at a glance, realize the marvelous growth in membership of the American Federation of Labor, I have prepared a chart, to indicate the membership for each year since 1881, up to and including 1911—thirty-one years. The column for 1911 has passed over the 1,750,000 mark, and has started on its way upward to the 2,000,000 mark, which I feel sure will be reached within a few years.

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS



## UNION LABELS.

There are now 58 labels and 10 cards issued by the following organizations, which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

## ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS.

American Federation of Labor.	Glass Workers.	Papermakers.
Bakers and Confectioners.	Glove Workers.	Photo-Engravers.
Bill Posters and Billers.	Grinders and Finishers, Pocket Knife Blade.	Piano and Organ Workers.
Boilermakers.	Hatters.	Plate Printers.
Blacksmiths.	Horseshoers.	Powder Workers.
Bookbinders.	Jewelry Workers.	Pressmen, Printing.
Boot and Shoe Makers.	Lathers.	Print Cutters.
Brewery Workmen.	Laundry Workers.	Sawsmiths.
Brickmakers.	Leather Workers.	Shingle Weavers.
Broommakers.	Leather Workers on Horse Goods.	Slate Workers.
Brushmakers.	Lithographers.	Stove Mounters.
Carpenters and Joiners, Brotherhood.	Machine Printers and Color Mixers.	Tailors.
Carriage and Wagon Workers.	Machinists.	Textile Workers.
Carvers, Wood.	Marble Workers.	Tip Printers.
Cigarmakers.	Metal Polishers.	Tobacco Workers.
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.	Metal Workers, Sheet.	Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers.
Coopers.	Molders.	Typographical.
Engravers, Watch-case.	Painters.	Upholsterers.
Garment Workers, United.		Weavers, Wire.
Garment Workers, Ladies.		Wood Workers.

## ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS.

Actors.	Firemen, Stationary.	Musicians.
Barbers.	Hotel & Restaurant Employees.	Stage Employees, Theatrical.
Clerks.	Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.	Teamsters.
Engineers, Steam		

The followings crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor label: Badge, Banner, Regalia, Button, Novelty and Lodge Paraphernalia Workers, Bottlers (Soda and Mineral Water), Canvas Gloves, Coffee, Spice, and Baking Powder Workers, Nail (Horse-shoe) Workers, Neckwear Cutters and Makers, Paper Box Makers, Suspendermakers, Garter, Arm Band and Hose Supporter Makers, Flour and Cereal Mill Employees, Soapmakers, Turpentine Workers.

## CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, I desire to express, through the delegates present, my appreciation of the splendid efforts put forth by the organizers, and the assistance and encouragement received from the officers of the international organizations, and from my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted.

FRANK MORRISON,  
Secretary, American Federation of Labor.

## TREASURER'S REPORT.

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:*

At the close of, this, my twenty-second year as Treasurer of the Federation, I submit my annual report, with a high appreciation of the favors that organized labor has for so many years conferred upon me. I have served as best I knew, with no object in view except to be helpful in promoting the social, intellectual, and industrial uplift of the wage-workers of our great continent. The minds of the world's workers are full of unrest and discontent, and if "righteous discontent be indeed the mother of progress," then, indeed, may we be hopeful for the future; for surely the righteousness of the discontent of the working classes with the restrictions and impositions they so unjustly have to bear is not open to question. Children of tender years are still to be found in industrial life. Women are still exploited, simply because they are women and have to do a man's work for a wage far below that paid to men for the same employment. Thousands and tens of thousands still work more than eight hours a day, depriving them of opportunities of pleasure and of home life that are essential to the production of the best citizenship.

Within our jurisdiction, wage-workers beyond number are paid less than a living wage, and because of this character growth is made largely impossible.

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

The industrial world does not yet understand and appreciate the truth of the trade union's contention that no industry has a right to live that pays less than a living wage; and by a living wage we mean not merely existence. We mean childhood, womanhood, and manhood of the best and highest type. These things, as well as many others, cause the general discontent and unrest. We are proud of the fact that our movement has been the great factor in stirring the masses to think and then to become discontented with industrial injustice, and then, by means of the practical methods of the trade union, work and fight for their abolition, and when I look back over the period that I have served as your Treasurer, I am proud of what has already been accomplished, and when I look forward, am filled with hope and confidence that the future has in store victories and progress greater than any that the past has known. This discontent and unrest, caused largely by the injustices perpetrated upon the toilers, finds a safe and evolutionary means of relief in the trade union; there they find the force that has made their burden lighter; in it they find that practical brotherhood of man which is ever working for human uplift. Here we find a field of effort that produces results that all can see and know to be permanent and effective. We extend to all men and women of labor a cordial invitation to join with us in the trade union for the gradual, but sure, emancipation of labor. To you, one and all—officers, delegates, and members at home—I extend my regards and my assurance that during the years that may still remain to me, I shall give, as my judgment and conscience dictate, the best service of which I am capable to the great principles of right and justice as promulgated by our Federation.

I herewith submit a statement of receipts and expenses for the year ending September 30, 1911.

INCOME.		EXPENSE.	
Received of Secretary Morrison:		Paid warrants:	
1910.		1910.	
October 31 .....	\$14,271 08	October 31 .....	\$12,624 73
November 30 .....	10,061 10	November 30 .....	15,378 14
December 31 .....	16,023 43	December 31 .....	17,499 91
1911.		1911.	
January 31 .....	14,228 96	January 31 .....	16,412 81
February 28 .....	12,277 12	February 28 .....	17,671 82
March 31 .....	14,113 72	March 31 .....	12,771 34
April 30 .....	16,162 62	April 30 .....	17,368 16
May 31 .....	13,894 85	May 31 .....	15,163 64
June 30 .....	13,700 62	June 30 .....	12,681 72
July 31 .....	13,133 84	July 31 .....	12,658 09
August 31 .....	14,859 46	August 31 .....	11,140 24
September 30 .....	29,971 89	September 30 .....	14,854 48
Oct. 1, 1910, balance in hands of Treas. .	180,914 96		
Total funds .....	\$363,108 64	Total expenses .....	\$175,624 08

Total funds .....	\$363,108 64
Deduct total expenses .....	175,624 08

Leaves in hands of Treasurer .....	\$187,579 56
Leaves in hands of Secretary .....	2,000 00

Total funds, September 30, 1911 .....	\$189,579 56
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The funds of the Federation in possession of the Treasurer are deposited in the following banks at Bloomington, Ill. All certificates draw 3 per cent interest; the amount of interest collected during the year and forwarded to Secretary Morrison was \$4,972.10.

In Peoples Bank on certificates .....	\$30,737 24
In State National Bank on certificates .....	45,000 00
In First National Bank on certificates .....	35,000 00
In German-American Bank on certificates .....	25,000 00
In McLean County Bank on certificates .....	30,000 00
In McLean County Bank subject to check .....	21,842 32

Total funds in hands of Treasurer .....	\$187,579 56
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Amount of funds handled during my twenty-two years incumbency .....	\$2,890,980 56
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Trusting that the performance of my duties as Treasurer will meet with your approval, I remain,

Fraternally yours,

JOHN B. LENNON,  
Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

BLOOMINGTON, ILL., October 1, 1911.

## Second Day—Tuesday Morning Session

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Tuesday, November 14th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees:** Conway, Smith (Fred), Dubinsky, Williams (John), Roach, Price, Lewis (T. L.), McCullough (E. S.), Hedrick, Dold, Gallagher (John J.), Taber, Commons, Gavlak, Coffey, Kelly (William E.), Hurley, Conner (T. J.), Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Schneider (John), Hobbs, Wendt, Davis, Fuller, Winchenback, Ford, Belt, Creamer, Donnelly, Saum, Schaub.

President Gompers stated that an error had been made in the announcement of the appointment of committees, and stated if there were no objections the name of John Mitchell would appear in the permanent proceedings as chairman of the Committee on Organization, instead of chairman of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Delegate Moorhouse, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

On the protest of Andrew J. Kennedy, President of the Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers' International Association, against the seating of Thomas J. McNamara as a delegate from that organization, the committee recommended that the protest be entertained and that Andrew J. Kennedy be seated with 8 votes.

On motion of Delegate Carey (D. A.) the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee recommended that John J. Mallin, International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers be seated, with 28 votes.

On motion of Delegate Carey (D. A.) the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee recommended that Andrew J. Furuseth, of the International Seamen's Union of America, be seated, with 80 votes.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate Johannsen—I understand action was deferred on my credential and that it was laid over until I could be here.

Delegate Tobin (J. F.)—I want to know whether Brother Johannsen can tell this Convention whether the local union of Shoe Workers illegally suspended from the San Francisco Labor Council will be reinstated at once?

Delegate Gallagher (A. J.)—Two weeks ago the union referred to was notified to send its delegates, and was given full re-affiliation with the Labor Council of San Francisco.

Delegate Tobin (J. F.)—That is satisfactory. I move the seating of Delegate Johannsen as a delegate from that body. (Seconded and carried.)

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams, which were made part of the proceedings of the Convention:

"Kansas City, Mo., Nov. 13, 1911.

"Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall, Atlanta, Ga.:

"The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks extends to the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled its congratulations upon rapid growth made during the year, wishes for it a most harmonious and profitable gathering and assures the delegates of its regrets that, due to the fact it is fighting to maintain the American citizenship of its members on the Illinois Central Railroad, it cannot be represented at this Convention.

"R. E. FISHER,  
"Grand Sec'y-Treas."

"Butte, Montana, Nov. 13, 1911.

"Frank Morrison, Secretary A. F. of L., New Kimball Hotel, Atlanta, Ga.:

"Organized labor of this county and state extends congratulations to Thirty-first Annual Convention in session assembled, and urges consideration of Butte for next convention. Thirty-five thousand union men and women to welcome you.

"R. M. PARTELOW,  
"Sec'y. S. F. of L."

"Omaha, Neb., Nov. 13, 1911.

"Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Atlanta, Ga.

"Personal congratulations. We trust your convention will act conservatively for the best interest of the wage-earners and the industrial and public utility enterprises of the nation. The laborer should be equitably compensated for his toil. Accept best wishes.

"J. C. ROOT,  
"President Woodmen of the World."

"Sacramento, Cal., Nov. 9, 1911.

"Frank Morrison, Secretary Convention



American Federation of Labor, Atlanta, Ga.

"Brothers, Greeting:

"The Sacramento Strike Committee of the System Federation send their best wishes in your deliberations on the questions before you. Trusting that harmony will prevail and that you will take speedy action on resolution sent you regarding the strike on the Harriman lines.

"Fraternally yours,

"Strike Committee."

"New York, Nov. 13, 1911.

"Convention Hall, American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers, President, Atlanta, Ga.

"Best wishes for successful Convention. Three cheers for the Labor movement under the banner of the American Federation of Labor. Remember our innocent McNamara brothers.

"District Council No. 1, New York,

"J. HARRIS LAVNER,

"Secretary United Garment Workers of America."

"Cleveland, O., Nov. 13, 1911.

"Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall, Atlanta, Ga.

"Extend greetings. May your labors be pleasant and all legislation be for the best interest of organized labor throughout the country. With hope that the efforts for freedom and liberty McNamara brothers will be with success.

"T. HASKINS,

"General Auditor United Garment Workers of America."

#### Report of Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Delegate Carey (J. T.), Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Greetings:

We, your Committee on rules and order of business, beg leave to submit the following report:

We recommend the adoption of the following rules for the government of the Convention.

Rule 1. The Convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a. m., and remain in session until 12:30. Convene at 2 p. m. and remain in session until 5:30 p. m., except on Saturday, on which day the session shall be from 9:30 a. m. to 12:30.

Rule 2—If a delegate, while speaking be called to order, he shall, at the request of the chair, take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 3—Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 4—No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks except it be to call him to a point of order.

Rule 5—A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak shall have had an opportunity to do so.

Rule 6—A delegate shall not speak more than twice on the same question without permission from the Convention.

Rule 7—Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by vote of the Convention.

Rule 8—A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the chair.

Rule 9—At the request of five members, the mover of a motion shall be required to reduce it to writing.

Rule 10—When a question is pending before the Convention, no motion shall be in order, except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall have precedence in the order named.

Rule 11—Motions to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Roberts' Rules of Order.

Rule 12—A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted in the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 13—That the reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the Convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 14—Any delegate failing to present his card within 30 minutes after the Convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence he may so report to the Secretary and be marked present.

Rule 15—It shall require at least 30 members to move the previous question.

Rule 16—All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in duplicate.

Rule 17—No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak, if he or she so desires.

Rule 18—No resolutions shall be received after Thursday's session, November 16, without unanimous consent of the Convention.

Rule 19—When a roll-call vote has been taken, and all delegates or delegations present have had the opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 20—When a roll-call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 21—Roberts' Rules shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided.

Rule 22—The main body of the hall shall be reserved for delegates.

#### Order of Business.

1—Reading Minutes of previous session, which will be dispensed with unless called for.

2—Report of Committee on Credentials.

3—Report of Officers.

4—Report of Regular Committees.

5—Report of Special Committees.

6—Unfinished Business.

7—New Business.

8—Election of Officers.

9—Selection of next meeting place.

10—Good of the Federation.

11—Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,  
T. A. RICKERT, Chairman;  
J. T. CAREY, Secretary;  
JEROME JONES,  
JOHN SULLIVAN,  
WM. H. O'BRIEN,  
PETER HASSENPFUE,  
GEORGE H. ULLRICH,  
WM. J. PFLEGER,  
D. G. BIGGS,  
T. J. CAROLAN,  
J. W. BRIDWELL,  
M. M. DONOGHUE,  
JOHN J. GRANEY,  
WILLIAM A. DAVIS,  
ROYAL DANO.

In the report of the Committee as read Rule 16 did not provide for the introduction of resolutions in duplicate. On motion of Vice-President Duncan the rule was amended by adding "and shall be submitted in duplicate."

The report of the Committee was adopted as amended.

Vice-President Duncan, for the Executive Council, read the following report:

#### REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, ATLANTA, GA., NOVEMBER 14, 1911.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

GREETING: We, your Executive Council, following the custom of years, submit to you herein our annual report for the fiscal year of 1911.

The Executive Council held meetings during the year as follows:

At St. Louis on Sunday and Monday immediately after the adjournment of the St. Louis Convention:

At headquarters in January, 12 days.

At headquarters in June, 6 days.

At headquarters in October, 6 days.

At Atlanta since our arrival here.

Our president submitted by mail to the Executive Council during the year, 93 documents, dealing with various matters, some of the most important of which we shall make part of this report.

No doubt it will be necessary for meetings of the Executive Council to be held from time to time during the sessions of this convention. Each year the work of the annual conventions seems to increase in volume and to become more engrossing, the necessity for close attendance upon committee meetings more urgent. In view, therefore, of these facts, it is hoped that wherever and whenever possible matters requiring our consideration will be held in abeyance until our meeting immediately after the adjournment of this convention.

#### New Unions Chartered—Organization.

The reports already made to you by our President and Secretary have indicated in detail the number of unions, national, international, state, city central, directly affiliated local and federal, which have been chartered during the year, and what has been the gain thereby to our Federation. In some instances the international unions have temporarily disbanded owing to adverse conditions in the trade, the locals becoming directly affiliated to the A. F. of L. until such time as circumstances may so change as to warrant the reorganization of the international. In one instance it was found advisable upon investigation to withdraw the charter of an international



union, that of the Flour and Cereal Mill Workers. This was done in conformity with instructions given by you at our St. Louis convention.

Where an international union has from inherent weakness disbanded, the local unions are directly chartered by the A. F. of L. without cost to them, and where theretofore they used an international union label, the label of the A. F. of L. is granted. Under the stimulus of direct affiliation the membership of such disbanded international unions has increased and we entertain the hope of an early restoration of such international unions.

Whenever and wherever possible during the year, representatives of the A. F. of L., attended the conventions of international unions, as well as the annual meetings of the State Federations of Labor.

It should further be stated that efforts were continued during the year to bring about the affiliation of the Bricklayers and Masons' International Union with the American Federation of Labor. It was contemplated that a representative of the Executive Council should attend the convention of that organization, but we were advised that no convention would be held this year.

A representative of the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association was present at one of the sessions of our meeting in January in regard to the matter of the affiliation of that body with the American Federation of Labor.

Organizer David Kreyling of St. Louis attended the Convention of the National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association on January 16, with the object in view of placing before that convention the advantages of affiliation with the A. F. of L. as per Resolution No. 135 of the St. Louis Convention. Although the Convention Committee, to which the matter was referred, reported favorably on the proposition to affiliate, yet it was negatived by the convention.

Secretary Morrison attended the Convention of the Masters, Mates and Pilots and explained to that body the laws of the American Federation of Labor and the relationship between it and affiliated international unions.

We recommend that efforts to secure the affiliation of these two organizations be continued during the coming year.

We have also endeavored to bring about

the affiliation of the National Association of Letter Carriers with the A. F. of L.

The application of the Post Office Clerks for extension of jurisdiction so as to include the letter carriers did not commend itself to us as being feasible, advantageous, or practical.

Our endeavors along this line should not cease until every unaffiliated international union and every wage-earner of the North American continent have thrown in their lot with our great American Federation of Labor.

#### Organizers.

The special corps of organizers continued from year to year rendered valuable services which have been supplemented by that of the organizers who were appointed either permanently or temporarily during the year.

Requests and recommendations for the appointment of special organizers have been many. Necessarily in view of the very limited funds available for such work, it was not possible to comply in every instance.

We recommend the continuation of the organization work as far as warranted by the state of the federation funds. We further recommend to our international unions and to all organized labor, that every effort be made to bring within the beneficent fold of our movement all workers who are as yet unidentified with the unions of their respective trades and callings.

In view of the constantly increasing demand for the assistance of special organizers, the extension of special organization work and the need for funds with which to conduct not only this work, but the fulfillment of our great uplift mission, we further recommend an increase in per capita tax from one-half cent to two-thirds cent per member.

#### Building Trades Department—U. B. of Carpenters—Steam Fitters.

The Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. at its convention in St. Louis just after the close of the A. F. of L. Convention, suspended from representation therein the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers.

At our meeting in January, the officers

of the Buildings Trades Department made application for the revocation of the charter of affiliation with the A. F. of L. of these two organizations. Action upon the application was deferred until our June meeting, President Gompers in the meantime, being authorized by us to co-operate with the officers of the Building Trades Department for the purpose of endeavoring to bring about an adjustment of the trouble with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and the amalgamation of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers with the United Association of Plumbers. Efforts along this line, however, were without success.

At our meeting in June, the following letter was received:

"Washington, D. C., June 13, 1911.  
"Mr. Samuel Gompers, President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Washington, D. C.

"Dear Sir and Brother:

"Pursuant to the instructions of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, I herewith transmit to you for submission to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor the following statement and request:

The Building Trades Department, American Federation of Labor, in convention in St. Louis, November 28th to December 5th, inclusive, approved a recommendation made by the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department of which the following is a copy:

"That the grievance against the International Steam Fitters and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be referred to the coming convention with a recommendation that, if the organizations still refuse to obey the mandates of the Tampa Convention, they be suspended from the Department. It is further recommended that like action be taken by the A. F. of L."

The substance of the foregoing action is that of the unions named therein failed to comply with the decisions reached by the Tampa Convention of the Building Trades Department, and for such failure or refusal as the case may be, the unions in question were suspended by the Department and like action requested by the American Federation of Labor.

As you are aware, this subject-matter was transmitted to you and by you to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on the occasion of your last meeting, but as we understand the matter, sanction of the recommendation has not been given; instead a proposition in the case of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers to amalgamate with the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers has issued, and in the case of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Amalgamated

Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, a conference was proposed.

The result is that more than four months have elapsed without any definite action having been taken, which in large measure has rendered the work of the Department ineffective, causing in addition distress among the several locals and a willful and deliberate manifestation to ignore the subsequent decisions rendered by the Executive Council of the Department, especially in the case of minor jurisdictional disputes. This action is regrettably working great havoc on the welfare and progress of the Department, which to say the least augurs no good for the future; indeed unless some definite, positive stand is taken to uphold the decisions of the department in the respect outlined in the foregoing quotation, then the affiliated organizations might just as well consent to abandon the effort of protection that the Department in reality carries with it through the present form of organization; so much so is this the case that it becomes absolutely essential, indeed imperative, that we have a decision from your council forthwith, upholding the action of the St. Louis Convention of the Building Trades Department with respect to the two organizations herewith named.

There are before the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department at this time several questions of an intricate nature that of necessity should be settled once and for all, and that will redound to the credit, strength and prestige of the Department, but as before stated it is useless to proceed in these matters unless we are to have a confirmation by your council of the action taken by the St. Louis Convention in the case previously referred to.

We therefore earnestly appeal to you to give the cases complained of the attention they deserve without delay and render a positive and final opinion in the premises, so that the future course of the Department may be determined.

Anxiously awaiting the same on behalf of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, I have the honor to remain,

Fraternally yours,  
(Signed) Wm. J. SPENCER,  
Secretary-Treasurer,  
Building Trades Dept."

President Short and Secretary Spencer presented the letter in person, requesting that definite action be taken thereon. We gave much time, consideration and discussion to the subject and thereafter we sent the following reply, embodying therein the decision of the Executive Council relative to not only this but kindred matters involved:

Washington, D. C., June 17, 1911.  
Mr. William J. Spencer, Secretary,  
Building Trades Dept., A. F. of L.,  
Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.  
Dear Sir and Brother:  
The letter which you at the direction

of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, A. F. of L., handed me, was submitted to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. for its consideration. As you know, at a joint meeting of the Executive Council of the Department with the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., the subject matter of the requests contained in the letter, as well as those questions which led up to the present situation, was gone over in detail, at length, and comprehensively, and therefore much of that which was orally conveyed as the expression of our views upon the matter is not necessary to be recounted here.

We have, however, given further attention to the laws of the A. F. of L., and of the Department, and have taken into consideration the present situation of the Department, and its local councils, as well as the unsatisfactory conditions which obtain in the building trades in many centers of the country; and with all we have had in mind the desire to be helpful to the Building Trades Department for its success and perpetuity.

At the St. Louis Convention of the Building Trades Department, November-December, 1910, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America were suspended from the Department, and these international unions are not now a part thereof. The action of the Department in suspending these two international unions carried with it also the request that they be suspended by the American Federation of Labor, and your Executive Council through you has made that request.

In connection therewith, we desire to express our belief that to carry into effect the advice, conclusions, or decisions in the Building Trades Department and in the local building trades councils, it is not only desirable but most helpful that the organizations affiliated to the Department, and to its councils, shall yield a ready compliance thereto, of course having in mind that such advice, conclusions and decisions are in conformity with fundamental principles of labor and of the organic laws and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Your Executive Council asks the American Federation of Labor to suspend therefrom the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America. In connection therewith your attention is called to Article 9, Section 12, of the Constitution of the A. F. of L., which reads as follows:

"The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated national or international union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds' majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll-call vote."

You will readily observe that under this law the Executive Council has no power to suspend an international union,

(which carries with it the revocation of its charter). The fullest limit to which our authority extends is to make such report and recommendation to the forthcoming convention of the A. F. of L. at Atlanta, November, 1911, and this course we shall pursue, as in our judgment the circumstances warrant, with the hope that our respective executive councils and conventions may work out an adjustment of this and similar contentions which will tend to retain and cement still more the bonds of unity and fraternity of all our affiliated organizations and members as fully in harmony as the movement in which we are engaged will permit.

We present to your consideration the fact, which the history of the labor movement demonstrates beyond cavil or doubt, that to revoke charters, suspend organizations, enforce compulsory obedience to edicts and decisions, have invariably led to a rebellious spirit resulting in bitter conflict, relentless antagonisms, and disintegration and dissolution. While realizing the necessity that discipline in the labor movement must be observed at least to some degree, yet this fact is self-evident; that the best, most enduring and advantageous discipline in the organized labor movement is that discipline which comes with time and experience and is suggested and later self-imposed. It is something not yet generally understood how perfectly safe freedom is, and this truism applies to the administration of the organized labor movement as much as it does to any government on the face of the earth.

Imbued with this experience and conception, we have great apprehensions of the advisability of the suspension or revocation of charters of international unions based upon the contentions over trade jurisdictional disputes. We submit that such contentions can better be adjusted by the contending parties being in affiliation with the general organizations of labor than by being in enforced suspension with their charters revoked.

It is a truism that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, and it is also true that so long as the chain is retained intact, even its weakest link may be strengthened. In the effort to maintain the chain of unity among the rank and file of the organized labor movement if it is unwise to cast aside a weak link, how much more injurious is it to cast out the stronger?

The cause which has brought about this contention, is first, the jurisdictional dispute between the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance. The Tampa convention of the Building Trades Department decided that the work in dispute should come under the jurisdiction of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance. That decision was confirmed by the department convention at St. Louis, 1910. Upon the U. B. of Carpenters declining to yield obedience to the decision, it was suspended from the department. It is not our pur-

pose to here discuss the merits of the award. We find the situation as it is; that the U. E. of Carpenters is now unattached to the Building Trades department, where it properly belongs, and we are constrained to repeat the thought we have already expressed, that enforced compulsory obedience to edicts and decisions has never proven either advantageous or successful, and that suspension of international unions and revocation of charters are not calculated to harmonize existing differences, nor bring the members of an international union so suspended into a better frame of mind in order that an award may be accepted by them. We urge upon the consideration of your department that in any event the opportunity to secure compliance with the expressed judgment of duly constituted authorities in the labor movement, is increased when the international unions most vitally interested are in affiliation and fellowship with the department of which they are a material part.

We, therefore, recommend that the Building Trades Department, A. F. of L., at its first opportunity, reinstate the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America in full affiliation to the Department; that in the meantime and thereafter, every effort be exerted by that organization, the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, the Building Trades Department, and the American Federation of Labor, by correspondence, conferences, and by every moral suasion within our power, to bring about an adjustment of the matters in dispute to the satisfaction and advantage of the organizations primarily in interest. We assure the Department that the good offices of the executive council and of the American Federation of Labor will be continued to be exerted and renewed to assist the Department and the organizations involved to effect a solution of the trade jurisdictional dispute between the two organizations.

In the second case, that is, in the controversy between the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers, of the United States and Canada, and the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America, we recognize a matter of dispute entirely different in character as compared with the dispute between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance; a dispute which has existed for years, to the detriment not only to the immediate organizations involved, but to the entire building industry. This dispute has passed through all the channels of mediation, arbitration, investigation and decisions by the American Federation of Labor, and by the Building Trades Department, without satisfactory results. These investigations, arbitration awards and decisions, have been uniformly to the effect that there ought not to exist two distinctive, separate organizations in the pipe fitting trades; that the best results to the workers in the industry would be best conserved by all being united in the one

general organization of these trades, namely, the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers, of the United States and Canada, for general purposes, yet each branch of the pipe fitting trade to have as much autonomous administration as is consistent with the general interest of all.

The views which we have expressed to you orally, the opinions expressed herein, and the recommendations which we submit to your Department and to the two organizations named, we earnestly hope will be taken into favorable consideration and prompt action by all, and will form the basis of our report and recommendations to the Atlanta convention of the American Federation of Labor.

While it should not be necessary, yet we do take advantage of this opportunity to again assure you, and through you, the Building Trades Department, and the great rank and file of labor, that we will go to the limit of our opportunity, authority and power in supporting your department in doing the best possible for the general betterment of the organizations and members in the Building Trades.

With earnest wishes for the greatest success, we have the honor to remain,

Yours fraternally,

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President.  
 JAMES DUNCAN, First Vice-President.  
 JOHN MITCHELL, Second Vice-President.  
 JAMES O'CONNELL, Third Vice-President.  
 D. A. HAYES, Fourth Vice-President.  
 WILLIAM D. HUBER, Fifth Vice-President.  
 JOS. F. VALENTINE, Sixth Vice-President.  
 JOHN R. ALPINE, Seventh Vice-President.  
 H. B. PERHAM, Eighth Vice-President.  
 FRANK MORRISON, Secretary.  
 JOHN B. LENNON, Treasurer.

Secretary Spencer informed us that the matter would be submitted to the executive board of the Building Trades Department. He then, on July 7th, wrote President Gompers as follows:

July 7, 1911.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

By direction of the executive council of the Building Trades Department, I write to inform you that the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in the case of the request of the Building Trades Department for the suspension of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers and of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, was

laid before the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department at its session in the city of Indianapolis, June 29, 1911, and after mature consideration, the opinion was reached that since the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department is not vested with authority to override or subordinate a decision of the Building Trades Department rendered in convention assembled, and again since the constitution of the department does not confer powers upon the Executive Council to reinstate an organization that has surrendered its membership because of refusal to comply with the laws of the organization, unless the law shall have been conformed to, the Executive Council finds itself without power to reinstate the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, and Joiners in accordance with the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

You are, therefore, advised that the decision as rendered by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will be referred to the next convention of the Building Trades Department, which will convene at Atlanta, Ga., November, 1911.

Trusting that this will be satisfactory, I am,

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) WM. J. SPENCER,  
Secretary-Treasurer, Building Trades  
Department.

The two subjects brought to the attention of the Executive Council from the Building Trades Department are not similar in any particular excepting that both organizations were suspended by the Building Trades Department.

In the contention involving the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, it was an instance of jurisdictional dispute between two affiliated organizations which, excepting in this instance, had no other direct trade relationship, the one to the other, than one building trade has to other building trades.

The relationship of affiliated building trades to the American Federation of Labor and Departments is dual, and therefore in fundamental law, suspension of charters primarily rests with the American Federation of Labor. This, and the fact that in the American Federation of Labor revocation of charters has not been considered a cure for jurisdictional contentions, prompts our recommendation to this convention that the application of the Building Trades Department to revoke the charter of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be not concurred in, and instead that the Building Trades Department be informed that for the above reasons and in the interests of harmony to reinstate the United

Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners to full affiliation therein; and that all efforts and influence of the American Federation of Labor and of the department should be applied to adjust the jurisdictional contention in interest, thereby making for the best interests of the disputants and for the progress and solidarity of the labor movement.

In the instance of the contention affecting the pipe fitting industry the interests directly involved raise the following questions:

First: Concentration of effort and efficiency in one general pipe fitting organization; or,

Second: Segregation of certain portions of the industry into separately managed and distinctly administered associations.

In regard to the latter question, the segregated portion of the industry does not, and for many reasons cannot, cover or comprehend in all parts of North America, the portion of the industry it essays to govern in largely populated cities and their immediate environments.

Therefore, in this instance, the Executive Council holds that both for harmony and for practicability, the pipe fitting trade should be represented in the A. F. of L., also in the Building Trades Department, by one general association of the pipe fitting industry—the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers, of the United States and Canada; and, further recommends that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., be instructed, and the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department be requested to carry this into effect.

**United Brotherhood of Carpenters—Amalgamated Wood Workers.**

In our report to you at the St. Louis convention, when taking up this subject, we said:

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "United Brotherhood of Carpenters—Amalgamated Wood Workers," the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends the adoption of the recommendation of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, namely: "That unless the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union comply with the decision of the Toronto convention of the American Federation of Labor, and become amalgamated with the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, on or before April 1, 1911, the action and decision of

the Toronto convention shall become effective on that date."

That report was referred to the adjustment committee which, after due consideration, made the following report to the convention:

United Brotherhood of Carpenters—Amalgamated Wood Workers.

The Toronto convention endorsed an agreement for the amalgamation of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union into one organization and instructed your Executive Council to carry into effect the details of the proposed agreement. At our meeting last March we directed our president that if either organization failed to ratify the agreement, he should call a conference of the executive officers of both organizations in conjunction with one member of the Executive Council for the purpose of carrying out the instructions of the Toronto convention.

President Gompers immediately entered into correspondence with the executive officers of both organizations with that purpose in view. The Executive Board of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters gave the opinion that as the plan of consolidation as authorized by the Toronto convention is practically the same as previously adopted by the Minneapolis convention and approved by a referendum vote of the entire membership of the United Brotherhood, under date of May 13, 1907, that that vote still stands, and that a matter once disposed of by referendum vote of the entire membership becomes the action of the entire organization unless ordered by the next general convention to be re-submitted for a vote. Later, after the national convention of the United Brotherhood, we were advised that the convention accepted the plan of consolidation with the Amalgamated Wood Workers as proposed by our last annual convention, the consolidation to take effect November 1, 1910.

The delegates from the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union, as shown by the official proceedings of the Toronto convention, opposed the passage of the report of the committee on adjustment on this subject. The General Executive Council of the Amalgamated Wood Workers and the membership at large approved this action. The officers of the Amalgamated Wood Workers therefore expressed themselves as willing and ready to confer with the representatives of any body of organized workers with a view to the settlement of controversies, but they declined to enter into any conference with the U. B. of Carpenters with the object of effecting an amalgamation of the two organizations.

We were reluctant to exercise the implied power contained in the action of the Toronto convention, in so far as concerned the revocation of the charter of the Amalgamated Wood Workers, inasmuch as the United Brotherhood of Carpenters has accepted the Toronto agreement of amalgamation and the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union has rejected it, we recommend that unless the latter organization complies with the decision of the Toronto conven-

tion of the American Federation of Labor and becomes amalgamated with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters on or before April 1, 1911, the action and decision of the Toronto convention shall become effective on that date.

After thorough discussion of the entire matter at St. Louis several motions were made. That convention then decided that the same course be taken in regard to the Amalgamated Wood Workers and Carpenters as was taken in regard to the Elevator Constructors and Machinists, that is, that it be referred to the Executive Council and a further effort be made to bring about an honorable adjustment.

When these matters were under consideration at our January meeting, we directed President Gompers and Secretary Morrisson to enter into correspondence with both organizations and endeavor to bring about amalgamation.

When the action of the St. Louis convention and your Executive Council was officially conveyed to the executive officers of both organizations, the officers of the U. B. of Carpenters expressed themselves as being ready and willing to bring about amalgamation of the two organizations immediately and at the same time suggested that amalgamation could be more quickly effected by conference than by correspondence.

The officers of the Amalgamated Wood Workers referred the matter to their general council. The action of that body was, by the secretary, conveyed in a letter to President Gompers as follows:

Under date of April 19th, you were advised that your communication of April 4th last, in reference to the decision of the St. Louis convention, would be referred to our general council for their consideration.

The subject matter was considered by our general council through correspondence, and I am instructed to again advise you that because of the definite instructions of our last convention held in Chicago, March 15-20, 1909, our general council is prevented from meeting in conference or delegating authority to a committee to meet in conference with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters that has for its purpose the consideration of amalgamation.

I am instructed to say, however, that in deference to the action of the A. F. of L. St. Louis convention, our general council is willing to agree to submit the plan of amalgamation, designated by that convention and mentioned in your communication, to a vote of our membership for their disposition.

This proposition is contingent on the other organizations in interest also agree-

ing to submit to their membership for action the plan of amalgamation as recommended by the St. Louis convention.

When this information was conveyed to the officers of the U. B. they in turn stated:

The terms proposed by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America were given us by authority of the Toronto convention of the American Federation of Labor. These terms were agreeable to and accepted by our general executive board, and later by our sixteen biennial convention held in Des Moines, Iowa, in September of last year, without opposition. It is therefore not necessary to submit said propositions to our membership for referendum vote.

As it is plainly evident to us that the Amalgamated Wood Workers do not want to comply with the orders of the St. Louis convention and as that convention authorized, instructed and empowered the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to take such action as will bring about amalgamation of the two organizations, we demand that a amalgamation shall take place immediately, or that the Wood Workers' International Union be suspended immediately from the American Federation of Labor.

As directed by us at our June meeting, President Gompers continued his efforts to bring about a conference with the officers of both organizations and finally brought them together at Indianapolis on June 30th. There was no definite action taken at that conference, except that an understanding was reached that President Gompers should draft a proposition based upon the principle of the St. Louis convention decision, the members of the general council of the Wood Workers who were present agreeing to submit such a proposition to the entire general council, the general council in turn to decide whether the proposition should be submitted to the membership for a referendum vote.

The proposition, as drafted by President Gompers, is as follows:

Washington, D. C., Aug. 16, 1911.

Mr. John G. Meiler, General Secretary,  
Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union of America, 3538 North Albany Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

Dear Sir and Brother:

You will recall that at the conference held in Indianapolis, at which were represented the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the representatives of your organization, it was agreed that I would submit a proposition based upon the principle of the St. Louis convention decision, to be submitted to your general council. On account of being absent from the office a great deal on official business, and other matters pressing upon me, it was impossible for me to

give this matter my attention until the present time, and in accordance therewith, the following proposition is hereby submitted to you, and through you to your general council:

1. The Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union of America shall be known in the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners as District No. —. Said district to have jurisdiction over all men engaged in their industry at the present time who are members of the Amalgamated Wood Workers.

2. The present international officers of the Amalgamated Wood Workers shall be the district officers and conduct the affairs of the district in accordance with the laws of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. The salary of the officers to be the same as now paid.

3. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners will grant charters and supplies free of cost to all unions in good standing in the Amalgamated Wood Workers and assign them numbers in accordance with the list of unions of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

4. All money in the treasury or in hands of other officers, or in any way held as the money of the Amalgamated Wood Workers, shall become the treasury and money of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, District No. — and be held for the purpose of conducting the financial affairs of that district.

5. All members engaged as shop or mill men in the wood working industry who are now members of the Amalgamated Wood Workers, shall carry their membership in the union connected with said district. Members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, who may be employed now or in the future in shop or mill work, shall transfer to the union having jurisdiction over this work, where the member or members may be employed in the Amalgamated Wood Workers' District No. —.

6. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners agrees to pay 50 per cent of the legitimate salary and expenses of all business agents now paid by and under salary of the Amalgamated Wood Workers, and in accordance with the constitution of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, said business agents shall have their offices in the same office as the business agents of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, in order that the unnecessary expenses of conducting two offices may be avoided.

7. All per capita tax due to the A. F. of L. and to the Building Trades department and to such other departments or organizations as the consolidated organization may become attached to, shall be paid out of the general fund of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

8. The Amalgamated Wood Workers, District No. — of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, can hold conventions, adopt laws to govern the district and carry on the affairs of said district practically on the same lines as is now

being done by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, with the exception that all rules, regulations and laws adopted by the Amalgamated Wood Workers, District No. — shall be in conformity with the general constitution of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

9. All members of the Amalgamated Wood Workers, District No. — affiliated with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, shall pay to their local union the same amount of dues per month as is paid by the members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and the same per capita tax shall be paid by said district to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners as is now paid by the local unions of that organization, each union affiliated to conduct its financial business in accordance with the constitution of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

10. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners agrees to give all members of the Amalgamated Wood Workers in good standing at the time of amalgamation a credit of six months' good standing membership, so that they will be entitled to the death benefits of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners as soon as the amalgamation takes place.

11. All unions of the Amalgamated Wood Workers, District No. — of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners shall be entitled to send delegates to the convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners on the same basis as all other unions of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners are entitled to.

12. It is hereby agreed that all members of the Amalgamated Wood Workers transferring to and becoming a part of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, shall be entitled to all benefits, privileges and assistance of the Brotherhood and its general officers as are given to all members and unions of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

This proposition as submitted is almost identical with the proposition endorsed by the St. Louis convention in the matter of the Amalgamation of the Elevator Constructors with the International Association of Machinists. The only matter omitted from the original proposition as adopted at St. Louis is the one specifying amounts to be paid to strike and victimized members. The other clause as left out from the agreement provides for an assessment which does not have any bearing on the subject of wood workers and carpenters.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,

President American Federation of Labor.

Secretary Meller, of the Amalgamated Wood Workers, later submitted the following terms of amalgamation for that organization with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners:

1. The Amalgamated Wood Workers'

International Union of America shall be known in the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, as Department of Factory Wood Workers. Said department to have jurisdiction over all men engaged in said industry.

2. The present international officers of the Amalgamated Wood Workers shall be the officers of said department and conduct the affairs of said department, in accordance with the laws of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. The salary of the officers to be the same as now paid.

3. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners will grant charters to all unions in good standing in the Amalgamated Wood Workers and assign the numbers in accordance with the list of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

4. All money in the treasury or in hands of other officers, or in any way held as money of the amalgamated Wood Workers, shall become the treasury and money of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners' Department of Factory Wood Workers, and be held for the purpose of conducting the financial affairs of that department.

5. It shall be agreed that all factory wood workers shall transfer to unions of this department; wherever there are seven or more wood workers in a center, they shall form a separate Local Union, under the jurisdiction of said department.

6. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners agrees to pay 50 per cent of the legitimate salary and expenses of all business agents now paid by and under salary of the Amalgamated Wood Workers and in accordance with the constitution of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; said business agents shall have their offices in the same office as the business agents of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, in order that the unnecessary expense of conducting two offices may be avoided.

7. All per capita tax due to the A. F. of L., to the Building Trades department and to such other departments or organizations as the consolidated organization may become attached to, shall be paid out of the general fund of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

8. The Department of Factory Wood Workers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners can hold conventions, adopt laws to govern the department and carry on the affairs of said department practically on the same lines as is now being done by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, with the exception that all rules, regulations and laws adopted by the Department of Factory Wood Workers shall be in conformity with the general constitution of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

9. All members of the Department of Factory Wood Workers shall pay to their local union the same amount of dues per month as is paid by the members of the



United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and the same per capita tax shall be paid by said Department of Factory Wood Workers' local unions to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners as is now paid by the local unions of that organization each union affiliated to conduct its financial business in accordance with the constitution of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

10. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners agrees to place all members of the Amalgamated Wood Workers in full benefits, as soon as amalgamation takes place, according to their membership in the Amalgamated Wood Workers.

11. All unions of the Department of Factory Wood Workers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners shall be entitled to send delegates to the convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners on the same basis as all other unions of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners are entitled to.

12. It is hereby agreed that all members of the Department of Factory Wood Workers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners shall be entitled to all benefits, privileges and assistance of the Brotherhood and its general officers as are given to all members and unions of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

13. It is hereby agreed that a separate fund be provided out of the per capita tax paid by the members of the department of Factory Wood Workers into the general treasury. Said fund to be in the custody of the officers of the Department of Factory Wood Workers.

Secretary Duffy, for the General Executive Board, of the United Brotherhood and in its behalf, demanded revocation of the chapter held by the Amalgamated Wood Workers.

Having been unable to secure the amalgamation of the Carpenters and Wood Workers, the entire matter is again placed before you for instructions as to what further action you desire taken.

#### U. B. of Carpenters—Amalgamated Carpenters.

The Executive Council submitted to the St. Louis convention a comprehensive report regarding the subject matter of the long continued dispute between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners. The same can be found on pages 105, 342 and 343, of the printed official proceedings of the St. Louis convention. That report was referred to a special committee which in turn reported to the St. Louis convention, and the entire subject matter was referred to the Executive Council to bring

the representatives of both organizations together. It embraced also Resolution No. 31, introduced at the St. Louis convention by the delegates from the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.

We regret to be compelled to report that the situation is practically the same as it was at the adjournment of the St. Louis convention insofar as concerns the amalgamation of the two organizations, despite our efforts to carry out the instructions given us.

Therefore, the Executive Council holds that both for harmony and for practicality the carpentry trade should be represented in the American Federation of Labor, and also in the Building Trades Department by one general organization of the carpentry industry, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and we further recommend that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed, and the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department requested, to carry this into effect.

#### Electrical Workers.

Again we are compelled to report that the controversy between the affiliated and unaffiliated International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers remains unadjusted. The St. Louis convention referred the entire matter to us. At our meeting in January the representatives of both branches of the Electrical Workers were present. The situation was thoroughly gone over. Every opportunity was afforded the representatives of both sides for the expression of their respective opinions and beliefs. We, as an Executive Council in executive session, gave to this subject our very best thought and prolonged discussion. We finally decided upon a specific course providing for the amalgamation of the two bodies as follows:

The St. Louis convention of the American Federation of Labor referred to the Executive Council the matter of the division existing among the Electrical Workers, with directions to make every possible effort in its power to amalgamate the warring factions into a united and harmonious organization.

After hearing the representatives of the Electrical Workers, and giving much consideration to the directions and actions of the St. Louis convention of the Federation,

The Executive Council finds that by constitutional provision the regular conventions of the Electrical Workers officered by Frank J. McNulty, president.

and Peter W. Collins, secretary; and the Electrical Workers officered by J. J. Reid, as president, and J. W. Murphy, as secretary, will be held at the same time, to wit, September 14, 1911.

The Executive Council, therefore, requests that both conventions be held in the city of Minneapolis, or such other city as may be agreed upon by both organizations.

The Executive Council urges all parties interested to make every possible effort to bring about thoroughly representative conventions, and that President Gompers shall upon receipt of the necessary information as to date and place of holding conventions, issue a circular to all local unions of Electrical Workers submitting this document and urging them to be represented by their proper and legal number of delegates.

The Executive Council directs that after the proper organization of the two conventions for the transaction of business that each convention shall elect a committee of five to meet jointly together with the President of the American Federation of Labor, the President of the Building Trades Department and the President of the Metal Trades Department, or representatives appointed by them, to consider and devise rules and plans for amalgamation. As soon as this joint committee has completed their work, the committee shall report their conclusions and recommendations to each convention for ratification.

Upon ratification by both conventions, the two conventions shall unite and meet as one convention of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and shall be governed, as to procedure by the rules and recommendations of the joint committee on amalgamation, proceeding to transact all business that should properly come before the Brotherhood convention.

The funds in bank in hands of the officers and property of both organizations, shall at the close of the convention be placed so as to be subject to the disposal of the newly elected officers of the amalgamated Brotherhood in accord with such directions as shall have been made by the joint convention.

The members of the Executive Council, or their representatives, shall remain with the convention acting in an advisory capacity, rendering every assistance in their power to permanently unite the organized Electrical Workers into one harmonious Brotherhood, and shall immediately report upon the result of their efforts to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council urges and expects the officers of both factions of the Brotherhood, the one unaffiliated with the Federation, as well as the one that is a part of the Federation, to work steadfastly and earnestly toward the end which the St. Louis convention had in view when it referred the matter to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, namely, the amalgamation of all organized Electrical Workers into one solid and harmonious organization fitted to accomplish the great work

of trade union activity in the interest of the Electrical Workers of America.

It was further provided by our decision that a preliminary meeting should be held between the representatives of both organizations of Electrical Workers with President Gompers for the purpose of carrying into effect the proposed plan of amalgamation.

In compliance with our directions, President Gompers communicated with President McNulty, of the affiliated Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and with President Reid, of the unaffiliated Brotherhood, conveying to them our directions and the plan of amalgamation. He then entered into correspondence with them for the purpose of arranging for the preliminary meeting for the representatives of both organizations. Mr. Reid stated that his executive board would hold itself in readiness to send their representatives to attend the conference at any time and place that would be indicated. President McNulty stated that the matter had been referred to his executive board for a decision. President Gompers, on May 4th, definitely designated May the 29th, at the Washington headquarters as the time and place for holding the preliminary conference, and so notified both parties. On May 13th and on May 19th, Mr. Reid and Mr. McNulty wrote to President Gompers as follows:

#### INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS.

Springfield, Ill., May 13, 1911.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother: I visited you at Washington, April 5th, and at that time you stated that you had again written Mr. McNulty for a statement relative to his attitude on the decision of the Executive Council of January 16. You advised me to wait until you had received a reply therefrom and up to this time I have waited patiently to hear from you should you hear from Mr. McNulty or not.

This month we have to submit a referendum to our members to decide the place of holding our International convention next September. Now I am waiting to learn whether Mr. McNulty and his membership are to hold such a convention at Minneapolis as your Council decision mentions unless another city was mutually agreed upon.

I request such information from you as to any knowledge you have, or procure, on the subject of city in which the

McNulty faction are to hold their convention.

Any advice you may give me on the subject will be appreciated.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed)

J. J. REID,  
General President.

### INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS.

Springfield, Ill., May 19, 1911.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President A. F. of L. and Executive Council of A. F. of L., Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

I beg leave to reply to the communication received from you some time ago, referring to the controversy among the electrical workers.

In view of the very great principle involved in this matter, the interests of all Electrical Workers, the history of the attempts by the seceders to disrupt and disorganize our Brotherhood, and particularly in view of your own very great interest in the whole controversy, our executive board, who were authorized by our convention to deal with the matter, has very carefully considered the entire situation. They have given great consideration to your recommendations and likewise to the interests of our Brotherhood, and have instructed me to send the following reply to you.

We beg leave to point out that the situation has in no way changed except that we are now very much nearer a trial, since the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. went on record stating that as soon as the law suits were disposed of you would tender your friendly offices to bring about an amalgamation.

The questions raised in this law suit can never be settled until they are settled rightly. Until they are settled in court, any member or local union of our Brotherhood could file a law suit and raise the same issues. This will be impossible, however, when said issues are settled by the courts. The history of this law suit is ample proof of that fact.

Knowing the things the seceders have done in the past we are warned of the things they might and could do in the future, and it would not serve the best interests of our Brotherhood or its future welfare if we entered again into negotiations with them pending the decision of the court on the issues raised by themselves.

A very short memory will recall that the seceders violated grossly every agreement they entered into with us, and undertook by a sham or subterfuge, to create the impression that they were dismissing this law suit in May, 1910, on the pretext that you were holding a conference between the seceders and our officers in New York city. You know that such was not the case and the seceders knew that, but still they endeavored to mislead both the court and yourselves. They also, at that time, wrote letters to the banks threatening them with law suits if they paid this money out to the Brotherhood. Your Executive Council at their meeting in June, 1910, recognized this fact and

stated in this connection that "Good faith in this or any similar proceeding is in doubt."

The seceders, instead of carrying out any agreement entered into with us, have made every effort to complicate the situation and to postpone a trial of this case, and are still preventing these questions from being decided by the courts, which alone have the power to forever settle the issues that are now raised, and the question that anybody else might raise along the same lines in the future.

We earnestly hope for an early trial and full disclosure of all the questions raised by the seceders in this law suit, so that organized labor in general can know the falseness of the claims made by the seceders. Such decision is necessary for the continuance of the principles upon which our Brotherhood is founded, and without such a decision any number of disgruntled members or disappointed office-seekers can impede the progress of our organization as some of them are doing now.

Under the circumstances we cannot agree to your suggestions, and respectfully request that you will co-operate with us to the end that nothing will be done that will tend to further delay the trial of the law suits of Cleveland, which now stand at the head of the calendar, as that and only that will produce unity and harmony in our Brotherhood and guarantee freedom from legal entanglements in the future.

In closing we beg to state that we sincerely appreciate your good offices so kindly tendered to us, and assure you that we will be glad to further co-operate with you as soon as the legal rights of our Brotherhood are established, which will be at the time the court decides the questions raised by the seceders.

With best wishes, I beg to remain,

Fraternally yours,

(Signed)

F. J. McNULTY,  
International President.

The conference for May 4th therefore was not held.

On August 4th President Reid wrote President Gompers as follows:

### INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS.

Springfield, Ill., Aug. 4, 1911.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Complying with the recommendations of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor held in Washington, D. C., January 16-27, inclusive: "In re . . . the matter of the division amongst the Electrical Workers . . . which recommendations and decision you communicated to me February 18, 1911, I advise you that the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers have amended their laws to comply as far as possible with the recommendations of the Executive Council, to-wit: "The executive council therefore requests that both conventions be held in the city of

Minneapolis or such other city as may be agreed upon by both organizations.' We will meet in convention September 18, 1911, in the city of Rochester, N. Y. I am informed that the McNulty-Collins faction will convene in Rochester, N. Y., on the same date. I direct your attention to that part of the Executive Council's decision of January 16-27th as follows:

'The Executive Council urges all parties interested to make every possible effort to bring about thoroughly representative conventions, and that President Gompers shall, upon receipt of the necessary information as to date and place of holding conventions, issue a circular to all local unions of Electrical Workers, submitting this document and urging them to be represented by their proper and legal number of delegates.'

To further co-operate with you our general secretary is mailing you under separate cover the addresses of the secretaries of our local unions.

I have the pleasure at this time in extending to you an invitation to address our convention and sincerely trust you will find time to attend.

With best wishes, I am,

Fraternally yours,  
(Signed) J. J. REID,  
General President.

President Gompers then wrote to President McNulty as follows:

August 16, 1911.  
Mr. F. J. McNulty, President International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, Pierick Bldg., Springfield, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Enclosed you will please find a copy of a letter which has been received from Mr. J. J. Reid, representing the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers unaffiliated to the American Federation of Labor. You will note that the unaffiliated organization of Electrical Workers has decided to hold its convention at the same time and place as the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of which you are president, that is, at Rochester, New York, September 18, 1911.

Enclosed you will please find a copy of the action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in the Electrical Workers' case, as directed by the St. Louis convention. You will notice that the Executive Council directed that at the city where the conventions of the two bodies of Electrical Workers are to be held, that the president of American Federation of Labor, the president of the Building Trades department, and the president of the Metal Trades department shall go there to aid in considering and devising rules and plans for the amalgamation of the two bodies of Electrical Workers.

Of course, before I advise the presidents of the departments to be present at Rochester for the purpose of carrying into effect the instructions of the A. F. of L. convention, I want you to advise me whether you, on behalf of your Brotherhood, will so conform your course to the end that the presidents of the de-

partments or their representatives, and the president of the A. F. of L., or his representatives, can carry into effect the instructions given and as more fully set forth on pages 2 and 3 of the enclosed action of the Executive Council. You will please advise me in regard to the above on or before September 1st.

Trusting that I may hear from you at your earliest convenience, and that your reply will be favorable, and that unity may be established, I am

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
President American Federation of Labor.

To that letter Mr. McNulty replied:

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF  
ELECTRICAL WORKERS.

Springfield, Ill., August 30, 1911.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Ouray Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Your favor dated August 16, 1911, awaited my arrival at our international office today. In reply beg to call your attention to our letter sent you in answer to your favor of April 3, 1911, which makes the position of our Brotherhood clear in the premises.

A joint convention previous to the trial of the suits in Cleveland is impossible and can never be held, regardless of who may desire it, as any effort to hold such a convention would result in a multiplicity of law suits which would complicate the situation more than it is at the present time. No one knows this better than Messrs. Reid, Murphy, Sullivan, etc.

Every effort made by us to bring about an adjustment was made sincerely. The opposition took advantage of those efforts to further complicate the situation. Now that they must come into court and face the issues they themselves raised, they desire to sidestep by urging a joint convention, but as a joint convention can not determine the legal rights of individual members, or prevent them, in the future, from tying up the funds of our Brotherhood, making it impossible for us to use the funds for the purpose for which they were created, we do not intend to enter into any other negotiations with the seceders until the suits at law are settled in Cleveland, which will settle once and for all the legal rights of dissatisfied and disgruntled members, and prevent them from destroying the usefulness of our Brotherhood by keeping us in continual litigation similar to the litigation that confronts our Brotherhood at this time.

We recognize and realize that your good offices are tendered to us in good faith, and I assure you that we would be pleased to co-operate with you in carrying out your suggestions if the same were practicable and would bring about the desired end.

We sincerely thank you and your colleagues for the services that you tender and assure you that the same is appreciated, but we must decline them for

the above mentioned reasons.

With best wishes, I am,

Fraternally yours,

(Signed)

F. J. McNULTY,  
International President.

In view of the above correspondence, it was deemed an entire waste of time to have either our president or the presidents of the Building and Metal Trades departments of the A. F. of L. proceed to the convention city. Despite the declarations, however, the affiliated and the unaffiliated organizations of Electrical Workers of their own volition appointed committees to confer with a view of reaching an adjustment of their differences. The agreement they reached, with the names of the joint committees signed, is as follows:

We, a joint committee, recommend for adoption, by each convention lawfully and under constitution assembled, the following recommendations as a result of our deliberations:

FIRST: That each convention lawfully assembled, does immediately place their attorneys representing them in the Gelb suit directly under control and direction of their respective committees, whose signatures are attached hereto.

SECOND: That each committee be empowered to proceed at once to Cleveland, Ohio, with credentials signed by the general officers of each organization and under seal, for the purpose of taking up the matter of the Gelb suit with court in charge, and from court each side shall ascertain the standing and record of the case, and further shall learn why, from said court, the Gelb case cannot be tried immediately. After ascertaining what these obstacles are, these representatives shall remove same through attorneys, and inform the court that it is the wish and earnest desire of each convention, that suit be decided at once upon its merits.

THIRD: That it be the sense of each convention, lawfully assembled, that absolutely no obstacles nor interference shall be tolerated from any officer or member of either organization, but that all officers and members of each organization shall, upon demand, co-operate with their respective committees, that their instructions may be carried out to the letter.

FOURTH: Upon a decision being rendered by the court, that organization being ruled against shall immediately upon such decision being rendered, adjourn and affiliate with successful litigant, under such provisions as shall be recommended by the respective committees.

FIFTH: In event each or either organization is adjourned at time court decision is rendered, that respective committees are and will be retained, and empowered to use any and all means necessary to bring about unity among all the Electrical Workers affected, and shall continue so until same is accomplished.

Respectfully submitted,  
EUGENE E. SMITH,  
W. J. DYSON,

HARRY A. FREED,

WM. F. KELLY,

GUY T. WHITE,

H. W. RAVEN,

L. C. GRASSER,

M. BIRMINGHAM,

M. P. GORDON,

CHAS. P. FORD,

M. BIRMINGHAM,

Chairman of Joint Committee.

EUG. E. SMITH,

Secretary of Joint Committee."

September 26th, 1911.

The unaffiliated organization adopted the report but burdened it with the condition that its system of District Councils in cities must be adopted by the organization affiliated, a system which had been in vogue before the division and which had been discarded by the affiliated Brotherhood of Electrical Workers as being ruinous.

Our affiliated organization adopted the agreement with a declaration that it waived no legal rights it held before the courts. This was interpreted by the unaffiliated organization as in conflict with the provision in the agreement that no appeal should be taken from the decision rendered in the pending case before the court. To remove that impression the affiliated organization's convention thereupon and without reservation declared its approval of the agreement as drafted and agreed upon by the committees from both organizations and continued its committee. The unaffiliated organization's convention withdrew and discharged its committee from further conferences and adjourned.

At our meeting at headquarters during the week of October 16-21, desirous of having these matters authentically placed before us, we invited Mr. McNulty, president of the affiliated Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and Mr. Reid, president of the unaffiliated organization, to meet with us and present the facts, the facts elicited being as we have just stated them. We finally asked this question of both Mr. McNulty and Mr. Reid: "Are you willing to recommend the settlement of the differences between the affiliated and unaffiliated brotherhoods of Electrical Workers upon the exact terms of the agreement drafted and reported by the joint committee of the representatives of both organizations at the Rochester conventions?"

President McNulty replied that he would recommend to his organization and the committee representing it a settle-

ment on the exact terms contained in the joint committee's report.

President Reid replied to the same question that the matter is not in his hands but he would submit to the membership of his organization anything the Executive Council would furnish him.

Inasmuch as Mr. McNulty for his Brotherhood regards the agreement reached by the joint committee at Rochester as binding upon his organization and Mr. Reid has answered that he would submit to the membership of his organization any recommendation made by the Executive Council,

We urge that this convention recommend to Mr. Reid that the joint agreement reached at Rochester be submitted to a referendum vote of his membership, and that the unaffiliated organization authorize and direct a committee to meet with the committee of the affiliated organization with the view of carrying the provisions of the Rochester agreement into effect, and thus amalgamate the two organizations into one comprehensive brotherhood of electrical workers, affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

#### Machinists—Elevator Constructors.

The amalgamation of these two organizations, despite the efforts of your Executive Council, has not been affected. In the official printed proceedings of the St. Louis convention, on pages 101-5, and pages 155-57, and pages 279-281, will be found the entire proceedings of that convention in dealing with this subject, which by the convention was referred to the Executive Council. At our meeting at headquarters in January, we devoted much time to the consideration of this subject. The representatives of the two organizations were present, and were afforded the fullest opportunity for discussion. It was agreed that a conference should be held between the representatives of the two organizations on the second Monday in March, 1911, in which President Gompers and another member of the Executive Council should participate. The officers of both organizations were duly notified to that effect. In reply to that notification, Secretary Young, of the Elevator Constructors, sent Presi-

dent Gompers the following letter:

Philadelphia, Pa., Feb. 27, 1911.  
Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Yours of the 18th instant received informing us that President O'Connell has arranged for a meeting with his board during the week of March 13th in Washington, and you suggest that our representatives arrange to be present. I acquainted our representatives of your plan, and they have informed me, that it is impossible for them to be present on the week mentioned as they have been elected to attend our State Federation meetings.

They will be most pleased to arrange for a meeting at any other time that will meet the approval of all concerned, and which you will advise us of the same.

Fraternally yours,  
(Signed) WILLIAM YOUNG,  
Secretary-Treasurer.

In his reply thereto, President Gompers said:

February 28, 1911.  
Mr. William Young, Secretary International Union of Elevator Constructors,  
1952 N. 19th St., Philadelphia, Pa.  
Dear Sir and Brother:

Your favor of the 27th instant to hand and contents noted. In it you say you have acquainted the representatives of your organization with my "plan" and they inform you that it is impossible for them to be present on the week mentioned (March 13), as they have been elected to attend the State Federation meetings.

First, let me say that neither the conference nor the suggestion of the conference is due to any plan of mine. It was the result of an agreement between the representatives of your International Union and of the International Association of Machinists.

I submitted the information you impart to President O'Connell of the International Association of Machinists, and he expressed the utmost surprise thereat, and declared that your International Union is in honor bound to have its representatives present at the conference in this city on March 13th.

Your attention is called to the fact that the Executive Council meeting of the American Federation of Labor at headquarters, January 16-27, President Jas. F. Murphy of your International Union, and Brother Frank Feeney were here and in conference with the Executive Council and with President James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists. The subject matter of the conference was discussed and on behalf of the International Association of Machinists, President O'Connell urged the meeting of the conference at a very early date. Brother Feeney of your organization stated that it was his desire to go south for several weeks, and that inasmuch as he was to be a participant in the conference it should be deferred until some later date. It was

then agreed by Brothers Murphy and Feeney, for your International Union, and President O'Connell for the International Association of Machinists, that conference should be held in Washington, March 13. Minutes of the meeting of the Executive Council show this clearly and that the Executive Council was made a party to the agreement.

Having all these matters in mind, President O'Connell issued a call for a meeting of the Executive Board of the I. A. of M. to meet in Washington for the purpose of meeting with the representatives of your organization, and so that the Executive Board being in session, could make the most liberal terms possible and to make them effectively. President O'Connell called attention to the fact that members of the Executive Board are:

Mr. Jam. A. Reynolds, State Senator, Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. Hugh Doran, Chicago, Illinois.

Mr. Edward L. Tucker, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Robert Cook, Seattle, Washington.

Mr. A. E. Ireland, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.

Two of the members of the Executive Board are employed in the navy yard and arsenal and have applied for, and obtained from their departments, leave of absence for the week of March 13. The members of his Executive Board will therefore travel long distances for the special purpose of attending this conference and he says that the Executive Board meeting cannot and will not be called off.

Of course I do not underestimate the importance of attending the meetings of State Federations, but I submit that after an agreement has been made to hold a conference of such tremendous importance as the one under discussion that when the date of the conference is reached to suit the convenience of the representatives of your organization, attendance at this conference overshadows the attendance at a meeting of a state federation convention.

In view of all these matters, I again advise you that the conference of the representatives of the International Union of Elevator Constructors and the International Association of Machinists will be held in Washington, D. C., beginning Monday morning, March 13, 1911, in accordance with the agreement as to time, date and place, entered into between the representatives of your International Union and the representatives of the I. A. of M. You will therefore kindly invite and notify the representatives of your International Union to be present at the conference.

With best wishes, I am,

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
President American Federation of Labor.

N. B. I am sending a copy of this letter to President Murphy of your International Union, and to Brother Frank Feeney.

In his reply on March 4th, Secretary Young said:

I feel that Brother Feeney overlooked the appointment he made with President

O'Connell on January 16th, when he accepted the duties as delegate to the State Federation convention of Pennsylvania. Now knowing that special arrangements have been entered into by some of the members of the Machinists' International Executive Board, our representatives will at once leave for Washington after the State Federation convention has ended. The convention will not last over three or four days. Trusting that you will inform us if President O'Connell and the members of his executive Board can make it convenient to meet our representatives according to above proposition.

A conference was thereupon held on March 15th at the A. F. of L. headquarters. President Gompers represented the Executive Council. Secretary Morrison was also to be present but was unavoidably called out of the city on that date. After full and free discussion of the entire matter, an agreement was reached as follows:

Washington, D. C., March 17, 1911.

Realizing the necessity for the thorough organization of the working people and the closer unity of the organized workers, and despite the fact that the International Association of Machinists and the International Union of Elevator Constructors are powerful and effective forces in the interests of the workers of their respective trades, it is nevertheless a self-evident truism that because of the close kinship of these trades, that amalgamation of these two organizations would accomplish greater results to protect and promote the rights and interests of the workers thereof, and for the furtherance of the great uplift work for all the workers, the undersigned, representing their respective organizations, agree upon the following terms of amalgamation:

1. On and after June first, 1911, the International Union of Elevator Constructors shall become part of the International Association of Machinists, and shall be known thereafter as 'Elevator Constructors' District No.—.' Said district to have jurisdiction over all men engaged in elevator construction work on buildings or wherever elevators may be erected.

2. The present international officers of the I. U. of E. C. shall be the district officers and conduct the affairs of the district in accordance with the laws of the I. A. of M. The salary of the officers to be the same as now paid.

3. The I. A. of M. will grant charters and supplies free of cost to all unions in good standing in the I. U. of E. C., and assign them numbers in accordance with the list of lodges of the I. A. of M.

4. All money in the treasury or hands of other officers or in any way held as the money of the I. U. of E. C. shall become the treasury and money of Elevator Constructors, District No.—, and be held for the purpose of conducting the financial affairs of that district.

5. All members engaged in the con-

struction of elevators in buildings, or elsewhere, where same is to be used, shall carry their membership in a lodge connected with Elevator Constructors, District No.—. Members of the I. A. of M. who may be employed now or in the future in the erection or construction of elevators, holding membership in another lodge, shall transfer to the lodge having jurisdiction over this work in the locality where the member or members may be employed in Elevator Constructors, District No.—.

6. The I. A. of M. agrees to pay 50 per cent of the legitimate salary and expenses of all business agents now paid by and under salary of the I. U. of E. C. in accordance with the constitution of the I. A. of M.; said business agents who have their offices in the same office as the business agents of the I. A. of M. are located in order that the unnecessary expense of conducting two offices may be avoided.

7. Whereas, the constitution of the I. A. of M. requires that members, to be entitled to strike or victimized benefits of \$6.00 per week to single men and \$8.00 per week married men, shall be in three months' good standing to be entitled to same; it is hereby agreed that upon the amalgamation of the two organizations all members of the I. U. of E. C. transferring to the I. A. of M. shall be immediately placed in good standing and entitled to strike and victimized benefits as provided for in the constitution of the I. A. of M.

8. All per capita tax of the A. F. of L. Building Trades department, and such other departments or organizations as the consolidated organization may become attached to, shall be paid out of the general fund of the I. A. of M.

9. The Elevator Constructors, District No.—, of the I. A. of M., can hold conventions, adopt laws to govern the district, and carry on the affairs of said district practically on the same lines as now being done by the I. U. of E. C., with the exception that all rules, regulations and laws adopted by Elevator Constructors, District No.—, shall be in conformity with the general constitution of the I. A. of M.

10. All members of the I. U. of E. C., affiliated with the I. A. of M. shall pay to their local union at least \$1.00 per month dues, and each local lodge shall pay to the grand lodge the standard rate of per capita tax prescribed by the constitution of the I. A. of M., as follows: Journeymen initiation stamp, \$1.50; apprentice initiation stamp, 75c; reinstatement stamp, \$1.50; monthly due stamp, 55c; apprentice monthly due stamp, 25c; unemployed stamp, 20c; It being understood that the above per capita tax covers the subscription to the monthly journal, the same to be supplied to each lodge in proportion to the number of members in good standing. Each lodge affiliated to conduct its financial business in accordance with the constitution of the I. A. of M.

11. The I. A. of M. agrees to give all members of the I. U. of E. C. in good standing at the time of amalgamation a

credit of six months' good standing membership, so that they will be entitled to the death benefits of the I. A. of M. as soon as the amalgamation takes place.

12. All lodges of the I. U. of E. C. becoming part of the I. A. of M. shall be entitled to send delegates to the convention of the I. A. of M. on the same basis as all other lodges of the I. A. of M. are entitled to.

13. It is hereby agreed that all members of the I. U. of E. C. transferring to and becoming a part of the I. A. of M. shall be entitled to all benefits, privileges and assistance of the association, and the general officers of the I. A. of M. as is given all members and lodges of the I. A. of M.

14. The above agreement being mutually accepted, can be altered only with the consent of both parties thereto, that is, the International Association of Machinists on the one hand, and Elevator Constructors, District No.—, on the other.

15. The representatives of the International Association of Machinists (being the general executive board thereof), having power conferred upon them, do accept this agreement upon attaching their signatures thereto.

16. The representatives of the International Union of Elevator Constructors agree to submit this agreement to the membership of their organization for ratification.

17. The representatives of the International Union of Elevator Constructors agree to notify the president of the American Federation of Labor on or before May 1, 1911, of the result of the referendum vote of the membership of the International Union of Elevator Constructors upon the ratification of this agreement.

18. The president of the American Federation of Labor, by direction of the convention and of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., agrees in the name of the American Federation of Labor to guarantee the faithful enforcement of the conditions in this agreement provided.

For the International Association of Machinists,

(Signed) JAS. O'CONNELL,  
(Signed) A. E. IRELAND,  
(Signed) HUGH DORAN,  
(Signed) ED. L. TUCKER,  
(Signed) R. G. COOK,  
(Signed) JAS. A. REYNOLDS.

For the International Union of Elevator Constructors,

(Signed) J. F. MURPHY,  
(Signed) FRANK FEENEY,  
(Signed) A. EAGAN.

For the American Federation of Labor,  
(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS.

In conformity with paragraph 16 of the agreement, Secretary Young on April 19th advised President Gompers as follows:

"As per instructions of the recent conference held in Washington relative to the amalgamation of the Elevator Constructors with the Machinists, I herewith forward you the result to date of the referendum vote taken.

The following locals voted unanimously not to amalgamate, with the exception



of Philadelphia and Denver, which reported one vote each for amalgamation:

- Local No. 1, New York.
  - Local No. 2, Chicago.
  - Local No. 3, St. Louis.
  - Local No. 4, Boston.
  - Local No. 5, Philadelphia.
  - Local No. 6, Pittsburg.
  - Local No. 7, Baltimore.
  - Local No. 9, Minneapolis.
  - Local No. 10, Washington.
  - Local No. 12, Kansas City.
  - Local No. 14, Buffalo.
  - Local No. 15, Milwaukee.
  - Local No. 17, Cleveland.
  - Local No. 19, Seattle.
  - Local No. 21, Dallas, Texas.
  - Local No. 25, Denver.
  - Local No. 27, Rochester.
  - Local No. 31, Houston.
  - Local No. 32, Atlanta.
  - Local No. 33, Des Moines, Iowa.
  - Local No. 34, Indianapolis.
- We have yet to hear from—
- Local No. 8, San Francisco.
  - Local No. 16, New Orleans.
  - Local No. 18, Los Angeles.
  - Local No. 23, Portland.
  - Local No. 24, Birmingham, Ala.
  - Local No. 26, Vancouver, B. C.
  - Local No. 28, Omaha.
  - Local No. 30, Memphis.

My reason for forwarding to you at the present time the vote taken is so that you may be advised of the ultimate results, inasmuch as the present records show an overwhelming vote against amalgamation, the locals not yet heard from, amount to not more than 254 members. Immediately upon receipt of the vote of the locals not yet heard from, I will forward the result of their vote to you. The present status is 1856 against amalgamation and two for amalgamation.

In reference to the above contention between the organizations in interest, your Executive Council recommends that the subject matter be left with the Executive Council to take such further action as may be helpful to bring about full understanding and adjustment between the two organizations.

#### **Blue Stone Cutters—Granite Cutters—Pavers and Rammermen.**

In making our report upon this case to the St. Louis convention, the convention in view of the recommendation we made, ratified the agreement entered into in New York city November 11, 1910, between the Granite Cutters' International union, the Blue Stone Cutters, and Organizer Hugh Frayne, representing the American Federation of Labor and the Building Trades department. The report of the committee and the action of the convention thereon will be found upon pages 108, 109, 136, 165, 289, 290, and 291 of the official printed proceedings of the St. Louis convention. It was re-

ported to us at our January meeting that the Blue Stone Cutters had failed to conform to the provisions of the agreement of November 11th and that neither the Pavers and Rammermen nor the New York C. F. U. had complied with the conference proceedings for the amalgamation of the Blue Stone Cutters with the Granite Cutters' International Association. We thereupon called upon the officers of the Pavers and Rammermen's International Union to immediately disassociate from membership therein the Blue Stone Cutters in question and also upon the C. F. U. of New York that in conformity with the action of the St. Louis convention, the Blue Stone Cutters should be either denied representation in the C. F. U. or become part of the Granite Cutters' International Association as provided by the agreement and the St. Louis decision. After conferences and much correspondence, both the Pavers and Rammermen's International Union and the C. F. U. officially notified President Gompers that the Blue Stone Cutters had withdrawn from the C. F. U. and had been denied affiliation by the Pavers and Rammermen's International union. We regret to say, however, that the affiliation of the Blue Stone Cutters with the Granite Cutters has not been effected.

#### **Painters—Car Workers.**

In conformity with the instructions of the St. Louis convention and dealing with the subject matter of resolution No. 119 a conference was finally arranged between the representatives of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America and the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America. This conference was held at headquarters in Washington on April 20, President Gompers and Secretary Morrison representing the Executive Council.

It affords us much pleasure to be able to report that though no written agreement was made, yet an understanding was reached by which the organizations will co-operate in furthering the interests of the Carmen without prejudice as to the claims to which each organization is entitled.

#### **Teamsters—Bakers.**

At the St. Louis convention, the delegates from the International Brother-

hood of Teamsters introduced a resolution, No. 136, requesting that the convention should instruct the officers of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union to turn over to the Brotherhood of Teamsters all drivers who are now members of the former organization. The convention directed that inasmuch as no conference had been held between the representatives of the two organizations that the President of the A. F. of L. should arrange a conference at the earliest possible date, with the object in view of bringing about a satisfactory agreement.

After considerable correspondence, a date and place for the conference mutually satisfactory to both organizations was arranged, that is the headquarters of the A. F. of L. in Chicago, on April 7th. The representatives of the Bakers were present at the time and place stated; the representatives of the Teamsters were not on hand. President Tobin thereafter stated that the general Executive Board of his organization was in session; that he could not leave to attend the conference; that he delegated certain representatives of his organization in Chicago to represent the International Union; that the representatives of the Bakers refused to meet with the Chicago representatives of the Teamsters, claiming that they had agreed only to meet with President Tobin.

Mr. Tobin then suggested another date when it would be possible for him personally to meet in conference, but the officers of the Bakers stated that their general Executive Board considered the case closed so far as their organization and the St. Louis convention decision was concerned, and that their Executive Board would not hold another meeting until April, 1912.

The matter is submitted to you and your advice is requested as to what further steps shall be taken.

#### **Western Federation of Miners—Charter Granted.**

The discussion upon the application for charter of affiliation made by the Western Federation of Miners to the American Federation of Labor consumed much time both prior to and at the St. Louis convention. That convention thereupon decided: "That the whole question at issue be referred to the Executive Coun-

cil with instructions to try to bring about an amicable adjustment, to the end that the Western Federation of Miners may obtain a charter without over-riding the principles of the American Federation of Labor."

After comprehensive correspondence and extended conferences with representatives of all the organizations in interest, the Executive Council, having in mind the statements made to the St. Louis convention of the A. F. of L. and to the Executive Council by the representatives of the Western Federation of Miners, which were substantially that the Western Federation of Miners had for years not interfered with mechanical workers, not members of the Western Federation of Miners and who were members of international unions, and that they could see no reason for such interference in the future, urged that the policy of the Western Federation of Miners as indicated by the declaration of its representatives would be continued, and therefore directed:

That a charter be issued to the Western Federation of Miners on the basis of the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers of America. It was found that there was some difference between the coal mining and the mineral mining organizations in respect to the organization and employment of machinists which did not relatively apply to other trades, and, therefore, it was made a provision of the issuance of the charter that members of machinists' locals now existing in mining camps are not to be required to join the Western Federation of Miners in order to follow their trade in the mining camp.

The charter was issued May 9, 1911. Since the issuance of the charter several protests have been entered. We have endeavored to meet them and to overcome them. President Gompers, on his Pacific Coast trip, held conferences at Butte with representatives of several of these organizations and with the Western Federation of Miners, but the results have proven of little or no avail. Our actions were prompted by the direction of the St. Louis convention, and we can but express our hope that the declarations made at that convention and the moral obligation that all trade unionists must feel to be fair and considerate of the rights and interests of their fellow-

workers, will have their influence upon the course pursued now and for the future, recognizing that after all our duty is to unite, to federate, and to instill the spirit of fraternity and solidarity.

#### **Sheet Metal Workers—Stove Mounters.**

The St. Louis convention had under consideration the application of the Stove Mounters' International Union for change in title so as to read "Stove Mounters and Range Workers' International Union." The committee to which this matter was referred recommended that the title of the Stove Mounters be so changed as to read "Stove Mounters, Malleable and Cast Iron Workers' International Union." The convention directed that both organizations should appoint a committee of two each, for the purpose of holding a conference and determining the several disputed points of jurisdiction. The conference was held on February 24-25, but no agreement was reached, the Stove Mounters maintaining that they should continue to conduct the organization in accordance with the understanding reached between the Stove Mounters' International Union and the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, immediately after the Toronto convention. Inasmuch as no agreement was reached and nothing accomplished by the conference and the St. Louis convention not conceding the proposed change in title of the Stove Mounters' International Union, that organization continues to conduct its business under the old title.

#### **Carriage and Wagon Workers—Blacksmiths—Upholsterers—Painters.**

In connection with the subject matter of resolutions Nos. 22 and 81 of the St. Louis convention, dealing with the disputed claims of jurisdiction between the Blacksmiths', Carriage and Wagon Workers', Upholsterers', and Painters' organizations, as directed by that convention, a conference was arranged between the representatives of the respective organizations. We are pleased to report that an agreement was reached as follows:

#### **Headquarters American Federation of Labor.**

Washington, D. C., April 19, 1911.

The St. Louis convention of the American Federation of Labor, acting upon the report of the committee on adjustment in reference to resolutions Nos. 22-

81, directed that the entire subject matter covered by these resolutions be referred to the executive Council with instructions to call a conference of all parties with a view to clearly defining the lines of jurisdiction.

The Executive Council directed President Gompers and Secretary Morrison to act for the executive Council in the matter. In compliance therewith, the officers of the various organizations named were invited to participate in a conference to be held on this 19th day of April, 1911, at the offices of the American Federation of Labor.

The undersigned, representing their respective organizations, realizing the difficulty of maintaining jurisdiction, and while it may not be expedient or advantageous here to insist on our jurisdictional claims, therefore, for the purpose of endeavoring to assist in organizing the carriage, wagon and automobile industry, the following agreement is hereby made, the purpose thereof to be liberally, rather than technically, construed and complied with:

1. It is the right and the privilege of any workman employed in any carriage, wagon, or automobile establishment, to belong to his respective trade or organization or the Carriage and Wagon and Automobile Workers' International Union.

2. It shall not be necessary for any worker employed in a carriage, wagon, or automobile establishment to belong to more than one organization party to this agreement.

3. The bona fide cards of good standing membership in any one of the organizations to this agreement shall be recognized as all-sufficient in carriage, wagon and automobile establishments; the choice of membership in either of the organizations, parties to this agreement to rest with the workman.

4. Initiation fee in localities where unions now exist shall not be less than \$3.00, unless by mutual consent.

5. In any carriage, wagon, or automobile establishment where there are employed members of more than one of the organizations, parties to this agreement the matter of an agreement relative to wages, hours of labor, and conditions of employment, shall be made by a joint committee of the employees of the establishment, or a joint committee of the locals whose members are or may be affected.

6. The officers of the organizations, parties to this agreement, shall meet not less than once each year, for the purpose of perfecting, amplifying, or modifying this agreement, and they shall have power to delegate the functions herein provided for themselves to the local unions in the several respective localities.

7. The representatives of the organizations, parties to this agreement, pledge themselves to co-operate for the more thorough organization of the workers in the carriage, wagon, and automobile establishments, and to take such action as shall best protect and promote the

rights and interests of the workers in this industry.

FOR THE INTERNATIONAL CARRIAGE AND WAGON WORKERS' UNION.

(Signed) WM. P. MAVELL,  
(Signed) L. F. MAIRE, Per M.

FOR THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF BLACKSMITHS.

(Signed) J. W. KLINE.  
(Signed) ED. J. RYAN.

FOR THE UPHOLSTERERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA.

(Signed) WM. KOHN,

For the American Federation of Labor.

(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,

(Signed) FRANK MORRISON.

The representatives of the Brotherhood of Painters, however, did not sign the agreement, stating that they did not care in any way to modify or hamper the jurisdiction accorded to the Brotherhood and upon which the Brotherhood would at least in theory, still insist. They stated, however, that no aggressive move would be made by them to impede the efforts of the Carriage and Wagon Workers to organize the trade.

#### Printers—Bookbinders—Single Wrapping.

By Resolution No. 37, of the St. Louis convention, introduced by the delegates from the International Typographical Union, the resolution requesting that the convention should go on record as declaring that single wrapping is part of the mailing trade and under the jurisdiction of the I. T. U., your Executive Council was instructed to make a ruling and render a decision in the matter.

This matter was taken up at our January meeting and the presidents and other representatives of both organizations were present. After considerable discussion it was decided that a conference should be held between the representatives of the two organizations, President Gompers to represent the Executive Council, for the purpose of endeavoring to bring about an adjustment. This conference was held on March the 21st. At that conference representatives of both parties insisted that inasmuch as they were unable to come to an agreement, it was incumbent upon the Executive Council to render a decision in conformity with the instructions of the St. Louis convention. Therefore, at our next meeting in June, when the representatives of both organizations were again present, and after still farther efforts on our part

to secure an agreement between them, we gave the following decision:

After examining the evidence and hearing the oral arguments, and until the two organizations interested effect a mutual agreement on the subject, it is the sense of the Executive Council that "single wrapping" where now performed in commercial bindery houses by members of the Bindery Workers' Union should not be disturbed, and that there should be no interference with the right of the Bindery Workers' Union, to organize non-union workers engaged at single wrapping in commercial binderies. But when the work in question is performed in purely printing offices, it comes under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union.

#### Theatrical Stage Employees—Electrical Workers—Jurisdiction Over Moving Picture Machine Operators.

There is little that we are enabled to report to this convention in addition to the report which we made to you at St. Louis, as follows:

As directed by the Toronto convention, President Gompers continued his efforts during the year to secure an agreement between the representatives of the Theatrical Stage Employees and the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in the matter of the disputed question of jurisdiction over moving picture machine operators. He met in conference with the representatives of both organizations on February 21. After a general discussion by representatives on both sides, it was mutually agreed that the entire matter should be referred to the Executive Council, whose decision would be final and binding upon both parties; and that the representatives of both organizations should file a brief of their respective cases within thirty days from the date of the conference. The brief of the Theatrical Stage Employees was duly filed. The Electrical Workers failed to file their brief and the matter still remains unsettled.

The officers of the Theatrical Stage Employees submitted their brief during the St. Louis convention. President Gompers repeatedly endeavored during the year to arrange a conference between the representatives of the two organizations in conformity with the directions of the St. Louis convention. June the 10th was finally agreed upon by both sides as a satisfactory date for the conference to be held at the headquarters in Washington. The representatives of the Theatrical Stage Employees came to Washington for that purpose. The representative of the Electrical Workers was unavoidably detained beyond the hour set for the conference. The repre-

representatives of the Stage Employees, owing to pressing engagements in New York, were unable to remain longer than the time agreed upon for the conference. Since that time the representatives of the two organizations have been unable to agree upon a mutually satisfactory time and place for holding a conference.

It should be stated that during the year, the secretaries of central bodies in various localities have written to the Washington headquarters requesting advice as to the organization under the jurisdiction of which the moving picture machine operators should properly be placed, as the local unions of Electrical Workers and of Theatrical Stage Employees were in conflict in regard to the matter.

We recommend that efforts be continued during the coming year to adjust the questions of difference between these two organizations.

#### **Photo-Engravers' Strike and Injunction.**

The members of the International Photo-Engravers' Union were engaged in a difficulty with their employers in Boston by reason of their endeavor to establish a forty-eight hour week, the payment of overtime and double time for Sundays and holidays, a minimum wage scale, and the protection of their right of association and organization. The employers, through the aid of the courts, declared this strike illegal and prevented the organization from paying strike benefit to its members. Injunctions were issued to this effect. The Photo-Engravers, however, began paying out-of-work benefit to their members who were out of employment. As a result of this they were summoned into court at the instance of the employers to show cause why they should not be punished for contempt, for violating the terms of the injunction. However, the court did not sustain the contention of the employers, and, as a result, shortly after the decision was rendered, an agreement was entered into by the employers in this industry in the city of Boston with the Photo-Engravers' Union, whereby the question has been amicably adjusted and in the direction of favoring the contentions of the members of that union.

#### **Cigarmakers' Strike, Tampa.**

For a considerable period of time prior

to and during the last convention, some 9,000 cigarmakers were engaged in what was called a strike in Tampa, Fla., but which was really a lockout. The Cigar Manufacturers' Association of that city inaugurated this difficulty by systematically "laying off" a large number of cigarmakers each week until practically all of the members of the Union were locked out. This condition of affairs continued about seven months. Every effort was made by those who were engaged in this difficulty locally, as well as by the officers of the Cigarmakers' International Union, to bring about a conference with the cigar manufacturers of Tampa, so that an amicable adjustment of the matter might be reached.

The manufacturers refused at all times to meet either the committees of the local unions, or the representatives of the International Union, claiming that the whole matter had been left in the hands of an organization known as the "Citizens' Association." This so-called "Citizens' Association," whose avowed policy was the establishment of the so-called "open shop" in Tampa, likewise refused to meet with the committees. This so-called "Citizens' Committee" established a reign of terror in Tampa and endeavored to coerce the locked out cigarmakers to return to work. High-handed proceedings were carried on by this "Citizens' Committee." They armed themselves with rifles and revolvers, paraded the streets, and in automobiles, and went so far as to refuse to permit the officers of the unions in Tampa to carry on the business of their organizations. They raided the halls in which the members of this organization were meeting in a peaceful, lawful manner, and compelled them to disperse these meetings. They also raided the offices of the local unions and had several of the officers arrested. In violation of all law and rights they deported and forced out of Tampa men who were innocent of any wrongdoing, legal or moral.

The Mayor of Tampa (the editor and proprietor of the leading paper for that city), was the head and front of the so-called Citizens' Committee, and the brutal course pursued by him and his associates, which was clothed with his official action as mayor, was lauded in his newspaper. Under these circumstances no relief or protection could be

had at the hands of the local government. President Gompers upon direction of the Executive Council thereupon appealed to the governor of Florida to make an investigation and to protect the rights, the liberties and the lives of the men who were so grossly abused and outraged.

The contest was continued for a considerable period of time, but finally, under a truce the cigarmakers returned to work as union men. After having returned to work, three of the officers of the Cigarmakers' Union were indicted under an old and obsolete statute in which it is declared that they were engaged in a conspiracy, because they advised their fellow workers not to return to work until an adjustment of the difficulty had been made. These proceedings were continued in the courts, and as a result of the enforcement of this statute, Messrs. Dela Campa, Bartlum and Russell were convicted of conspiracy and each was sentenced to one year's imprisonment.

The cases were fought vigorously by the Cigarmakers' International Union in the courts of Florida, but under the law it was impossible to appeal these cases to the supreme court of that state.

A short time after the men above mentioned were sentenced, public sentiment was of such a character, believing that the men were unjustly convicted, that the matter was brought to the attention of the Board of Pardons of the State of Florida, who after giving the matter their consideration, issued a pardon or parole, to Bartlum and Russell, pending their good behavior. A similar pardon or parole was granted to Dela Campa, which, however, contained a provision that before it became operative he must consent to leave the state and not return within its borders for a period of six years. This additional parole was refused by Dela Campa, and he is still confined to the turpentine camps of Florida serving out the sentence originally imposed, and all because he stood by and assisted his fellow workmen in their efforts to obtain right and justice.

We should not only demand the unconditional pardon of Dela Campa, but also insist upon the future guarantee of all the rights to which the people of Florida are entitled under the con-

stitution of our Republic. Outrages of the character as they occurred in Tampa tend to intensify the feeling among our people that equality before the law is a sham and a delusion. Your attention is called to the article and correspondence in the December, 1910, American Federationist under the caption, "The Attempt to Drive Union Labor From Tampa."

#### Los Angeles Situation.

For several years we, as an Executive Council, have devoted a section of our report to the situation in the labor movement in Los Angeles, this by reason of the fact that the metropolis of Southern California has been made the special target of those who seek to crush out and ultimately destroy our labor movement.

Wholly apart from the Los Angeles situation as particularly referring to the trial of the McNamara brothers now in progress there, and which is dealt with fully in President Gompers' report, we are pleased to be able to say that there has been an increase in the number of unions formed and an increase in membership in the unions of more than 7,000; all this within the past year.

Our President reports that upon his visit to Los Angeles he was greatly gratified to find that the spirit of the men of labor of that city is undaunted by the many obstacles and the bitter opposition confronting the labor movement.

#### Transportation Department.

There was some discussion during our last convention as to the advisability of forming a transportation department of the A. F. of L. The entire subject was referred to us for conference with the representatives of the several transportation organizations as to the practicability of organizing such a department. The officers of each organization eligible were consulted, and the final conclusion reached was unfavorable to the proposed project for the present.

#### Organized Farmers.

At the time of our meeting at headquarters in January, the Executive Board of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America was also meeting in the city of Washington. Four members of that body, representing the

states of Colorado, Texas, Georgia and Washington, were present during one of our sessions to officially convey to your Executive Council that it was the expressed wish of the Farmers' Executive Board to co-operate in every possible way with organized labor to bring about more satisfactory conditions to the wage-earners of our country and to inquire in what way the Farmers' organizations could be of assistance to further the cause of all labor. It was stated that the Executive Board of the Farmers' organization had decided to institute a campaign for the purpose of educating their members to work for the securing of remedial legislation, and that Washington's birthday, February 22d, had been decided upon as Farmers' Day. Needless to say, the farmers' committee was most cordially received, and a most interesting conference ensued during which the committee was fully advised as to the particular matters of legislation, the enactment of which organized labor seeks.

The St. Louis convention gave authority to the Executive Council to send a representative of the A. F. of L. to attend the next annual convention of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union. That convention was held at Shawnee, Okla., September 5th, and for several days thereafter. Mr. Henry M. Walker, of El Paso, Texas, was duly appointed as the representative of the A. F. of L., and attended that convention. His report substantially is as follows:

Aside from the many problems apparently of particular interest to the actual farmer the convention accorded to numerous representatives of organized labor opportunities to address it.

The convention unanimously adopted the following:

Resolved, That the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, recommends a closer co-operation between the union men of the farm, railroads, mines, mills, factories and shops, to the end that a greater good may result to the masses.

Resolved, That the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America stands firmly for the enforcement of order and compliance with the laws of our states and nation; more especially by those who occupy an apparently semi-official position.

We demand the punishment of crime through the enforcement of law.

We denounce the act of kidnapping

a citizen of one state (regardless of the crime of which he may be charged), and splitting him away to another state without due process of law, is of itself a crime that strikes at the very foundation of our civilization. A crime which if permitted to go unrebuked and unpunished must inevitably have a far-reaching effect in lessening respect for law, and encouraging further acts of anarchy and vandalism. A crime that will go far towards destroying the security, not only of our property, but of our homes and the lives of ourselves and families.

From information gathered through personal conversations with delegates from the various states, it was ascertained that co-operation in some form or other, between the union farmers and the union laborers is meeting with success in a number of the states and that in either case the farmers favor closer co-operation.

In one of the Southern States the Farmers' State Union and the State Federation of Labor publish a state paper, in which they jointly keep their principles, purposes and policies before their members and the public-at-large.

In one state, it was learned, that thirty-seven co-operative stores are successfully conducted. In other states, in which other lines of business are carried on by the mutual co-operation of farmers and laborers, success has crowned the work. The farmers are demanding the initiative, referendum and the recall.

It was ascertained that the Executive Committee for the Farmers' State Union of Oklahoma adopted the following:

We feel that it is appropriate, as well as our sacred duty, to give an expression against the outrageous kidnapping of J. J. McNamara, Secretary of the Iron Workers' Union, by a hired detective agency, without due process of law. We join our protest with the millions of toilers who feel this outrage most keenly and we denounce this kidnapping as villainous, un-American, and a burning disgrace to modern civilization. The weakness of the cause of plutocracy is clearly shown by this unlawful outrage.

We recommend that the work in co-operation with the Farmers' organization shall not only be continued, but that as far as practicable, advisable and advantageous, that it shall be extended. We further recommend that the Executive Council be authorized to have a representative of the A. F. of L. attend the next annual convention of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union. We

take this occasion to express our appreciation of the action taken by those conventions of the organized farmers, and we recommend that they be invited to send regular fraternal delegates to our conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

#### Union Label Law Digest.

We are pleased to be able to report that the compilation and printing of the Digest of the Union Label laws have been completed and the volumes distributed to the various organizations which contributed to the fund to defray the expenses of the work.

#### Union Label Leagues.

Considerable misapprehension or misunderstanding seems to exist among some of the central labor unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor as to the rights of the locals of the Women's Union Label League to be represented in the central bodies, with the same rights and privileges as locals of affiliated national and international unions.

In all such cases the central bodies in interest have been fully advised as to the laws, policy and practice of the American Federation of Labor governing such matters, and that these locals should be allowed representation by fraternal delegates only just as organizations of a similar character are allowed representation by fraternal delegates in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. In some instances the central bodies have insisted that these locals should be granted the privilege of a voice and vote in the meetings in as much as the constitution of the American Federation of Labor does not specifically declare otherwise.

Central bodies, like the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, are made up of the representatives of organized wage-earners, legislated by wage-earners for wage-earners. While we realize the value of the services rendered by Union Label Leagues for the cause of union label agitation, yet, in the matter of legislation determining the course which organized labor should pursue in any given set of circumstances, the best interests demand that any matters upon questions affecting the course of labor, those who are primarily affected must, of necessity,

determine that course by their votes. This is not a reflection upon the Union Label Leagues, nor is it a denial of any of their rights or under-valuation of the effective services they render, but if our labor movement is to maintain its character of a wage-earner's movement, its course and policy must be determined by the organized wage-earners themselves.

We would, therefore, recommend that this convention should make a specific declaration upon the subject for future guidance of affiliated city central bodies.

#### Counterfeiting A. F. of L. Union Label.

One of the organizations, through its delegates, made complaint to the St. Louis convention of several manufacturers in New York city who were counterfeiting the union label of the American Federation of Labor, this matter being through Resolution No. 56.

President Gompers visited New York and together with the A. F. of L. official representative of that city, had a long conference with the District Attorney who promised his full assistance in the prosecution of the counterfeiters. In fact, an arrangement was made whereby a detective and an assistant district attorney were assigned to the particular work of the detection and prosecution of those who undertake to secure contributions from business men and employers of labor in the name of organized labor and who counterfeited the union label.

This action on the part of the District Attorney has been greatly helpful in protecting the good name of labor in New York and also protecting the business public against such imposters. It should be further stated that some arrests have been made and the parties who thus fraudulently used the name of organized labor are now serving the sentences imposed upon them by the proper legal authorities.

#### American Federation of Labor Office Building.

There is little that we are able to report to you at this time in addition to our report at St. Louis. A number of additional sites have been submitted to us which we have considered and the feasibility of which we have discussed, but we are not now prepared to make any report of a specific plan for an office building.



We recommend, however, that consideration of this matter should be continued during the coming year, and the Executive Council authorized to carry into effect any plan for the erection of the A. F. of L. office building within the limits of the instructions of the previous conventions.

#### A. F. of L. News Letter.

Pursuant to action taken by the St. Louis convention of the American Federation of Labor, directing the Executive Council to prepare and distribute a weekly news letter, free of cost, to all publications devoted to the cause of labor, or of a reform character, arrangements were completed and the service was inaugurated on April 8, 1911, on which date the first letter was forwarded to the publications for which it was intended. We are gratified to report that the news letter has been of immense value to all publications issued in the interests of labor.

Careful attention has been given to the amount of matter printed by the various publications receiving the news letter. The number of columns published of the first letter sent out reached in the aggregate approximately 140 columns, distributed over a very fair per cent of all the labor, reform and other publications receiving the service. The use of this matter has been continually on the increase until the maximum amount of matter published reached over 500 columns per week. Computing on the basis of the number of publications received and checked at headquarters, this is an average of over four columns per labor paper for each issue. It must be understood that these figures cover only the weekly labor and reform press, not including the official journals of national organizations. The latter journals are using a large amount of matter in addition to that already noted. It must be remembered, however, that the national journals from their very character contain in the main official matter of the organization issuing same, but it is a noticeable fact that many of the national journals have, since the inauguration of this service, gradually increased their publication of the same.

There have been launched this year, since the inauguration of the news let-

ter, about twelve new weekly labor publications.

As a result of the dissemination of this news much correspondence has ensued relative to the service, not alone coming from the labor and reform press, but from daily, weekly and other publications not devoted exclusively to labor. Many of these communications make application for the service and, where it does not conflict with the labor press, the news has been furnished. It is notable that the weekly labor press as a whole has been beneficially affected by the furnishing of this news service, many of which publications have increased in size.

Without question, if it be possible in the future to extend this service to the point where it will be possible to maintain at headquarters a general publicity bureau, there are many avenues through which trade union news can be disseminated. For your information it can be stated that there are a very large number of weekly papers distributed throughout the entire country, that would, if possible, print a limited amount of trade union news. This is called to your attention from the fact that in a number of instances weekly papers not connected in any manner with labor are publishing portions of the news letter.

It is suggested and urged that the weekly news letter be continued and that efforts be made looking toward the furnishing of this service to all publications in every part of the country that are not in conflict with those devoted exclusively to labor. It will require a considerable period of time to obtain the full effect of a general publicity news letter, but the results thus far have been gratifying and the experience gained thus far, if continued along the same lines, will be inestimable value to our labor movement of the future.

We have sent the weekly news letter to a few labor publications of Europe and have received highly commendatory letters from these sources. In two instances it has been suggested that we extend the issuance of the weekly news letter for the International Labor movement. However, since at our suggestion the International Secretariat at its meeting in Budapest in August, empowered the executive officer to issue bulletins of this character, we have deemed it unwise to undertake the new obligation.

**Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation Laws.**

The St. Louis convention instructed the Executive Council to investigate the entire subject matter of liability and compensation and report to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor such recommendations relative to legislation, as in our judgment will secure just laws on these subjects along the lines of uniformity.

In our President's report to the St. Louis convention he stated that up to that time thirty-seven states had enacted some form of Employers' Liability law; very few of which, however, had been liberally or humanely interpreted for the workers by the courts. This failure is accounted for because of the peculiar judicial reasoning of the judges in their determination to follow earlier decisions on the defenses of "assumption of risk," "contributory negligence," and "fellow servant" rulings; with the addition of another employers' defense termed "waiving of rights."

Up to that time, however, seventeen states had abrogated the defense of "fellow servant" responsibility in liability laws applicable to transportation service.

Colorado eliminated this defense in all employments.

Seven states have modified the "fellow servant" rule without abrogating it.

Some others had modified the rulings of "contributory negligence."

This is referred to, to call attention to the complications with these vicious obstacles which have been employed by law-makers and law administrators to maintain the burden of accidents upon the injured person, his family or other dependents. Each and all of these defenses were devised in the past years before employment had become so diversified, extensive or intensified as modern industry and transportation have now developed.

It must be remembered that the American Federation of Labor has for years called public attention to the need of effective remedies. It has registered its protest in a formal but emphatic way before Congress and the officials of the government, calling specific attention to the need of satisfactory Employers' Liability laws, and urging the enactment of workmen's automatic compensation laws. This agitation has been

persistently carried on since, finally developing a great educational system by which the American Federation of Labor has been practically the clearing house for information to the people on detailed information covering these subjects.

Some good results in the way of legislation have also been secured. First, the sixtieth Congress enacted a law covering inter-state employment on railroads, intended to cover the deficiencies of the act of 1906, which was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court in February, 1908. The same Congress enacted an automatic compensation law in behalf of government employes engaged in hazardous occupations. While it is true the benefits attached to this law for death and permanent injury are far from being sufficient, yet we can congratulate ourselves for the high standard modern automatic principle established on this subject, and that the benefits of this law have been a blessing to many workers in the government service.

The sixty-first Congress further amended the Federal Employers' Liability law, making it still more advantageous to employes on inter-state railroads.

During the past two years the states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Montana, Washington, Idaho, Kansas and Missouri, together with the Federal Government, have had commissions at work making exhaustive inquiries and reporting to the several legislatures the results of their findings upon these two subjects, with the result that, up to our latest advices, the states of Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Jersey, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, California, Florida, Illinois, Kansas, Vermont, Washington and Wisconsin, have, during the recent sessions of their several legislatures, either amended their present statutes or enacted new ones that will prove great blessings to the workers in the states mentioned, and in addition, which will be an incentive for the people of neighboring states to follow along similar lines. For instance, the state of Mississippi removed the defense of "contributory negligence" as a bar to recovery. Ohio abrogated all of the old defenses, namely, "fellow servant," "assumption of risk," "waiving of rights," and modified the "contributory negli-

gence" defense to one of "comparative negligence" to be submitted to the jury, the law to cover all employments in the state. Ohio also passed an elective compensation act, by which any employer who refuses to accept the provisions contained in it is denied any of the defenses to which we have already referred.

New Jersey, Illinois, New Hampshire, California and Vermont passed measures substantially on the same lines as Ohio, insofar as the "defenses" in employers' liability are concerned.

Florida enacted a moderate bill as a first step.

Kansas amended its Employers' Liability Act to conform to the Federal Act.

One of the laws enacted by New York was by its highest court declared unconstitutional, but steps have already been taken by the people of that state to so amend the constitution or the law that the courts will be deprived of the prerogative to set aside the will of the people.

Wisconsin has enacted a very satisfactory measure.

The Massachusetts Commission submitted its recommendation to the courts of that state for examination before recommending the legislature to enact it. The court gave its approval to the proposed measure.

The state of Washington enacted possibly the most progressive compensation act of all the states, in that it created a state insurance department, through which every industry is taxed a percentage of its payroll, the entire funds thus collected therefor going to pay for injuries received in the course of employment, the state bearing the burden of the administration. A case under this act was speedily carried to the courts of the state, and on September 27th, under decision of Justice Fullerton, concurred in by the full court; this excellent measure was declared as being constitutional, the last words of the decision reading: "We conclude, therefore, that the question violates no provision of either the state or the Federal constitutions."

The compensation laws herein referred to that have been adopted by the several states, have embraced the feature of being compulsory as applied to the state and municipalities within the state, but

permitting them to be elective on the part of private employers. Where the acts have been accepted as compulsory in all cases the former liability laws have been repealed. Under the elective\* system the doctrine of the common law, on this subject remains in full force; consequently, parties involved may elect to operate under the compensation measure, or may take it into court and sue under substantially the common law for the recovery of full damages, but where the employer refuses compensation, the injured workman or his dependents may then sue under the existing liability laws in which the defenses of the employers are largely abrogated.

In Kansas, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Minnesota, Illinois and Ohio, the compensation laws are elective, which form permits employers and employees to contract with each other for the substitution of the liability for compensation in the place of liability for damages obtained in court under an Employers' Liability Act.

In California, Wisconsin and Minnesota, they are elective as applicable to private parties, but compulsory to the state and its sub-divisions. The compulsory form gives the injured workman the right to compensation in every case (except where the injury is caused by his own serious and wilful misconduct), and this compensation must be accepted to the exclusion of all other remedies except in cases of injury resulting from the employers' serious and wilful misconduct; in which cases the remedy would be allowed under the regular file in court.

The Washington law carries with it a compulsory insurance feature.

The Minnesota law embraces an elective, co-operative insurance plan. Co-operative insurance is a scheme by which the fund is obtained by premiums from both the employer and employees or from the employer alone.

In Maryland the law only applies to two counties, namely, Allegheny and Garrett, and only two industries are included; namely, coal and clay mining.

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\*The use of the term "elective" is technical and applies to the choice of workers or their families in choosing to trial by courts for damages or to avail themselves of compensation.

During the consideration of these laws in the several states, one of the subjects that perplexed the commissions most was, to what extent the law should apply in the matter of industrial occupation; consequently, local conditions influencing industrial activities in a state naturally guided the legislatures on this point.

In Kansas, New Hampshire and Washington, an enumerated list was compiled as to what were considered especially dangerous or extraordinarily hazardous

In New Jersey and Ohio all industries are covered (as they should be).

In Illinois, California and Wisconsin, the application is general, but an exception is made against "casual employees."

The Phillip's Act, of the State of New York, Section 2, Chapter 352, laws of 1910, has been described as an elective law in its purest form, and it is advised that this statute must not be confused with the Compensation Act, Chapter 674, of the laws of the same year, which was declared unconstitutional, and in which the New York Court of Appeals held that under the fourteenth amendment and the "due process of law" clause in the Federal constitution, that employers should not be held liable for damages or compensation unless fault on their part is proven to be conclusive and convincing. The court held that "if it is competent to impose upon an employer who has omitted no legal duty and has committed no wrong, a liability based absolutely upon legislation that his business is inherently dangerous, it is equally competent to visit upon him an especial tax for the support of hospitals, etc., upon the theory that they are devoted largely to the alleviation of ills primarily due to his business. In its final analysis that is equivalent to taking the property of one man and giving it to another, and that cannot be done under our constitution."

This much of the New York court decision is quoted in order to familiarize you, and all others interested, in part as to what that decision covered. Therefore, it is deemed wise that provision should be made in ample time to forestall any repetition of such extraordinarily strained judicial reasoning. Consequently, as a supplement to adequate compensation, legislation and efficient Employers' Liability laws, due consider-

ation should be given, if necessary, to suitable amendments of state constitutions, so as to prevent similar decisions as in the New York case from being repeated. Such amendments might read as follows:

#### Proposed Amendment to the State Constitution.

"The legislature may impose such conditions on any contracts of employment as shall be designated to protect the health or promote the safety or well being of any of the parties thereto or the public, or to make provision for the payment of compensation with or without the right of trial by jury and with or without regard to fault of employees injured by accidents of employment, or to persons dependent upon them, either by or employers by employers and employees or otherwise, in such manner as the legislature may prescribe, and in the exercise of the powers herein conferred the legislature shall not be limited under any other articles or sections of the constitution."

The agitation of such a proposed amendment to a state constitution wherever necessary would in some cases be sufficient moral influence to render favorable decisions already pending in courts.

It is our opinion that in all cases where an effort is being made to amend the present Employers' Liability laws in a state or an effort being made to enact new ones, that these uniform demands should be made:

1. A complete and total abrogation of all the old common law defenses enumerated under the heads of "fellow servant," "assumption of risk," "contributory negligence," "waiving of rights," with this additional suggestion:

2. That in compensation laws the right of the workman to sue for full damages should be reserved.

3. The feature of benefits is liable to be for some time a vexed question, and, in our opinion, is one that will develop according to experiences met with in the various jurisdictions, and which as time goes on will be easy to add to a measure by amendment when once the humane principle of automatic compensation is written into the statute books of the states.

In accordance with the directions of

previous conventions, the Executive Council prepared sketch models of Employers' Liability laws and Workmen's Compensation Acts and plentifully distributed them among the affiliated organizations. In addition we also furnished these tentative drafts for use by the commissions which had these subjects under consideration. We feel confident that these drafts of proposed laws have had their fair meed of influence.

From the foregoing you will observe that the several States legislating on the subject of workmen's compensation have enacted laws in many respects dissimilar in character, and inasmuch as valuable information has been secured since our last report on this subject to you, which would be of advantage in drafting a bill reflecting the needs and desires of our fellow-workers, we recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to draft a new bill and urge its passage by the several State Legislatures which have either not acted at all or which have not passed adequate compensation measures.

#### Industrial Accidents.

It is to be regretted that the great work of establishing a national system for the prevention of industrial accidents is as yet in its preliminary stage. This is our reluctant verdict, though we have in mind the laborious efforts in this respect made not only by the A. F. of L. as such, and by other trade unions, but by various civic bodies, employers' trade associations, and some large industrial corporations. The whole subject still requires special study, the public needs instruction with regard to it, and co-ordination in the work of the several agencies now giving it attention is desirable. We suggest that a national association for the prevention of accidents should be formed. Together with representatives of trade unions, it should be composed of such men from the professions and from those departments of the industries, other than the wage-earners, who from their knowledge and training could assist in the work to the best advantage. The association could avail itself of the reports, and the printed matter in general, which have already appeared, and may in future appear on the subject, it could make plain the difficulties to be encountered in the reform, and it

could lay out a program through which the most direct work might be accomplished by the entire association, especially avoiding duplication of effort.

#### Industrial Education.

Most unfortunately for the cause of the vocational education and trade training bill, advocated by labor, Senator Doliver passed away before his ambition and our great hopes of speedy legislation in this direction could be realized. His great loss, combined with many other obstacles constantly taking place in both Houses during the 61st Congress, prevented the bill from being advanced.

During the present Congress, Senator Page of Vermont, who is favorably inclined towards this measure, and who is a member of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, introduced the bill S. No. 3, on the first day the senate was in session during this Congress. Largely on account of the great interest Senator Page has taken in industrial education, the Senate Committee on Agriculture recently passed the following resolution, which, in our estimation, is a matter of great encouragement:

RESOLVED, That Senator Page, as a sub-committee of one, be instructed to correspond with leading educators and others interested in the purposes of the proposed measure, and to report to the full committee the result of his investigation, and to submit a bill amended to conform to the suggestions he might receive from such correspondents, or any he might have to make, and that the committee approves the general purposes of the bill.

The United State Bureau of Labor has completed the investigation it undertook at our request. Copies of this report are now ready for distribution, the contents of which we believe will be helpful in the prosecution of this very desirable effort.

We are pleased to say that many influential organizations are working in co-operation with the American Federation of Labor, as evidence of which we herewith include in our report the communication recently received from the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education:

New York, N. Y., Oct. 17, 1911.  
To the President and Executive Council,  
American Federation of Labor.  
Gentlemen:

The executive committee of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education wish to lay before you

the following suggestions, looking towards further co-operation of the A. F. of L. in the work of forwarding measures for industrial education in the United States.

It is the judgment of the undersigned that state legislation providing for state supervision and state assistance must necessarily precede any large development of industrial education in this country. If this be the fact, it is obvious that it is a matter of much importance that such legislation be framed with care and intelligence, and a full knowledge of the situation.

Furthermore, the experience of the past six years shows that the surest guarantee of this result is the agency of a representative state commission to study the special conditions presented by the industrial and educational situation in each state, and to report a program for legislative consideration.

We urge, in consequence, that the influence of the Federation be exerted through its State Branches in co-operation with other agencies, towards the creation, in states where the situation warrants provisions for industrial education, of such investigating commissions, and towards the inclusion in these commissions of representatives of the employers, of organized labor, and of education.

We further urge that in states where branches of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education exist, the State Branches of the Federation seek to co-operate in this movement with such branches.

In urging such co-operation it should be understood that in the judgment of the undersigned the legislation to be aimed at is such as places emphasis upon

First, Continuation schools, both of the part-time day type for the younger boys and girls, and of the evening type for more mature workers; and,

Second, Upon the all-day trade preparatory school for boys and girls between fourteen and sixteen years of age.

In the matter of federal legislation looking to national aid for industrial education, it is urged that the influences of the American Federation of Labor be exerted towards the appointment, preliminary to such legislation, of a national commission on which the Commissioner of Labor, the Commissioner of Education, and a representative of the Department of Agriculture shall have places, together with perhaps four other members representing education and the manufacturing, labor and agricultural interests.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) JAMES P. MUNROE, Pres.

(Signed) HOWELL CHENEY,

(Signed) JOHN GOLDEN,

(Signed) A. LINCOLN FILENE,

(Signed) ARTHUR L. WILLISTON,

(Signed) C. R. RICHARDS.

Representative Wilson, of Pennsylvania, has introduced bill H. R. No. 12156, which is identical with S. No. 3, introduced by Senator Page. Both of these bills are

before the Committees on Agriculture, and it is our purpose to urge the enactment of same as speedily as possible.

We trust that the same co-operation which has been forthcoming in the past from the State Federation, and from all of our forces, will be continued in future until effective federal and state legislation has been enacted for the purpose of advancing genuine and beneficial industrial vocational trade training.

As you know, the Special Committee on Industrial Education appointed by the American Federation of Labor, submitted to the Toronto Convention of 1903 a report which, after due consideration, was incorporated in the official printed proceedings of that Conventions. That report, together with the declarations of the Convention on that subject, was printed and widely distributed as an American Federation of Labor document. The committee asked for further time, which was accorded. The purpose the special committee had in mind was to have the Bureau of Labor of the United States undertake an investigation of the general subject of industrial education and vocational training, not only in the United States but in other countries. Inasmuch as we have been successful in having the Bureau of Labor make that investigation and the results thereof have been printed and are obtainable without cost to the men of labor and others, we recommend that the special committee be requested to submit to the 1912 Convention of the American Federation of Labor a full report upon this subject.

#### Pure Foods—Pure Drugs.

Due to untold greed, the health and the lives of the people of our country have been placed in jeopardy through adulterations and substitutes in the foods and the drugs sold to the masses of our people. The Congress of the United States has enacted laws for the better protection of the people in regard to this traffic by the passage of what is known as the pure food law, five years ago. Those who have profited, and still profit, by the imposition upon the people of impure foods and drugs, have become more active in the recent past; they have perfected combinations by reason of the great profits resulting from their traffic and have endeavored to circumvent the

law, even to the extent of trying to remove a faithful public officer who has stood between them and the people. When such men in their greed for profit alone endanger the health and the lives of myriads of men, women and children—the workers—the duty devolves upon our movement to take such action as shall safeguard our own.

With this object in view, taking cognizance of the efforts made by other associations of men to be of service to the people in regard to this movement, the Executive Council at its recent meeting adopted the following:

**RESOLVED,** That the Executive Council appoint a committee of three to meet with representatives of all bodies and persons having for their object the securing of legislation or administration to secure pure food and pure drugs for the people of this country.

We have selected President Gompers, Vice-President O'Connell, and Secretary Morrison as the committee.

#### **New Mexico's Constitution.**

From many quarters in New Mexico urgent requests have come for our co-operation in securing needed amendment of the proposed constitution for the prospective state of New Mexico. It will be recalled that the convention which formulated the constitution of that prospective state contained a provision which would make it practically impossible to amend the constitution after that state would have been admitted to the Union. It was to secure for the people of New Mexico the opportunity for the amendment of the constitution of New Mexico whenever deemed necessary or advisable by them, having aided in this respect both with the progressive constitution of Oklahoma and of Arizona, that we deemed it our duty also to comply with the requests from New Mexico. We have heretofore placed three of our organizers in that field to aid to the fullest in securing immediate change in the constitution of that prospective state. Our latest information is, we are pleased to report, that the amendment to the constitution has been adopted.

#### **International Secretariat—Budapest Congress.**

The International Secretariat held its congress in Budapest, Hungary, August 10-13. At our January meeting we adopted the following as instructions to Vice-

President Duncan, as delegate from the American Federation of Labor to that congress:

1. We do not favor anti-patriotism or anti-militarism in the sense as proposed by the representatives of the Confederation General du Travail of France;

2. We do not favor the general strike as proposed by the Confederation General du Travail of France;

3. We favor the organization of an international federation of labor, the representatives of the international trade union centers not to be confined to the secretaries thereof;

4. That every means be taken to prevent the exportation of strike breakers from one country to another, whether a strike is in actual existence or contemplation;

5. For legislation in the several countries more uniform in character, governing hours of labor of women and men in dangerous trades, and for the abolition or restriction of the labor of children under the age of fourteen in any gainful occupation;

6. For safety appliances, sanitary conditions of labor, housing reform and improvement of the workers;

7. The publication of an official monthly journal or bulletin by the International Secretariat or International Federation of Labor in several languages, in which shall be given the state of trade in each country, conditions of labor, progress in legislation and all other matters affecting the labor movement in the various countries.

At our June meeting we adopted the following resolutions for Vice-President Duncan to present to the International Secretariat:

**RESOLVED,** That the International Trade Union congress recommends to the trade union centers (General Federation of Congresses) of all countries the discussion of the proposition of establishing an international federation of labor, the autonomy of the trade union movement of each country being ordained and guaranteed, the purpose of the federation being for the protection and the advancement of the rights, interests and justice of the wage-workers of all countries and the establishment of international fraternity and solidarity.

**RESOLVED,** That it shall be the purpose of the labor movement of all countries to endeavor to the fullest extent to prevent the workers from one country being induced to emigrate to other countries during periods of industrial depression, or when trade disputes exist, or are in contemplation; that it shall be the duty of the recognized representatives of the labor movement of the country affected to notify the international secretary, who in turn shall at once communicate the situation to the representatives of the trade union movement of each country.

**RESOLVED,** That the International Secretariat when receiving any document

from any source other than an affiliated national centre in which the integrity or character of the loyal party of a particular national centre is assailed, that copy of the document shall be forwarded to the official representative of the National centre in interest. In the event of an answer being made by the proper authorities of the national centre and received by the International Secretariat, the latter officer shall retain the same. If the proper authorities of the national centre in interest enter valid objection to the dissemination of the original document it shall be held by the International Secretariat and reported to the next conference of the International Secretariat which may order both documents sent to the various affiliated national union centres with such opinion or judgment as the conference of the International Secretariat may determine.

We further authorized Brother Duncan to extend an invitation to the International Secretariat to hold its meeting in 1915 in San Francisco, California, and that Mr. Carle Legien, president of the Trade Union Federation of Germany and general secretary of the International Secretariat, be invited to visit the United States and deliver a series of addresses here under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor.

We have been informed the Budapest meeting was harmonious, progressive and successful, and quite fully attended by delegates from the several countries affiliated therein. The propositions put forward for consideration by the Secretariat by your representative were all discussed and favorably received. A synopsis of the proceedings will be made to this convention by delegate Duncan along with comments on the action taken also on some phases of the European labor movement, and which we commend to your attention.

#### Boy Scout Movement.

Within a few years a movement has grown, known as the "Boy Scout" movement. Some discussion of the subject has been had through the literature issued by the advocates of that movement, and through the press. A division in its ranks arose, so that there are now two forms, as well as administrators and policies. The members of the Executive Council have been approached by the representatives of that movement with a view of its clearer presentation to and approval by us. On the other hand, a number of our fellow unionists and some

of our affiliated organizations, have expressed their disapproval with the movement, and some of its purposes and policies. In consequence of the fact that we have been so completely engrossed in other work requiring our constant attention, we have been unable to give the subject investigation, and therefore have been unable to form a clear judgment as to the merits or demerits of that movement. We therefore recommend to this convention that the Executive Council be authorized and directed to make an investigation into the boy scout movement, to afford all parties an opportunity for the presentation of their views and aims upon the subject, and that the Executive Council after full and fair investigation be authorized to express its judgment and the position of the American Federation of Labor toward it, or if in the opinion of the Executive Council the matter should first be reported to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor for action that that course be pursued.

#### Conservation Natural Resources.

The third annual Conservation Congress met at Kansas City, Missouri, September 25, 26, 27. Mr. John T. Smith, Secretary of the Missouri State Federation of Labor, was appointed to represent the A. F. of L. Committee on conservation of Natural Resources. In his report he states that an amendment to the constitution of the congress was unanimously adopted, providing for an Advisory Board, consisting of one person from each national organization concerned in conservation represented at each congress, with a chairman to be selected by them from their number, and during the interval before the next succeeding congress, this advisory board shall report to and co-operate with the executive committee.

After the adoption of this amendment, the representatives of all national organizations at the congress were requested to meet with the Executive Board for the purpose of organizing the Advisory Board. As our representative at the congress was only acting as the representative of the conservation committee of the American Federation of Labor, he advised the Executive Board that he was not eligible to act on the Advisory Board,



but that the representative of the A. F. of L. would be duly appointed.

We, therefore, appointed President Gompers to act on the Advisory Board of the Conservation Congress and recommend that the Conservation Committee of the A. F. of L. be continued during the coming year.

#### **White Rats Actors' Union—Benefit Performances.**

The officers of the White Rats Actors' Union of America have recently been in correspondence with the officers of the A. F. of L. in regard to a matter of such importance that it seems you should be advised thereof. In brief, it is that the officers of the White Rats Actors' Union suggest a series of benefit performances for organized labor one day in each year, the proceeds from these performances to be donated to the labor movement, the performers to give their services free.

We recommend that this convention authorize the appointment of a committee to confer with the representatives of the organization in question to consider the offer and to devise ways and means for practically putting into effect the suggested plan, so far as it relates to raising funds for the proper defense of the McNamara brothers and the prosecution of the kidnappers.

#### **Labor Representation Committee's Report.**

Atlanta, Ga., November 13, 1911.  
To the Executive Council, American Federation of Labor.  
Colleagues:

By authority of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, as well as in accordance with your instructions, the Labor Representation Committee has not only kept in mind the instructions given relative to legislation and administration affecting the interests of labor, but we have been active in pressing home upon the law makers and the executive department the rights to which the workers of our country are entitled. From time to time we have reported to you, and through you to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and our work has met with approval and endorsement and directions have been given to further continue in these efforts. The matters of specific legislative demands which the American Federation of Labor has formulated, and the actions of our officers and our committee, are enumerated more specifically in the reports which both the President and the Executive Council contemplate presenting for consideration to the Atlanta Convention. Hence it is not necessary to burden this with duplication.

We recommend to the Executive Council, and if you approve in turn, you recommend to the Atlanta Convention, that the Labor Representation Committee be continued and authorized and empowered to act in unison with the Executive Council, for the purpose of taking such action as may be deemed advisable and necessary for the successful consummation of the legislative demands and executive action by our federal government.

Fraternally yours,

**SAMUEL GOMPERS,**

Chairman;

**JAMES O'CONNELL,**

Vice-Chairman;

**FRANK MORRISON,**

Secretary.

#### **Labor Representation Committee.**

The Executive Council takes pleasure in commending the work performed by the Labor Representation Committee, and recommends to this convention that authority and instruction be given the Labor Representation Committee as stated in the report of the committee just quoted.

#### **The President's Report.**

We have read the report and recommendations which the President of the A. F. of L. has submitted to this Convention and in order to avoid duplication herein of the subjects with which he deals, we heartily approve the same and commend them to the favorable consideration of this convention, and to all organized labor.

#### **Conclusion.**

With a view to reaching conclusions that would be practical and advantageous not only to our great movement itself, but also to the cause of labor and humanity which our movement is instituted to advance, the multifarious matters which have been referred to us and which have come before us in other ways have been given the most careful consideration. The American labor movement aims to be the potent factor in securing the largest measure of economic, material, political, social, and moral advancement for the wage earners and for all the people of our continent. In furtherance of these high aims, the potentiality of organized, concentrated effort has been recognized, and the directions given us with which we are in entire accord, have been to eliminate duality and rivalry to the fullest possible extent. The consensus of opinion as expressed and declared by the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor has been that

in a given trade, or in trades so nearly akin to each other as to make them one, or practically one, there should be one intelligent, comprehensively administered national or international organization. We have endeavored to crystallize these declarations and instructions into the practical recommendations which we have submitted in this report for action by this convention.

Despite the fact that the reports which have been and are herewith submitted to you are voluminous, there is a considerable number of matters of greater or lesser importance which it is impossible to incorporate therein. We are conscious of having had but one single purpose guiding our deliberations and our conclusions, and that is the hope of being of the best possible aid to our fellow workers and our fellow man in this struggle of labor for the attainments of a better time and a higher life for all.

Fraternally submitted.

**SAMUEL GOMPERS,**

President,

**JAMES DUNCAN,**

First Vice-President,

**JOHN MITCHELL,**

Second Vice-President,

**JAMES O'CONNELL,**

Third Vice-President,

**D. A. HAYES,**

Fourth Vice-President,

**WILLIAM D. HUBER,**

Fifth Vice-President,

**JOS. F. VALENTINE,**

Sixth Vice-President,

**JOHN R. ALPINE,**

Seventh Vice-President

**H. B. PERHAM,**

Eighth Vice-President,

**JOHN B. LENNON,**

Treasurer,

**FRANK MORRISON,**

Secretary,

President Gompers—Some time during the sessions the Chairman will assign the various subjects upon which the Executive Council has reported to the Appropriate Committees.

President Gompers presented to the Convention Mr. C. F. Barrett, President of the Farmers' International Union, stating that he would address the Convention at a later date.

President Gompers—Delegate Kerker, of the Bakers' International Union, has

notified us that Delegate Myrup, of that organization, has been detained at his home by reason of illness, and asks that his name not be included in the list of absentees. Delegate Myrup was appointed on the Committee on Organization, and inasmuch as he cannot serve the chair will appoint Delegate Henry Koch, the other delegate from that organization, as a substitute for Delegate Myrup. If there are no objections that appointment will be made. Hearing none, it is made.

In accordance with the instructions of the Convention the following telegram has been sent:

"Atlanta, Ga., Nov. 14, 1911.

"J. J. and J. B. McNamara, Los Angeles, Calif.

"Your message of fraternal greeting, expression of hope for success of our Convention and the cause of Labor, and appreciation of Labor's efforts in your behalf, was read to the delegates and visitors, and was received with a great demonstration of sympathetic appreciation. By unanimous vote the Convention directed me to send you the assurance of the delegates of their belief in your innocence of the crime with which you have been charged, and to pledge to you our continued moral and financial support to the end that your innocence may be established.

"SAMUEL GOMPERS,

"President American Federation of Labor."

President Gompers stated that a series of preambles and resolutions had been received from an affiliated organization, the Theatrical Stage Employees, signed by the officers, and covering in detail the history of a dispute with an employer. He stated that the document contained several thousand words and asked the wishes of the Convention in regard to including the entire matter in the proceedings.

Delegate Carter moved that the document be referred back to the delegates from the organization in question, with the request that they condense the matter contained in the preamble and resolutions presented, in order that the action which the organization desires from the American Federation of Labor may be stated in the preamble and resolutions, omitting the argument and detail. (Seconded and carried.)

Badges and souvenirs were distributed to the delegates by the local Entertainment Committee.

The local Entertainment Committee was requested to arrange for a photographer to take a group picture of the Convention at some convenient time.

Resolutions No. 1 to No. 22, inclusive, were received and referred to Committees.

At 1:30 p. m. a recess was taken until 2:45 p. m. of the same day.

## Second Day--Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 2:45 p. m. Tuesday, November 14th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Pfeil, Thomas, Smith (Fred), Dubinsky, D'Andrea, Williams (John), Roach, Coakley, Price, Lewis, Dold, Gallagher (John J.), Taber, Commons, Gavlak, Hatch, Kelly (Wm. E.), Anderson (W. H.), Ferry, Hurley, Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Hobbs, Wendt, Davis, Fuller, Winchenback, Ford, Belt, Creamer, Donnelly, Saund-Engdahl, Schaub.

**Report of Fraternal Delegates to the British Trades Union Congress, Held in Newcastle-on-Tyne, September 4-9, 1911.**

Delegate Tobin (D. J.), read the following report:

To the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:

As your delegates to the forty-fourth British Trades Union Congress, held in Newcastle-on-Tyne, England, we beg leave to submit the following report:

The Congress convened Monday, September 4th, and concluded Saturday, September 9, 1911. Mr. Wm. Mullen, Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee, presided over the deliberations of the Congress. There were present 521 delegates as against 505 last year, representing a membership of 1,662,133, showing an increase of 14,418 during the past year.

We found the problems confronting the workers of Great Britain somewhat similar in character to those confronting the workers of our country. Their method of dealing with the subjects brought before the Congress are somewhat different from ours, as has been reported by previous delegates. Resolutions are submitted to the various Unions for their consideration, the same being returned and compiled and printed as addenda and submitted to Congress.

The work of the Congress is very much simplified by having all resolutions and amendments submitted to the Parliamentary Committee, which meets one week prior to the opening of the Congress to act upon same. After the reading of the report of the Parliamentary Committee the Congress gets down to business at once. There is very little discussion allowed on resolutions or important matters by the delegates attending the Congress and there is very

little opportunity offered for amending propositions submitted by resolutions to the Parliamentary Committee. Freedom of action by individual delegates is not allowed in the Congress as much as it is in our Convention. We think that our method is far superior and there is a greater opportunity allowed for arriving at a safe conclusion on an important question than there is in the British Trade Union Congress.

President William Mullen's address was an able one, covering the work of the Parliamentary Committee during the past year. There is one significant phase of the doings of the year that calls for special comment. During the months prior to the opening of the Congress, the entire country was staggered with the general strike amongst the transport workers and the delegates attending the Congress and the working people in general seemed to rejoice very much at the result of the strike, which was brought to a close about the time that we arrived in England, both sides agreeing to arbitration. However, during the remaining days we were in England we heard considerable discontent among the many labor leaders as to the action of the Commission, and as to the delay occurring in reaching an immediate decision. We noticed also within the last few days in the newspapers of our country, that the labor leaders in England had some reason for fear in the action of the Commission who were investigating the grievance existing between the workers and the employers, because the Commission has decided that the railroad companies of Great Britain would not be bound by their decision to recognize the union, the principle for which the men went on strike.

The report of the Parliamentary Committee submitted to the Congress contained much information for the delegates attending the Congress, but it would not be of material benefit to our Convention in its entirety, so we quote herein one or two important passages which appeared in the report:

No one can gainsay the fact that the twelve months which have passed since the holding of the previous Congress have been marked by strenuous and continuous activity both in the industrial as well as in the political world. The delegates meeting in Sheffield had scarcely separated when the country was face to face with another general election (the second within the year), and the electors were called upon to decide an issue of the greatest importance from a democratic point of view, namely, whether the members of the House of Lords should

be permitted to continue to exercise the right of vetoing progressive legislation, a right which they had persistently and, latterly, ruthlessly exercised, regardless of the real interests of the community as a whole.

Happily, the decision of the nation upon this important point was as clear as it was emphatic and decisive; and, despite the frantic efforts made by the lords and their friends to prevent the will of the people from being given full effect, the Parliament bill has been placed upon the statute book, and the way thereby cleared for the social legislation which this country stands in such need of. The most gratifying feature of the General Election of December last was the manner in which the Labor Party maintained its position in the country.

Concurrently with the passing of the Veto Bill, the Government has carried out its promise to introduce and pass a measure providing for the payment of members, a measure advocated by Congress almost from its first meeting, held in Manchester in the year 1868.

Among the most important questions considered by the Congress was a resolution submitted by the Brass Workers and Metal Mechanics amending the Shops Club Act, which is as follows:

That this Congress reaffirm its opinion that the Shops Club Act should, in order to protect the liberty of the workers, be so amended as to make it illegal for employers or their agents to dismiss employees simply because they are Trade Unionists or co-operators; and, further the Parliamentary Committee be instructed to bring the matter before the Home Secretary, and render every assistance to the promoters for securing the enactment of the Trades Union Bill on the subject.

There were several other resolutions introduced by the Congress representing the following:

- Radius Agreements.
- Guarantee Societies.
- Abolition of the Half-Time System.
- Office Inspection.
- Work Shop Accommodation for Tailors.
- Abolition of the Half-Time System.
- Industrial Life Insurance.
- Nationalization of Railways and Canals.
- Establishment of a fund of \$150,000 for their own Labor Paper.
- Direct Employment in Government Departments.
- Amalgamation of Trade.
- Evictions.
- Workmen's Compensation.
- Appointment of Commission.

And others too numerous to mention, the subject matter of which we do not desire to tire the delegates attending the Convention by discussing. Information on same can be procured by any delegate who desires, by referring to us for same.

We found the British Trades Unions away behind our people in the matter of establishing the Label on Trade Union goods. They know very little about the Label. It can be found in nothing

with perhaps the exception of hats, and even in that line very few hats are manufactured or sold with the Label in them. On printing matter, boots, shoes, clothing or anything of that kind there is no Label and in speaking with the different officials of Labor attending the Congress and in endeavoring to advocate the adoption of the Label, some of the men seemed to think that it was an utter impossibility.

England is also behind us in their Labor press. There is no large organization in the country that has its own Labor paper or magazine. There is no newspaper or magazine of any kind devoted entirely to the publication of Labor news. They are now trying to raise a fund to start a labor newspaper. While we in this country have several hundred Labor papers and magazines, over there they have none.

We found the condition of the workers, in general, far inferior to ours. The increased cost of living has made itself manifest in England as well as in our country. While food products are perhaps not so expensive as ours, still in proportion to the wages received, the cost of living has increased perhaps more than it has in our country. The working hours are much longer. The eight-hour day is not in operation to any great extent in the British Kingdom.

We, your delegates, desire to offer the following recommendation or suggestion:

In view of the fact that the Labor leaders of this country who happen to be fortunate enough to be elected as fraternal delegates are not receiving fabulous salaries and having very little money set aside, and as many of them who are elected as fraternal delegates never have had an opportunity of seeing anything on the other side of the water, we believe that a little more money should be paid to the fraternal delegates than it has been customary to receive up to this time.

We trust that this Convention will not, for a moment, consider that we are talking from a personal standpoint, because of the fact that the undersigned will never again be fraternal delegates, but that our whole object in making this statement, is to try to make it easier for those who will follow us. We, therefore, recommend that the amount be increased from \$400 to \$700, also transportation.

We think that the American Federation of Labor is a large enough institution to pay this amount of money once a year on such an important mission.

In closing we desire to thank the Convention for electing us as delegates to the British Trades Union Congress. The trip has been educational and instructive to us and every moment of our time was spent in endeavoring to learn something that might be helpful to us on our return.

We were very much pleased with our trip. We had an enjoyable time after a day or two when we made ourselves known to the delegation in general, but we could not find the same feeling of friendship, the same warm-heartedness

the same open arms in England that we left behind us in America.

We were delighted with many of the acquaintances we made, and while there are a great many able men in the Labor movement in England, we think that our Unions in this country and our Convention of the American Federation of Labor compare very favorably with any on the other side.

We never loved America any better than when we sighted land on our return.

Respectfully submitted,

WM. MACFARLANE,

DANIEL J. TOBIN,

Fraternal Delegates.

President Gompers—The report will be received and made part of the proceedings of the Convention.

Report of the Fraternal Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

At the Sixteenth Biennial Convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, held in Des Moines, Iowa, in September, 1910, it was unanimously decided to send a delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, so that existing misunderstandings and disputes might be amicably adjusted, if possible. It fell to my lot to fill that important mission.

At Duluth, on my way to the Congress, I received a telegram from President Gompers and Secretary Morrison informing me that the elected fraternal delegate, Brother Tracey, could not attend the Congress, and at the same time asking me to act in his stead. This I willingly consented to, and I therefore had the privilege, as well as the pleasure, of representing the A. F. of L. in the 27th Annual Convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, held in Calgary, Province of Alberta, from September 11th to 16th, 1911, inclusive.

I consider the Convention one of the most successful ever held by the Congress. All sorts of subjects of vital interest and importance to the wage-workers of the Dominion came up for consideration, discussion and action.

The officers' reports dealt with such subjects as:

The Eight-hour Bill.

Immigration.

The Japanese Treaty.

The Lemieux Act.

Political Action.

Reciprocity.

Industrial and Technical Education.

The Miners' Strikes in the Eastern Provinces.

The Relation between the Congress and the A. F. of L. and other matters.

Each province in Canada has a vice-president and an executive committee of three, whose duty it is to closely look after the affairs of the province they respectively represent, and report to the annual meeting of the Congress progress made, matters adjusted, success achieved,

work undertaken, opposition met with, unions organized, etc.

In the report of the Executive Committee for the Province of Alberta, reference is made in no uncertain language to the jurisdictional disputes in the Building Trades and to the action of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor in dealing with these disputes. I herewith quote that part of the report referred to:

#### Building Trades.

The Building Trades craftsmen have met with a strenuous opposition from an aggregation of contractors, etc., called "The Builders' Exchange," the policy of which is an ever-increasing activity against organized labor and whose slogan is the "Open Shop."

This movement against Trades Unionism is not confined to any one locality, but is active in every center where labor attempts to better its conditions.

At Edmonton and Calgary the Builders' Exchange ordered advertisements to be published in newspapers in Great Britain, United States and Canada, asking for mechanics to go to Edmonton and Calgary, promising steady work, and right at a time when every craft had its big quota of unemployed.

There have been clashes in all the cities between the two forces, and had the labor market shown any marked degree of over-crowding, organized labor would have had the fiercest fight for existence in the history of Trades Unionism in Alberta.

In addition to having an active enemy to watch, the building craftsmen have been subjected to having jurisdictional and factional fights forced upon them by the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and Canadian Trades Unionists have been ordered to discriminate against brother unionists for certain alleged offenses which are supposed to be peculiar to and have their origin in the United States. Albertan Unionists have been denied admission to, and unseated from local Building Trades Council, but whose standing is never questioned in our Trades and Labor Councils.

This internal warfare, forced upon Canadian Unionists by the A. F. of L. Building Trades Department, was instrumental in disorganizing the Lethbridge Unionists, that they, to protect themselves, returned the charter to Washington, D. C., and severed connections with the Building Trades Department. At Edmonton the attention given to this same matter has brought dissension and had feelings among the unions which, if allowed to go further, will have disruptive influences. In the city of Calgary there has been no concerted action when dealing with the Builders' Exchange, largely through the same cause, and most of the fighting was carried on by individual unions.

In regard to this serious matter, we are of the opinion the time has arrived in the history of the Canadian Labor movement that in order to justify its

continued existence as the head of organized labor in Canada, the Trades and Labor Congress must declare for absolute supremacy in not merely legislative matters alone, but also all economic questions which concern the welfare of Canadian Trades Unionists as a whole.

(The foregoing remarks must not be construed as against International Trades Unionism, as this Executive Committee are ardent Internationalists.)

The delegates representing the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America introduced the following resolution, which was concurred in without a dissenting voice or vote and made applicable to all international organizations having unions in Canada:

Whereas, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America experience much trouble, annoyance and expense when shipping supplies, buttons, rings, charms, badges, books, literature, charters and outfits from the home office in Indianapolis, Ind., to Local Unions in Canada, with the customs authorities, although all expressage, postage and other charges are prepaid by the home office; and

Whereas, The customs department has held such goods and supplies as hereinbefore mentioned until said customs duty and charges were paid, thereby causing undue delay in delivering; and

Whereas, These goods are supplied by the home office to all affiliated Local Unions and do not come in competition with Canadian manufacturers in any manner; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Minister of Customs be petitioned and requested to exempt all Local Unions of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America in Canada from payment of duty on supplies shipped from headquarters in the United States.

The same delegates also introduced the following resolution, which I know will be of more than passing interest to the representatives of international organizations here present:

Whereas, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, an international organization with headquarters located in Indianapolis, Ind., pays per capita tax on its entire Canadian membership to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress when due, amounting to about \$1,000 per year; and

Whereas, Said international organization has no direct representation in the Congress at its annual meetings; and,

Whereas, Said international organization has many Local Unions in Canada, all of which are entitled to at least one delegate each to said Congress, with voice and vote; therefore, be it

Resolved, That in the future the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America be represented in the Congress by five delegates, four of which shall hold membership in Canadian Local Unions, one to represent British Columbia and Alberta, one to represent Saskatchewan and Manitoba, one to represent Ontario and Quebec, one to represent New Bruns-

wick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, and the fifth to be known as a delegate at large, who shall be an international officer of the organization. Said five delegates to have a voting strength equal to the number of Local Unions said organization has in Canada. These five delegates to bear credentials from the international office in Indianapolis, Ind., properly signed by the international President and Secretary, with seal affixed.

As this resolution, if adopted, would mean a complete change in the representation of international organizations in the Conventions of the Congress, it was referred to the Committee on Constitution and Law. After careful investigation and consideration the committees recommended that the representation of all bodies in the Congress remain as it is, and in addition thereto that each international organization paying tax direct to the Congress on its full Canadian membership be represented by one delegate.

This was amended by adding after the word, "delegate," "who shall hold membership in a Canadian Local Union." A lively discussion ensued, after which the report as amended was adopted.

I consider I would not be fulfilling my duty as your representative if I did not inform you that a resolution was introduced, claiming that:

"Craft Unions have proven to be inadequate to successfully combat the present day aggregations of Capital; that their activities are almost entirely absorbed by jurisdictional disputes; that an internal warfare exists among them, preventing any continued successful co-operation in and given industry, and that therefore the Convention should go on record as endorsing the principles of Industrial Unionism." This caused an animated and lengthy discussion. The resolution, however, was finally adopted.

Immediately afterwards a motion was unanimously carried that this action on the part of the Convention must not be construed as endorsing the principles of the Industrial Workers of the World.

The Executive Council was instructed to communicate with the British Trades Congress, inviting that body to send a fraternal delegate to the next Convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress and to make arrangements for interchange of fraternal delegates between the two bodies in the future.

In conclusion I wish to say that the Congress, with all its handicaps and drawbacks, is doing a great work for the uplifting and upbuilding of the wage-workers of the Dominion. It should be supported, assisted and encouraged by the American Federation of Labor and International Unions affiliated therewith. In fact, I do not hesitate to recommend that all international organizations having Local Unions in Canada should pay per capita tax to the Congress on their entire Canadian membership, so that the Congress may be in a position to meet its liabilities, continue the good work in which it is engaged, place organizers in the field, and work hand in hand

with the American Federation of Labor for the common good of all.

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK DUFFY,  
Fraternal Delegate.

President Gompers—The report will be made part of the official proceedings. We will now hear from the delegate to the International Secretariat.

#### BUDAPEST SECRETARIAT CONVENTION.

Report of The American Federation of Labor representative to the Budapest, Hungary, Convention of National Trade Centers, August 10, 11 and 12, 1911; with some references to the International Labor Movement, witnessed and studied on the way from America to Hungary and back.

To the American Federation of Labor assembled in convention, Atlanta, Ga., November, 1911.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Pursuant to the honor and mandate conferred on me by the St. Louis Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and provided with proper credentials from your executive officers, I left America and journeyed East, in sufficient time to be in Budapest, just prior to the opening of the International Convention.

On arriving in Liverpool, I found stirring times among trade unionists in that city, especially along the water front. The spirit of unrest had spread all over Great Britain, but was most intense in the great commercial cities and ports touching on the ocean and seas.

Excitement was at fever heat and officials of the different trade and labor associations were working overtime in their efforts to get redress for the people they represented, without suspension of work, or any serious outbreak of hostilities which might further inflame an exceedingly pent-up situation. Your delegates to the British Trades Congress have their report on the situation in Great Britain, and I will not hazard a contention on jurisdictional lines with them, by invading their territory and their subject, but a few words about the situation before they arrived on the other side will not, I hope, be considered a trespass, or out of order.

Apart from the commotion I have referred to, and among the important events which took place, was the somewhat unexpected death of Mr. William C. Steadman, who, until the serious illness which resulted in his death, had been secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Congress since succeeding Mr. Samuel Woods in 1905. He had been a hard-working official and was a genuine working-man leader. In early life he learned barge building in a London ship yard, and after he was a journeyman became secretary of the London Barge Builders'

Union. Later in life he was elected to the London County Council, held that position for fifteen years, and was one of the band of labor members, who did so much for the health and better government of the great metropolis. He entered Parliament in 1898, and was as conspicuous for his honesty and steadfastness in the House of Commons as had marked his course as an official in the trade union movement, or as a member of the London County Council.

I visited a number of industrial centres in England, and on reaching London, prior to crossing to the continent of Europe, I had the honor of meeting nearly all of the Labor group in Parliament. Their kind invitation to compare notes with them, on the famous terrace of the House of Commons was gladly accepted, as was also a further invitation to visit the House of Commons in session, on what was called John Burn's day. This was carefully and diplomatically arranged by our mutual friend, William Brace, M. P., who was a fraternal delegate from Great Britain to our St. Louis Convention last November, and through which I was conducted to a special visitor's seat, by the proper officer with more pomp and ceremony than I had ever previously experienced.

They are an excellent lot of men, those trade union and socialist members of Parliament. They fraternize in commendable manner, and it was noticeable that among them there were a large number of the men the British Trades Congress had sent as fraternal delegates to American Federation of Labor conventions.

John Burns has lost none of the athletic sprightliness of earlier years. He has a clean, honorable and aggressive record. His forensic ability and his practical adaptation of municipal reforms name him easily as the greatest authority on municipal government of our time. His colleagues in the Labor group say for him that he has become bureaucratic in his development as a cabinet minister. This has caused some difference of opinion between them and him, so much so that he is now considered more of a radical-liberal than an expounder and leader of the labor party. Be this as it may, few working men have made the same parliamentary record as he has done, and at all times will credit to himself and honor to the organized labor movement.

To mention the others in detail would occupy too much space and time, but it can be said each is fulfilling his part in commendable manner, and all of them conjointly agree that in Ramsay MacDonald they have their greatest parliamentary leader, and none of them will be surprised to know at any time of his selection as a second working-man member of the British Cabinet.

On affairs dealing purely with labor interests, the Labor group is a unit, and proposes to apply their argument and their votes for, or against, the liberal government, just as the latter favors or opposes labor measures; although upon

general policy outside of labor bills, almost the entire Labor group votes with, and supports the liberal government.

Speaking of groups, it was noticeable indeed, how close a friendship and clear understanding existed among the Irish members of Parliament and the Labor group. Both feel that they have been long submerged by English aristocratic influences, and, consequently, pool their issues accordingly. Nowhere in Great Britain nor, of course, in Ireland, did I find organized workmen doubting for a moment that home rule for Ireland was imminent; and all are agreed that the mental, moral and executive ability of the patient leaders in the campaign for an Irish parliament is sufficient guarantee of progressive and stable government for the Emerald Isle, and through which industry will be given an impetus which will raise the importance and increase the population of Ireland beyond general expectation.

During the time I was enjoying the friendship of the Labor group at the House of Commons, I witnessed a parallel of what is not unknown on this side of the water, but presented in a new dress. When bills are before legislatures here, calling, for instance, for improved conditions for street railway workers, it is customary for the corporations to round up a number of employees (perhaps coercion would be a better word), and to pay their way to the capitol of the state, to testify against the remedial legislation desired, to protest against the change and to claim that they were better off than they would be if the bill became law. Legislators usually know why they are rounded up, and it is questionable if their testimony has much influence. Well, in London on the afternoon of August 3, a deputation of pit-brow girls from the coal mines at Wigan, Lancashire, waited on the Home Secretary at the House of Commons, along with the mayor and mayoress of Wigan, in protest against the portion of the Coal Mines Bill, then before a committee of the House, and which aimed to eliminate female labor at the pit heads. They were carefully selected for the purpose, strong, healthy and husky female coal-mine workers. The deputation consisted of forty-two women and girls, the most of them wearing Lancashire clogs, the half of them with shawls on their heads in place of hats, and wearing coarse aprons. All of this was intended to impress the Parliamentary Committee, for they did not attempt to deliver addresses. That was left to a few members of Parliament, whose constituents favored the employment of women at the pit heads.

After the Interested M. P.'s spoke their piece, the Mayor of Wigan said he favored the employment of women at the work described, but consumed the most of his time in a glowing tribute to their moral character, and as that had not been called in question, this argument merely occupied time. Just then the Rev. T. F. B. Twenlow, Vicar of Wigan, stepped forward to add his influence

to the employment of women at the pit heads and on such a subject such a man was certainly in a sorry plight.

The committee creditably voted to report the clause to the House of Commons for adoption, as prepared in the Coal Mines Bill. The vote was taken with the advice of the Government to the contrary, so the Home Secretary, speaking for the minority of the committee, urged the Lancashire lassies to be untiring in their efforts in securing pledges from members of Parliament, to vote with the Government against the clause, when the bill came up in the House for a vote. Thus, to the surprise of many, Mr. Churchill gave his influence in favor of retaining female employment at the pit heads, while on the other hand organized labor is practically a unit in favor of the clause as drafted in the bill.

I left London for Paris. In a general sense, Paris means France. Gay Paree is well named.

It is neither my purpose nor desire to describe the city and its environments. That is generally fairly well known. Parisians, however, impress a visitor with their disregard of the position and cruelty of their poor women and with cruelty to their horses. Among the many menial and degrading things women in Paris, and in fact, nearly all over Europe, have to do, is to fill the positions of street scavengers. Barefooted, and with brooms which appear almost equal to their own weight, and with a barrel-barrow and shovel, they go about their duties, not as if they were to the manner-born, but because they can not help it. The only language Parisian horses know is the whip. Cabby never takes the quadruped into his confidence about starting on a trip, or in looking for a patron. The whip is everlastingly in use, and if welts on the horses from the use of it were sufficient for the French society for the prevention of cruelty to animals to act, their houses of correction would overflow, and boulevard cab-drivers would be conspicuous by their absence from public thoroughfares.

I went to Berlin and found a city co-equal in beauty, though in somewhat different direction with Paris. They had their slums, too, but not so plentiful as in the French city. The boulevards, avenues, monuments, art galleries, palaces, theatres, public gardens, relics and evidence of past history, were all in evidence as per the usual descriptions given us. Words cannot overestimate the magnificence and grandeur of those places and things. One stands in wonder and in amazement at what one beholds. Nothing I have ever read or heard overestimates or explains in excess those great public institutions, functions and highways. After I had been shown the best that was to be seen in both cities, I demanded to be shown how the workers and the poor lived. Little has been told us in descriptions of those great countries about the undercrust of human society, and in the fewest possible words in which it can be described, I have no hesitation in stating that the magnificence on



the one side, as above referred to, is equalled by the depths of misery on the other side. I fail to imagine how words could be formed together to justly depict the misery and the degradation of the working and the idle poor in European cities.

They have two great movements in Germany, and which easily makes it the leading country on the continent of Europe. They have a first-class trade union movement composed of nearly 2,020,000 members. It is doing herculean work in many directions. In some particulars it is so far in advance of our labor movement in this new world, that it will take us a long time to catch up, but we should be unrelenting in our efforts to do so. In some directions the German movement is as far behind our efforts as in the other direction they lead. The other great struggle referred to is political. German workmen have a well-organized political movement and when its purposes as such sufficiently diverge, as also do the purposes of the trade union movement, they in time meet and the two bodies then act unitedly. Each has its particular duty to perform, and each is doing it as well as the circumstances permit. Those among us who have viewed the European socialist movement from the tactics of certain socialists in North America are mistaken. The leaders in both movements in Germany frankly informed me that an applicant for membership in the socialist movement, whose trade or whose occupation was organized, and who did not belong to his union, was not admitted to membership as a socialist. They looked out of the corner of their eyes at me and asked how a man could be a good socialist if he were not a trade unionist, if his occupation were organized, or even if he were a poor or indifferent trade unionist. I need not make a comparison between their action and certain efforts in this country, the great difference has often been made too evident to us all.

Yet all is not well among them. They have their party dissensions with a smattering of flank movements, just as we have seen and heard of here. This is also true of the socialist movement in Great Britain. In Germany and elsewhere on the continent, there is just the semblance of an alleged organization glorying in the title of Christian trade-unionists. Thank God, they are few in number. The clergy, I think, pulls down its dignity in fostering the aggregation. The members pay very low dues, about one-fifth of the amount paid by the regulars. The avowed purpose of this outfit is to hold itself in readiness to participate or not to participate, by direction of the clergy, in any economic or political struggle involving workers' interests. This is bad enough, but worse still is the fact that when the clergy holding authority over those men, disapprove the contention of the workers' organizations, the off-shoot in question is then used as strike breakers. In British socialist contentions those who have left or never belonged to the regular organization fight the majority politically, as

well as trade union activity, for no other purpose than to try to thwart possibility of success, because the greater membership refuses to be governed by or to join these faddists. No brand of religion is back of them. The British call them "impossibilists," which word for convenience they have abbreviated to "Imps." Pardon the remark, but when I heard the abbreviation used, I facetiously remarked that the abbreviation was complete enough, as well as sufficiently expressive.

Militarism government in nearly all of the countries on the continent of Europe. Even railroad officials, including platform men in Germany, have the noted military bearing, and men filling such positions, who have reached or are beyond middle life, have gone from the army into their new sphere. This and the military pension system has made the German army popular, especially among men who are not sure of their successes in the industrial struggle for existence. There is little difference between the police and the soldiers. All more or less look alike. They are practically similarly accoutred, and from the high dignity to the merest state or corporation official there is the appearance of militarism, which signifies that force is government.

Against all of that, clamoring for democratic government by evolution if possible, but by revolution if need be, is the socialist political party organization. There are other groups which in a way protest against imperialism, but the one organized party which is a living, active protest against imperialism and force of government, is the socialist party. When one discusses our system of government to a European official as compared to theirs, the latter immediately says that is socialism. In short, while the European socialists may have much more in mind than is now evident in their militant campaigns, viewed with an American eye, their purpose would not lose in comparison, in practice even, if it were labeled European democracy.

The European movement is an education in itself. The harmony which exists between the trade unionists, attending to trade affairs and the socialists attending to political affairs, is everywhere in evidence. Where a trade dispute exists there the socialists are helping, and where a political contest is going on the trade unionists perform their part in supporting the socialist program, and between the two the future welfare of the masses of the people will be worked out, perhaps along lines of legislation and evolution, provided that the process is not unwarrantably retarded; but if by revolution then let us wish that the result will be equal to our own revolution, which laid the foundation for the best system of popular government that has so far stood the test of time and practice.

What I have said about Paris and Berlin, also applies to Vienna and the cities of lesser importance in between, excepting that leaving Berlin, the farther east I went, the different conditions of

life and living as between the rich and the poor, and which I have but poorly described, became in divergent ratio proportionately intensified.

This brings me to Budapest.

### BUDAPEST, HUNGARY.

#### First Day.

The Seventh International Conference of the Representatives of National Trade Union Centres, (International Secretariat), was called to order, August 10, 1911, 9 a. m., in the Building Workers' Home, (Bauerbeiterheim), Budapest VII, Arena-ut 68, by Jaszai, representing Hungary. His colleague from that country, Karoly Teszarsz, was vice-chairman, and J. Sasenbach, representing Germany, was made recording secretary.

Twenty-seven delegates, representing eighteen countries, and two official interpreters (both union men, each of whom spoke three languages) composed the convention. Norway, owing to a great strike, and Finland, were not represented.

Representatives of the press attended each session. The meetings were publicly conducted.

Herr S. Jaszai, in declaring the meeting open for business, stated that a few years ago, such conventions could not have been held in Hungary, owing to government interference.

A resolution to follow the usual course in reference to translation of addresses was adopted. This meant that delegates should be grouped for convenience of interpretation, and where circumstances permitted that sotto voce transmission of information would be followed, but on lengthy addresses and official statements, interpreters would publicly address the delegates in the different languages.

A resolution, without much discussion or formality, was passed not to accept municipal or state hospitality from official sources, owing to opposition of the government to organization of labor and to tyranny generally towards the working class, but that the proffered hospitality of Hungarian workmen's organizations would be accepted and their functions attended.

The French delegation interposed an inquiry, which after some informal discussion was formally and definitely offered in substance as follows: "Can a delegate to this meeting be required to answer a question as to whether he belonged to any political or civic organization outside of the trade centre he represents."

As the discussion progressed, I discovered that the inquiry, in a veiled manner, was directed against my credential as representing organized labor of North America. A misguided man named Foster, from Chicago, Ill., claiming to represent an alleged organization of labor in America, called the International Workers of the World, had been for some time in Paris, and had succeeded in convincing the French delegates that he represented a labor organization in America, and was entitled to be recognized by the Secretariat, instead of the A. F. of L.

representative. He is said to have had in Paris a program of strong French flavor, namely, low dues, no defence fund, the general strike, revolution, and to settle all our social and political ills at the ballot box. Evidently his program was mapped out on French lines and captured the French delegation. He had thereafter taken his program from Paris to Berlin to encourage the German delegation to support his position and plea. They, however, had nothing in common with his tinfoil proposition and his wind-bag methods. Their labor movement is built on a solid foundation and makes for real progress, so he was not in his element in their company. He had made his way to Budapest, and the French enquiry above referred to, was part of his tactics. The tentative question was discussed and strongly combated, during which the Frenchman had much to say about civic institutions in America and the kind of men composing them. They had made no investigation, but had taken the lurid and unwarranted statements of the Chicago man as gospel. Their statements were so ridiculous that the chairman peremptorily ruled the question out of order.

A motion was then made that the International Workers of the World be not admitted to affiliation in the International Secretariat as a National Trade Union Centre.

During the discussion on the motion, misguided Foster lost control of his temper and gave the convention ocular demonstration of what an I. W. W. really is. His language was foul, vulgar and vehement. He even threatened assault, and subsided only to prevent expulsion from the room. He spoke in English, and I had his language interpreted to the delegates, but his actions were equally detrimental to the purpose he had in mind as was the interpretation. The Frenchmen were not dismayed at their tri-color being smudged with I. W. W. mire. They suggested that if the Foster aggregation were not admitted, that the A. F. of L. should be kept out of the International Secretariat until both organizations became reconciled to a uniform policy.

After general discussion, Foster was given an opportunity to tell his own story in his own way. My natural impulse was to protest against him being in the meeting, except as a visitor, but he was invoking martyrdom, and I figured that if he were given plenty of rope he would figuratively hang himself. I grinned and bore the ordeal, however, of witnessing one kind of an American, in a foreign land, making a veritable mess of an unsavory situation. He claimed that in America the I. W. W. was the only body that organized unskilled workers; that 85 per cent of their skilled members were also in the A. F. of L. unions; that those unions would not admit Socialists and revolutionary foreigners into membership; that the people he represented were 100 per cent. Socialists and Revolutionists, who were preparing for the international strike, which would strike terror into the hearts of capital-

ism, including the A. F. of L. The climax in his harangue was that he understood that other trade union officials and I had been known to sit and eat at the same table with a President of the United States, with Bishop Potter, and with Archbishop Corrigan, of New York, and that, therefore, we were not qualified to represent the working class.

The Austrian, German and British delegates forcefully combatted Foster's statements, the British and German delegations putting in evidence that they and their colleagues had often participated in the same kind of meetings in their countries, as had been referred to in America, and if there were anything to it, the alleged charges would also apply to them. My reply to Foster's illogical, contradictory and vicious melange can be better imagined than described or repeated. Delegate Appleton, of Great Britain, said I metaphorically prepared a bed of needles and without ceremony let Foster fall upon it. In substance, I explained their efforts at efficiency in strike breaking, that they were seldom in evidence unless during strikes, that they purposed to make strikes failures and to that end they tried to array workers of one nationality against other nationalities, who were all in one union and on one strike; that the American Socialist Organization repudiated them; that in economics and in politics they were nomadic, and that misguided Foster's alleged paradox about American unions not admitting Socialists to membership, while putting in evidence that 85 per cent. (?) of I. W. W. skilled members were in A. F. of L. unions, was as near to the truth as any of them might hope to reach. It will suffice to say, that after the whole of the first official day, plus over an hour after scheduled adjournment, had been taken up with this unwarranted and ridiculous discussion, all delegates in the conference, excepting the Frenchman, voted in favor of the motion.

I almost need to apologize for taking so much of your time on this subject, but as I heard more of it in Budapest in one day than I had ever heard in America, and as it occupied one-third of the whole time the convention was in session, you are entitled to know something of the fracas and the result.

During the first part of this discussion a decision from the Amsterdam conference, in 1905, was quoted against the French enquiry, namely, "All theoretical question and those which affect the tendency or tactics of the trade union movement in the separate countries, will not be discussed." The French delegates evaded a reply to the point of order; but later in the proceedings, when their own tactics of low dues, no defence fund to support strikes, but instead relying on communistic soup and tightening their belts as their stomachs shrunk during a strike, were criticised by a Belgian delegate, they promptly raised the Amsterdam decision and claimed a protection under it which they had tried to deny to the tendency and tactics practiced in America.

### Second Day.

The International Secretary's report for one year, July 1, 1910, to June 30, 1911, was read, showing:

Subscriptions for the year from the different countries .....	Mks. 9,054.19
(This item includes Mks. 2,550 paid by the A. F. of L.)	
Interest .....	38.70
Sales of reports of 1909 conference .....	609.60
Balance on hand commencement of fiscal year .....	3,627.67
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>13,330.16</b>
Total expenses for year, including printing .....	9,604.90

Balance on hand June 30, 1911 .....	3,725.26
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The report was adopted and the salary of the International Secretary was increased from 300 to 500 marks a year, a mere pittance compared to the duties performed.

The International Secretary called attention to the need for closer relationship between the National Trade Centres and his office, especially previous to and during disputes. He gave as an instance that Norway, where there was a general strike, and which had prevented their delegation from being at Budapest, had directly appealed to other countries for financial assistance, without first communicating with International Secretary Legien's office, as per the constitutional regulations to that effect, and that in consequence, very little money had been collected to help them.

A discussion followed on extending the scope of the Secretary's report, which was agreed to. Secretary Legien suggested that National Trade Centres in addition to receiving free copies of the report usually furnished to them, should purchase as many more as would be feasible, both for information and for reference.

In furtherance of the idea expressed, I recommend that the A. F. of L. for itself, and affiliated organizations for themselves, purchase a sufficient number of the reports for use and reference, and that trade journals reprint therefrom so that the fullest publicity, the greatest solidarity and the wisest comity among the workers of the several countries can be obtained.

The appeal for financial assistance to metal workers in Spain (a communistic soup and low dues organization) was not supported, as they are not affiliated to the Spanish Trade Centre.

A. Thornberg, Sweden, thanked the Trade Centres for the moral and financial assistance granted them during their great strike. They had fully survived the shock, had a membership again equal to before the strike, and had many concessions granted them which were denied prior to the conflict.

Two sets of delegates contested to represent Bulgaria. One pair was said to represent the intellectuals, the other pair,

the workers. The former was said to be not progressive, but academic, and the latter, few in numbers, but militant. A motion from the Austrian delegation to put them both out of the National Secretariat until they settled their contentions and united, and that a general effort to organize the Balkan States be made, was referred to International Secretary Legien to visit both of their conventions while he was trying to organize in the Balkans and to endeavor to amalgamate them.

A motion was adopted authorizing the International Secretary to not delay his reports to accommodate National Trade Centres that were dilatory in forwarding their reports.

### Third Day.

The third day opened with continued discussion on a Swiss resolution, which in substance provided that when international financial assistance was desired in case of industrial disputes, the International Secretariat should only take part in the appeal for help if at the same time several Trade or Industrial Federations of a country were involved, and if the necessary funds could not be raised in the country, and by the trade organizations involved. Further, provided that the National Centre in need of help has furnished a formal call for assistance with full explanation, which should include a brief report of the cause and development of the dispute and a review of the numerical and financial strength of the unions in need; assistance not to be continued if the organization involved did not supply information on the development of the contention. The appeal when issued to National Trade Centres to contain a brief statement on the reasons for the appeal, with suggestions as to the best manner to conform thereto. Holland amended the Swiss motion that only under exceptional circumstances should such an appeal be issued, and then only provided the workers involved are so many that the financial means at their disposal in their own country are not adequate. An amendment by the delegate from Croatia, that all National Trade Centres should establish separate funds by means of regular subscriptions, for the purpose of assisting great industrial struggles in foreign countries, was withdrawn, and the Swiss motion, as amended by Holland, was adopted.

The three general resolutions I had the honor to submit were practically unanimously adopted. They provided substantially as follows:

First. That the International Secretary, when receiving any document from any source, other than an affiliated National Centre, assailing the integrity or character of a National Trade Centre, shall forward a copy of same to the official representative of the National Centre assailed, for reply, and if the latter contains valid objections to the document being sent out, it, with the reply thereto, shall be held and reported to the next convention.

Second. That the Budapest International Conference recommends to the Trade Union Centres of all countries, the

discussion of the proposition of establishing an International Federation of Labor, the autonomy of the trade union movement of each country being ordained and guaranteed.

Third. That it shall be the purpose of the labor movement of all countries to endeavor to the fullest extent to prevent the workers from one country being induced to emigrate to other countries during industrial depression or when trade disputes exist, or are in contemplation.

To my second resolution recommending discussion towards establishing an International Federation of Labor, the French delegation asked that a motion of theirs be added. It provided for the transformation of the International Secretariat into an International Trades Congress to be composed of delegates of each trade with power to act on trade questions, etc. The German and other delegations supported the American proposition, but opposed the French amendment. The French delegates thereupon stated their reason for joining the two resolutions was that invariably French propositions were rejected, even although others of a similar nature by other delegations were adopted, and they had hoped by joining their motion with the American proposition, to secure its adoption on the strength of the original motion. The attempted French coup d'état was not successful, but a Scandinavian diplomatically helped France by moving that the French idea be referred to National Trade Centres for discussion, and which was adopted.

Belgium and Holland moved that instead of meeting every two years, the International Secretariat hereafter shall meet every three years, at the same time and place where the International Trades Union and Socialistic Congress is held. Objection was made to two such conventions being in session at one time. A number of delegates attended both, and combinations might be formed which would work injury to both meetings. The motion was then changed to read that hereafter the Secretariat meet every three years.

I opposed the motion in both forms and for additional reasons than those for which the motion was changed. I invited the International Secretariat to meet in San Francisco in 1915, and took this opportunity to urge acceptance. My invitation was informal at Budapest, because a subsequent convention will be held at which formal action would be in order; but to meet every three years, instead of every two years, would have prevented meeting in San Francisco in 1915. The delegates viewed the invitation and the probability of meeting at the Golden Gate, as being nearly impossible of accomplishment. Those from the far East, who themselves, in some instances, had even to bear the most of their own expenses to Budapest, saw an impossible barrier against going as far as San Francisco. I had told them a union mayor and union heads of municipal depart-

ments would welcome them, for I expected that Mayor McCarthy would be re-elected. My statement, the city, the situation and the event (celebrating the opening of the great Canal) appeared so good to the convention that the amended and the original motions to meet every three years were withdrawn.

The German delegates suggested the advisability of all European Trade Centres immediately beginning the formation of a general fund which could be used to defray the expenses of all European delegates to San Francisco, and which would permit representatives being present from countries as yet poorly organized and who could not otherwise attend. The project is now under consideration, and will be settled at the next Secretariat Convention. I do not, however, hold out much hope, for the scarcity of money among the workers in Europe is not conducive to creating a fund to send delegates such a distance.

The British delegation nominated London as the place to hold the next convention, and the Swiss delegation named Cologne. Decision was deferred and later on the subject will be submitted to the different Trade Centres for action.

Holland moved that all trade unions should join their respective National Centres and invited the International Trade Federations and Secretariats to admit those unions who are members of their own National Centre of trade unions. And further, to bring pressure to bear upon non-affiliated unions to induce them to join the National Centre of their country. Adopted.

A motion by Holland on "home work" was laid over for investigation and report to the next International Conference.

Sweden moved that this conference invites the representatives of the working classes in all Parliaments to do all in their power in order to get bills enacted into law prohibiting night work in all industries where it is not absolutely necessary. Adopted.

A general discussion took place on how best to deal with union men going from one country to another. The European delegations all favored admission of men from one country to another on presenting paid-up cards and without paying new initiation fees. The British delegation, and I, could not pledge all the unions we represented to do so, owing to the benefits paid out by several American and British unions, many of such benefits going into effect immediately on a member joining, etc., but we favored further consideration being given to the subject, so that in this as in other ways, the toilers could the better co-operate for the fullest possible recognition and advancement of all organized labor.

France moved that one language hereafter be used at these conventions, and named Esperanto as the official language. J. Sassenbach, of German, led in the argument against Esperanto, and urged that if one language were to be selected that it should be English, which at the

present time was more universally spoken than any European language. James O'Grady, M. P., of the British delegation, made a short, eloquent speech against Esperanto and the French motion was voted down.

The following extracts from the Annual Report of the International Secretary of the National Trades Centres will be interesting:

"The Executive Board of the Canadian Trade and Labor Congress wrote about representation at the Budapest Conference. Correspondence showed that the Canadian unions are part of the American Federation of Labor, and, of course, would not be entitled to send their own delegate to this Conference."

"All countries with a somewhat important trade union movement, with the exception of Australia, are now represented in the National Secretariat. They number twenty at the present time, namely: Great Britain, France, Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Germany, Austria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Hungary, Croatia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Switzerland, Italy, Spain and North America."

"The total number of affiliated trade union members has increased, during the financial year under revision, from 5,722,600 to 6,033,500. The increase is not due to new affiliations, and proves that our affiliated unions have been able to overcome industrial depression, still felt in many countries and on the whole, even made some progress. Four countries only, reported loss in membership, partly as a result of depression and of industrial disputes, but also in Austria, for instance, of a number of unions dissolving or leaving the National Centre on account of National friction."

"The Sixth International Conference held in 1909, at Paris, passed a resolution requesting trade union centres to use all possible means to bring about the abolition of the compulsory legitimization cards, which had been introduced by Prussia and several other Federated States of the German Empire for workers of foreign nationality. To this effect the following replies in substance had been received:

"Great Britain: A detailed circular letter dealing with the subject had been published and thereupon brought public attention to it."

"Holland: A Socialist member of Parliament during the debate on the budget, put the question to the Foreign Minister and moved that the Minister see that the stipulation of the German-Dutch treaty be better respected by Germany. A vote on the motion was not reached."

"Denmark: A member of the Danish Parliament, on behalf of the Socialist-Democratic Federation, under date of February 9, 1911, addressed a letter to the Foreign Minister on the subject, part

of which stated that Prussia and some other German Federated States had introduced compulsory legitimization cards for workers of foreign nationality, which cards must be presented to the police and signed when workers entered a place or situation. Danish workers had complained against the system and regret was expressed that the late Foreign Minister had not been able to bring about the desired alteration by Germany. These cards were delivered by a private concern, the 'Agricultural Workers' Centre,' to which the fees for the cards must be paid. This was an Agrarian Society, organized to supply laborers for landlords, and the privilege had been conferred on the society by the German government. This unfair system of compulsory cards only applied to foreigners working or looking for work in Germany, while others staying in that country for any purpose, international swindlers, for instance, are exempt from the expense and the inconvenience attached to the system. That the cards had been introduced solely for the purpose of annoying honest workers.

"The Danish Foreign Minister replied under date of March 2, 1911, that out of the many countries near to Germany, only Italy and Holland had entered their protest against those cards. The Italian Ambassador had not received a definite reply, and Holland had dropped the matter, as complaints of Dutch workers had not recently been made. The Swiss Ambassador at Berlin, who had asked for information on the cards, had been informed the German government considered these compulsory legitimization cards were necessary, owing to the large number of workers coming from Slavonian countries, whose passports are often written in languages not understood by German officials; in many cases passports were forged and numerous inconveniences, such as violation of labor contracts, were the result of this state of affairs, and the police regulations were inadequate with regard to the difficulty, so there was reason to believe that it was useless at the present time to suggest to Germany that these regulations be cancelled, and that Italy was the only country at that date which had not dropped its protest against the cards, and that the 'German Agricultural Workers' Centre' had been established at Berlin by the German Ministers of Foreign Affairs, of Agriculture and of Finance, and were under control of them and the Minister of Commerce."

"Germany: The German Reichstag had adopted a resolution, moved by the Socialist-Democratic group, that the system of compulsory legitimization cards should be abolished, but the German Federated Council had not yet rendered a decision on the subject."

"Austria: The subject had been discussed in the Official Journal of the Trade Union Committee and the Socialist-Democratic members of Parliament had repeatedly asked questions in the House, but so far without success."

"Serbia: The Government stated, in reply to a petition of the National Centre of Trade Unions, that the whole measure had originally been drafted by Germany against workers from Austria and Russia, and that the workers of other countries had later on been included owing to the two countries named having protested against the apparent discrimination. That all countries involved now had better opportunity of keeping their workers abroad under control, especially those who later on returned to their native country; that Germany considered the card system necessary and did not apply it to their own workers, because they had other means of keeping them under control, and that Germany considered the system necessary, as it prevented the violation of labor contracts by foreign workers, as every change of employment is entered on the cards and because of these facts the cards are a facility to foreign workers, because they give security to the employer who prefers workers with those cards to those without them."

"Switzerland: The Swiss Trade Unions had petitioned the Federal Council and a Social-Democratic member of Parliament had raised the question in the House. The German reply had been similar to that given to Serbia; no satisfactory results had been secured."

"Italy: Socialistic members of Parliament had questioned the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the German compulsory legitimization cards. The Minister replied, this card system constituted a violation of International law, and promised to do everything within his power to get the Prussian government to abolish the system. Nothing, however, had been achieved. The Italian Socialist members of Parliament intend to renew their attack on the system during the session of the Italian Parliament which meets in November (this month). The Italian trade unions had moved public opinion by means of the trade union and socialist press, but felt that the question could only be settled by way of diplomacy."

The cards above referred to, while in a way performing what the Prussian and other Federated States in the German Empire claimed for them, in reality covertly institute and continue an international black-list against workers who agitate for improved working conditions, who lead in contentions connected therewith, and who urge their fellow men to refuse to continue supplying labor power to employers who, through this obnoxious card system, impose unbearable conditions in contracts for employment and then blacklist the workers who protest.

C. Legien, President of the Federated Trade Unions of Germany, was unanimously re-elected International Secretary, and was given authority to hire assistance. He and J. Sassenbach, the other German delegate, were authorized to vis-

it Eastern Europe, especially the Balkan States and Turkey, with a view to initiate and encourage trade union organization and legislation.

By instruction of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., I invited Herr C. Legien to visit America to deliver addresses in our industrial centres, to study our trade organizations and as much as possible of the details of their accomplishments. He accepted the invitation and intends to visit America next spring time.

He speaks German only, and will be accompanied by Herr Baumeister, of Berlin, one of the interpreters at Budapest, who speaks three languages very fluently, German, English and French, and who is one of the brightest among the young men in the European labor movement.

Thus the Seventh International Conference of representatives of National Trade Union Centres passed into history. Adjournment, like the opening of the meeting, took place without demonstration. All the delegates were invited to attend the opening of the Hungarian Trades Congress in the same building the following (Sunday) morning, at nine o'clock.

The Secretariat convention was noticeable for courtesy, toleration, desire to accomplish and general fraternity among the delegates. The only disturbing element was the display of mental pyrotechnics by misguided Foster, of the I. W. W., and as he was not a delegate, but simply "buted in," his tactics could not be figured up to the actual business of the convention. Numerous trade meetings were attended by the delegates, and the hospitality of the Hungarian Trade Union Organizations on one evening, and of the Social Democratic Organization of that country on another evening, were pleasant social sidelights to the even tenor of discussion in the convention.

On the way to the second function we sailed on the Danube, which divides the city, until we reached an historic island on which is a famous restaurant, and its manager, inspired, no doubt, by the earnestness and hospitality of our entertainers, added an additional laurel to his fame, in providing an excellent Hungarian menu.

#### A FEW WORDS ABOUT HUNGARY GENERALLY.

Hungary, with twenty millions of population, has 700,000 electors.

The natives, with a show of Hungarian pride, continually remind visitors that Hungary is a kingdom governed by a king and a parliament, and that while Franz Josef is emperor of Austria, he is king of Hungary, and with the same show of feeling they indicate that they want no emperor in their country.

An income of 200 kronens, or crowns, a month in cities makes a citizen a voter. In rural districts if a citizen owns a house or land he can vote, but men who work for a living, unless they own property, or have the above income, have no vote.

The Hungarian Parliament is composed

of 450 members, but no working man or one who could be said to represent working men either on a workman's platform or on any other political platform is among them; in fact, speaking generally, working men in Hungary have no political rights.

In Budapest, by far the leading city in the country, poor people pay in rent about 500 crowns a year for one room, and occasionally rent a portion of that same room to a lodger to sleep for a few hours.

Nearly all of the property in Budapest is owned by so-called Nobles and Barons. Jews rent from them nearly all property, and do nearly all commercial business, such as banking, running stores, shops and factories. They also re-rent rooms, tenements, small shops, etc., to poor people, and are blamed by the native poor for overcharging, and many forms of usury.

The Hungarian, and especially the Budapest landlords, have a good organization and refuse to rent rooms, shops, factories, etc., for less than the arranged or established rates named by their organization.

I was informed that working people had organized a semblance of a strike against the extortionate rate of rent and unbearable conditions of houses and shops rented by them. The result was that because of the strike they were refused homes and shops to rent under any circumstances by members of the Landlords' Organization, who thus retaliated by a thoroughly organized and a rigidly conducted boycott. This caused such destitution among the participants in the strike that eventually the Hungarian Government gave them permission to occupy an old and unused barracks infested with rats, and for which they had to pay in rent 500 crowns per year per room in which, and in addition to their other miseries, they had to contend with the rodents for such food as in the circumstances the boycotted people could buy, beg or pick up.

Inhabitants of Hungary and portions of Austria are today in about the same conditions as were the people high and low in Germany and Prussia one hundred years ago, only that the former have not evidently the same ambitions as had the latter; yet it is the general impression that Hungarian civilization is as far in advance of the conditions in the neighboring Balkan States as it is behind modern German civilization.

The working people's day-dreams of emulating German progress are almost balanced by their dread of Slavonic invasion, for when the native Hungarians become troublesome to the Barons, bankers and property owners by demanding improved compensation or conditions of life, they are immediately confronted with the importation of Slavs and even with hundreds of Croats who are imported to take their places, and the latter are said to be even poorer, more docile, and cheaper workers than the Slavs. Thus the way to progress among the working

people in Hungary is beset by difficulties untold to us in such reports as we receive from Eastern Europe.

Yet there is a rift even in Hungarian clouds. I was informed that five years ago the same class of men and women I saw at work were employed twelve and thirteen hours per day. Their working hours in many instances are now down to nine and one-half per day, and in the last few years they have succeeded in securing increases of wages of one hundred per cent. on the rate they received for the longer workday. All of this, too, has been accomplished without legal permission by the Government to hold trade union meetings.

In other words, while without authority by edict of any kind to meet and transact business, state authorities tolerate or rather do not object to them meeting under retain police regulations. Some of the requirements are that one or two representatives of the Police Department attend the meetings, sit next to the presiding officer, make notes of the business transacted, and report every half hour or so by messenger to the Chief of Police what is being said and done, who is saying it, and how it is done.

The delegates to the International Secretariat, perhaps protected by passports, did not have their business so censored or reported, but the Hungarian Trades Congress, which met on the Sunday, 9 a. m., after our Convention had adjourned the previous Saturday afternoon, was attended at the opening and all during its sessions by two police officials in decorated uniforms who asserted their authority on sitting down alongside of the presiding officer by placing their swords in the scabbard quite noisily on the table, so that the jingling sound would make their presence and their official weapons known and feared.

The sight of women employed as hod carriers and building laborers, carrying on their heads or by hand barrows of mortar, brick, and stone, and in pairs carrying lumber, iron and debris up or down gangways as the case might be, at 50 cents a day in summer and 35 cents a day in winter, gave me a nervous chill. Strong of body, stout of limb, arms bare to the shoulders, poorly clad or fed, without shoes or stockings, and carefully selected under the law of the survival of the fittest, they, as human beings begrimed, without hope, without smiles or evidence of the sunshine of life, offered a pitiable contrast to the human butterflies of Hungarian society.

As I watched the drudgery imposed on those poor women, a thought in comparison came to me that in yonder ivy-mantled castle within a cannon shot of where I then stood, were Princess Gladys, she of Vanderbilt pedigree, spending lavishly good American dollars which figuratively had been wrung from the sweat of American labor, and her princely nabob partner living in luxury filched in a way from the manhood and womanhood of Hungarian peasantry, and I involuntarily exclaimed with the poet,—truly

"Man's inhumanity to man  
Makes countless thousands mourn."

If this were all, despair would displace ambition. This cannot long endure. I was informed that in several districts of that magnificently and naturally endowed country where architecture enchants, where public structures and monuments are superb, where art flourishes, where streets and public parks are laid out to please, where gold instead of justice is paramount, where the upper crust revels in luxury and the under crust in abject poverty, where misery is abundant, morality nil, child labor in its worst form, human life a commercial asset, womanhood degraded, her honor smirched, and where the sword means government, that through trade union and socialistic agitation play-grounds for children are becoming popular, many additional public schools are being erected (I doffed my hat to each one I saw), the school age is being extended, and with an ever-increasing proportion of scholars in attendance.

In addition to this evidence of a future and better civilization I was informed that hundreds of Hungarians are returning from America to the native homes they left as peasants, improved in appearance, with somewhat of education, well clad, ambitious, revolutionary, possessed of the wherewithal to acquire and hold property, thereby becoming voters, buying and working their way into the bourgeoisie, or middle-class citizenship which makes them electors and qualified to be elected. They are bent on making progress, on installing a better time, and in some instances where numbers permit, they emphasize their acquired American tendencies by insisting in political and other public meetings on being addressed in the English language.

In this way those who have been with us, who have seen and felt our freedom as compared to theirs, our democracy and our civilization, on their return to their native country are helping to influence the election of men into official positions who hold progressive views, and who in time will transmit their influence with good effect to the Hungarian body politic.

Thus you see economic, social and educational evolution is visible in spots. Too much credit cannot be given to the faithful, patient, but persistent trade unionists and to the hustling, protesting, and militant Socialists of Hungary for the humanitarian and political work they are performing, and for the excellent foundation for development of a future democracy they are laying.

Nearly eighty per cent. of the people in Hungary are practically illiterate. This includes the thousands of Slavs, Croats and other aliens continuously within her borders, drafted thither by designing capitalists and by scheming employers, and who are invariably illiterate, for a little education would be dangerous to the nefarious system to which I refer.

Social and political conditions in Hungary differ so much from ours that comparison is difficult. The Socialist party



is the only organized political protest against aristocracy, feudalism, militarism, and the present system of baronial or vested interests.

It matters little by what name that protest is designated, the fact is evident that it is a contest between an effete and slowly disappearing aristocracy and a young, liberty-breathing demand for freedom under democracy.

Who can say with such influences as work, even although it is an up-hill fight, that through such tendencies as I have just mentioned, as well as from cultivating native aggressiveness, guided and encouraged by constructive action in other countries and with the general development of solidarity among all working people wheresoever dispersed, even Hungary will rise from her economic and political slough of despond and will take her place among more progressive nations.

On leaving Budapest my route would have taken me through Italy and Switzerland, but I was advised not to go to Italy, as cholera was discovered in several Italian cities which I had arranged to visit. Quarantine regulations would have seriously interfered with my subsequent arrangements, and I very reluctantly abandoned visiting that very interesting and historic country.

I reached Vienna, but cholera from Italy had also reached that city. After leaving Vienna I went to Munich, Nuremberg, Wurzburg, Frankfurt on the Main, and sailed down the Rhine from Mayence to Cologne, then to labor centers in Holland, Belgium and France. Each country and city I visited had its own individual as well as general interest. The progressive movement among the common people only differed in detail.

Munich is fairly well organized, and the workers deserve credit and encouragement. This is the great beer-brewing center in Europe. Its beer gardens, like those in Vienna, mean something different than the mere words convey here. Thither poor families, carrying their meagre luncheon with them, repair in the evening to seat, sip the local beverage, listen to music, and to put in the evening in domestic and fraternal exchange of views with whomsoever they may meet, and their richer neighbor from an outlying boulevard may be occupying the next table. These resorts constitute the domestic method of such commingling of the classes as takes place over there.

I cannot help if it jolts our temperance friends to say that, generally speaking, on the continent of Europe where wine and beer are consumed, and where the places dispensing them are seldom, if ever closed, intemperance in the use of intoxicating drinks is almost unknown. This does not apply with the same accuracy to cities like Brussels and Paris, where the demi-monde lead society.

In morality, one having in mind one's Sunday-school lessons and who has been in Europe, wonders why Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed and Brussels and

Paris do flourish. There are other wicked places in Europe than those two cities, but in the latter frivolity is supreme, while in the former sheer poverty has driven the unfortunates from misery to shame.

Munich is in Bavaria. Bavaria is a kingdom of the German Empire. The King of Bavaria has been locked up crazy for over a quarter of a century. I hope the Kaiser and the lesser Kings in the War Lord's Dominions will not feel mentally uneasy at my remark that Bavaria seemed to be the best-governed of the German states.

I said that in some ways the German unions are leading the world. I have reference to compensation and to insurance features. I cannot here go into general details, nor is there need for it, as each specific insurance feature fostered and favored by German and British unions has been made public in our Labor Press and has been treated in detail by some of my colleagues on the Executive Council.

I may, however, without perhaps tiring you, refer to one new feature, namely, life insurance. One insurance company of Germany, The Victoria, in a short time cleared in profits a sum equal to \$25,000,000. The Dresden Trades Congress decided to establish an insurance system, and never in the history of the Capitalistic Press was such a rumpus raised as against this convention.

Old companies had been paying stockholders from 40 per cent. to 60 per cent. on investments, hence the above mentioned press protests. The German trade union system of life insurance goes into effect in January, 1912, under the title of The People's Provident Co., and when securely established, the German unions propose to also put in use a Workers' Fire Insurance system.

This is going on in a country where about 175,000 workers, men and women from the Slavonic races, visit them yearly, accepting employment under contract by the nefarious card system which I have referred to, staying in their country about five months of the year and receiving in wages 15 cents to 50 cents a day of fourteen to sixteen hours in the poorest paid employments, but in some instances from ten to sixteen hours a day. These workers are moved from place to place in fourth-class or cattle cars, and everything possible is done, including supervising marriage regulations, so that they may be kept in their own class.

The syndicate managing this process is located in Prussia, but the head office is in Berlin and requires 700 clerks to transact its official business.

The Co-operative Store System is well established throughout Europe, but is in best shape in Belgium, and which is another instance of peculiar contrasts, for organization of labor is not proportionately high in that country. Its hold on the Co-operative Store System is sufficiently complete, however, to dictate the selling price of bread all over Belgium.

I returned to England, went to Ireland, thence to Scotland, went through

the Trossachs and arrived in Newcastle-on-Tyne during the sessions of the British Trades Congress, and where I had the pleasure of meeting Fraternal Delegates W. B. Macfarlane and D. J. Tobin, and whom I desire to compliment for the practical and business-like way they performed the duties with which the St. Louis Convention honored them.

For reasons already assigned I will not invade their jurisdiction, but speaking of jurisdictional questions the British Trade Congress has an admirable outlet, first by having years ago decided not to take up those questions in the Trades Congress, and second, by indirectly referring them to the British Trades Federation. In magnitude the latter is just entering upon the same interesting period of contention and discussion on this subject that in the past has caused so much dispute and friction in A. F. of L. Conventions. They call it overlapping, but by whatever name a rose may be called, its perfume is just the same.

In further reference to the trade union movement on the Continent, and especially at this stage of my report, as it applies to the labor movement of Great Britain and America, I found a deep-seated feeling in England and Scotland against workers from Germany taking their places for low wages, and frequently during suspensions of work to influence better working conditions. Our fellow unionists in Ireland had little to say about men from the Continent, for emigration continues to be more in evidence than immigration. Having heard something of the above-mentioned complaint before I went to the Continent, I made inquiry about it so that I could tell American workers what was the cause of the complaint which seemed to be the chief point of contention between the British and the continental unions.

I found it was extremely difficult for the Germans to explain the cause to the British, for effort to do so was usually considered to mean more of an excuse than an explanation. The Germans, however, aver that the charge about cheap native workers from their country taking the places of the British during disputes, etc., is not well borne out.

We are accustomed to view the phrase, "Go West, young man" as an Americanism. The idea is really more European than American, for the trend and tendency of migration there is invariably West. Armenian, Balkan and Slavonic races move by large numbers into Hungary and Austria. They find improved conditions. They are moving towards Germany, where they find conditions still better, and they are by increased productivity and compensation preparing to go farther West. If they have not enough money to go to America they move from Germany to Great Britain, where they complete the course of European migration, some remaining, the greater portion in one way or another finally going to North America.

The German worker is not as well com-

pensated as the British worker, and there is inducement for the German to look for better conditions, but much of the contention in Great Britain against Germany, on investigation would be found to be a protest against those from farther East, who in the first place were a menace to the German worker and later to the British.

It is a great international question, and while the process is a source of much annoyance and hindrance to the British, who among us can really blame people brought up under such conditions of poverty and misery as those to which I have referred, for trying to go West to better their condition?

Governments as presently constituted can not cope with the situation, for the influence of all governments seem to be unusually friendly to the rich few and proportionally calloused and cold-blooded against the poor many. Time will change this, as governments become revolutionized towards democracy, but the process is so slow that if it were not for the beneficent features possible under International Trade Unionism, the hearts of the active workers who are striving for improved conditions of life would literally break under the strain.

Here is where International Trade Unionism will play its strongest part. By an intermingling of the representatives of the different countries a better understanding will be reached, the points which have brought success in different parts of the great movement in the civilized world will be brought out, adopted and developed, while the snags and mistakes which impeded the way to material progress and to human liberty will be noted and can be avoided.

Right now a craving for betterment and for freedom is permeating all movements of middle class and lowly society. It may be labelled international insurgency against aristocratic, governmental and judicial tyranny, but whatever its caption may be, the movement for universal uplift of submerged and exploited citizenship was never so much in evidence as at present. They cry for relief from tyranny and the demand for just definition and administration of laws has the dynasty of China on the brink of oblivion, and from there to the capital city of our own country round about in both ways the human tremor is felt. The protests of the older established trade unions are being heard around the world and are bearing good fruit. In the most isolated portions of the universe as well as in the parts most in evidence, we hear the sound and feel the pulse of the general demand for more equitable and more just conditions of life.

The efforts we have made in our time and the efforts others in the past have made before us, have not been lost energy, and although to the difficulties to which I have referred in Eastern Europe may be traced considerable of the lack of faster advancements in Western Europe, in Great Britain, and to some extent in our own country, it is a condition with which we will very largely have to deal

in the economic field, and I do not despair of future accomplishments, although I regret that the procession is moving slowly.

Standing under the shadow of The Hague Temple of International Conciliation and Arbitration and cogitating much on the thoughts I have expressed in this report, my meanderings in Europe riveted in my mind the encouraging sign of the times that such international meetings as those I had attended were cementing fraternal thought along international lines, and was more than ever bringing the workers of all countries to understand that in other pursuits as well as on the industrial field an injury to one is the concern of all. The feeling is growing apace, especially among organized workers, that war internecine, or between nations, must cease. Men will refuse to be involved in controversies whose trend and purpose lead to working people of one country killing and maiming working people of another country through alleged patriotism, but which invariably leads to further governmental power with extension of oppression over the governed.

Bear in mind no mental rumination had not in it that this excellent spirit of true international patriotism among the workers of all countries emanated from the classic structure under the shadow of which I stood. Instead, I realized and was proud of the fact that the Hague Tribunal had been a result of the growth and inculcation of the great efforts I have tried to explain.

I appreciate the honor of having your credential to-Budapest. I gave the best that was in me to faithfully and well represent you, and I close my remarks about Europe and America with an earnest hope, in which I trust you will all join, that long may the beneficent teachings, truths, principles and purposes of International Trades Unionism continue to evolve for the betterment of the human race.

Respectfully submitted,  
JAMES DUNCAN,  
Representative.

After reading the portion of the report in reference to Mr. Foster, of the Industrial Workers, Vice-President Duncan said:

During the proceedings a letter received by this man from Chicago was passed around among the delegates. As only a few of the delegates could read the letter, which was in English, I had it interpreted for the others. The letter is as follows:

Industrial Workers of the World,  
518 Cambridge Building,  
Chicago, Ill., July 21, 1911.  
Vincent St. John,  
General Secretary-Treasurer.  
W. E. Trautman,  
Ass't. Sec. and Gen. Organizer.  
Mr. W. Z. Foster,, Care Mr. Fritz Kater,

C-54 Alte Schonhausen Strasse 20, Berlin, Germany.  
Fellow Worker:

Am mailing you by registered mail this date, general delivery, Budapest, Hungary, dope that we have on hand to date. If we are successful in getting additional dope, will send it on as fast as we get hold of it.

If suggestions are in order and this letter reaches you in time, I would suggest that you get into Budapest as early as possible, look up Basch and hold down the town. Basch may also have some dope that will be of assistance to you.

Have had documents marked so as to help you out in getting at the matter without having to search through the papers. The bound volume of "Socialist Review" has index marked. Try and take good care of all these documents as they will come in handy in the future no doubt.

With best wishes, I am,

Yours for Industrial Freedom,  
(Signed) VINCENT ST. JOHN,  
General Secretary.

Vice-President Duncan—All I have to say in addition to the letter is that I am somewhat fearful the "dope" had effect, because soon after the fracas to which I have referred in my official report took place Mr. Foster came to grief in Budapest. The following day a Hungarian, who had been in this country and could speak some English, came to me and said a subscription paper was being passed around to get Foster out of jail and enable him to return to Berlin. He had been arrested the night before because of some trouble he had with a street car conductor for not paying his fare. I told our friend that since the Roman occupation of that part of the country the roads had been in excellent condition, that pedestrianism was good for the health, and I would therefore refrain from interfering with Mr. Foster's opportunity to benefit his health by walking back to Berlin.

Delegate Tveitmo—I move you that this Convention tender a rising vote of thanks to Delegate Duncan for the able manner in which he has represented the Trades Union movement of America in Budapest, and for the highly interesting and masterly report he brought to us.

The motion was seconded and carried by a unanimous rising vote.

President Gompers—It is a unanimous vote, and the thanks of the Convention are extended to you, Delegate Duncan. The report will be made part of the official proceedings of this Convention.

The local Entertainment Committee an-

nounced the following program of entertainment:

Wednesday, at 2 o'clock, an oyster roast at a brewery.

Thursday, 2 o'clock, barbecue at White City, cars to be in waiting at the door of the Convention hall at 2 o'clock.

Friday night, theater party at Forsyth, tickets to be distributed to delegates, all of the lady delegates and visitors to be included in the party.

President Gompers—The local committee in corresponding with the President on the subject of entertainment was admonished not to take up much of the working time of this convention. The committee was quite lavish in its proffers of entertainment. However, they

pared it down to these two entertainments for tomorrow and Thursday afternoon, the other entertainment to be in the evening. It is suggested that possibly on Wednesday and Thursday the Convention might convene at 9:30 and remain in session until 1:30 or 2 o'clock, then adjourn for the entertainments.

On motion the suggestion in regard to the time for convening and adjourning on Wednesday and Thursday as suggested by President Gompers was adopted.

During the session resolutions numbers 23 to 62 inclusive, were introduced and referred to the proper committees.

At 5:30 p. m. the Convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9 o'clock a. m., Wednesday, November 15th.

## Third Day—Wednesday Morning Session

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Wednesday, November 15th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees:** Pfell, Yount, Friel, Smith (Fred), Roach, Croakley, Price, Dold, Gallagher, (John J.), Gaviak, Kaefel, Kelly (William E.), Anderson (W. H.), Hick, Torrey, Hurley, Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Schneider (John), Wendt, Davis, Welsh (Edward F.), Fuller, James, Winchenback, Ford, Belt, Creamer, Donnelly, Saum, Engdahl, Schaub.

Delegate Moorhouse, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

We have examined the credential submitted from the Brotherhood of Railway Freight Handlers, and recommend that Fred Smith be seated, with 40 votes.

On the credential of the Commercial Telegraphers, in lieu of Perry Thomas, we recommend the seating of Thomas Pinson, he having been duly accredited by his organization, with 10 votes.

On the credential of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers we recommend the seating of G. E. Soyster, with 63 votes, in place of C. E. Mulhall, who is detained by illness. G. E. Soyster is duly accredited by his National organization as an alternate.

We are in receipt of a further protest from T. J. McNamara, of the Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers of America, against the seating of A. J. Kennedy. Your committee recommends that inasmuch as A. J. Kennedy has already been seated as a delegate, no further action be taken.

D. A. CAREY, Chairman.

S. L. LANDERS,

E. FRANK MOORHOUSE, Secretary.

Delegate Carey—I move the adoption of the report of the committee. (Seconded and carried.)

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

"Washington, D. C., Nov. 14, 1911.

"Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor, Atlanta, Ga.:

"The Central Labor Union of Wash-

ington, D. C., sends fraternal greetings to the officers and delegates to the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

"JOHN B. COLPOYS, Secretary."

"New York City, Nov. 13, 1911.

"The Convention of the American Federation of Labor, New Kimball House, Atlanta, Ga.:

"The United Hebrew Trades of New York send you their hearty congratulations. We wish you success. We were also this year very successful in getting the masses of the Jewish speaking workers of New York into the ranks of the trade union. Long live organized labor!"

"B. WEINSTEIN, Secretary."

"Richmond, Va., Nov. 14, 1911.

"Frank Morrison, Secretary A. F. of L. Atlanta, Ga.

"The Executive Boards of the Virginia Federation of Labor and Farmers' Co-operative Union in joint session send fraternal greetings to the A. F. of L. and extend cordial invitation to hold 1912 convention in Richmond.

"S. PHIL METZ, President.

"E. C. DAVISON, Secretary."

"Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 14, 1911.

"American Federation Convention, Main Editorial Hall, Atlanta.

"While the strikers of Cleveland did not succeed in obtaining their just demands their spirit is still unbroken and are ready to take up the fight again when the opportunity will present itself. At present we continue fight by asking organized labor not to buy Cleveland made goods. Let convention urge organized labor to do likewise. With many congratulations and best wishes for the Convention, I am yours for the cause of labor,

"ISRAEL FEIT,

"Second Vice-President Int. Ladies Garment Workers' Union for Cleveland Ladies Garment Workers."

### Report of Auditing Committee.

Delegate Moorhouse, for the Committee, reported as follows:

Atlanta, Ga., Nov. 13, 1911.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Greeting:

Your Auditing Committee having examined all books, receipts, expenditures, vouchers, etc., beg leave to submit the following report:

The total income of the American Federation of Labor from all sources from

October 1, 1910, until September 30, 1911, inclusive, was \$182,188.68, as follows:

Per capita tax	....\$122,958.90
Supplies	..... 9,805.44
Interest	..... 4,372.10
Assessment United Hatters (3 cts.)	.. 162.54
Defense fund	..... 16,010.75
Premiums on bonds	2,988.55
AMERICAN FED-ERATIONIST	... 18,213.98
Assessment Los Angeles	..... 19.06
Legal Defense Fund	19.06
Assessment United Hatters	..... 7,638.30

Total receipts for the year..\$182,188.68  
Balance on hand September 30, 1910 .....

Grand total.....\$365,103.64  
The expenses from October 1, 1910, until September 30, 1911, inclusive, were \$175,524.08, as follows:

German American Bank, September 1, 1911, No. 14018	.....\$10,000.00
German American Bank, September 30, 1911, No. 14105	..... 15,000.00
First National Bank, September 30, 1911, No. 9004	..... 15,000.00
First National Bank, September 30, 1911, No. 9005	..... 15,000.00
First National Bank, November 1, 1911, No. 9186	..... 5,000.00
The Peoples' Bank, July 6, 1911, No. 8471	..... 10,000.00
The Peoples' Bank, September 1, 1911, No. 8807	..... 5,737.24
The Peoples' Bank, October 13, 1911, No. 8915	..... 5,000.00
The Peoples' Bank, November 1, 1911, No. 8966	..... 10,000.00
The State National Bank, June 8, 1911, No. 106995	..... 10,000.00
The State National Bank, June 8, 1911, No. 106996	..... 10,000.00
The State National Bank, June 8, 1911, No. 106997	..... 10,000.00
The State National Bank, September 18, 1911, No. 107868	..... 5,000.00
The State National Bank, October 13, 1911, No. 108058	..... 10,000.00
McLean County Bank, September 1, 1911, No. 2391	..... 5,000.00
McLean County Bank, September 20, 1911, No. 2393	..... 5,000.00
McLean County Bank, September 20, 1911, No. 2394	..... 5,000.00
McLean County Bank, September 20, 1911, No. 2395	..... 5,000.00
McLean County Bank, September 20, 1911, No. 2396	..... 5,000.00
McLean County Bank, September 20, 1911, No. 2397	..... 5,000.00
Total	.....\$165,737.24

On deposit in the McLean County Bank, of Bloomington, Ill., subject to check of John B. Lennon, Treasurer	.....21,842.32
On deposit in the Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C., September 30, 1911, subject to check of Frank Morrison, Secretary	.....\$21,529.71
Outstanding checks	..... 19,529.71
Balance	..... 2,000.00
Total Balance in banks September 30, 1911	.....\$189,579.56

In conclusion, we desire to express our appreciation of the excellent system in vogue at Headquarters in conducting the business of the American Federation of Labor.

A thorough and searching examination of the books, records, vouchers, etc., was made, and we desire to compliment President Samuel Gompers, Secretary Frank Morrison and the efficient staff for their work.

DAVID A. CAREY, Chairman.  
SAMUEL L. LANDERS,  
E. FRANK MOORHOUSE,  
Secretary.

General account	...\$137,973.94
AMERICAN FED-ERATIONIST	.... 20,913.56
Defense Fund	..... 4,192.00
Premiums on bonds	1,448.38
Legal defense assessment	..... 70.78
Assessment United Hatters (2 cts.)	.. 10,925.62

Total expenses for the year..\$175,524.08

#### Recapitulation.

On hand, October 1, 1910	.....\$182,914.96
Total receipts	..... 182,188.68

Total receipts .....\$365,103.64  
Expenses ..... 175,524.08

Balance on hand, October 1, 1911 .....\$189,579.56  
Showing that the receipts exceeded the expenses by \$6,664.60.

We find the total sum of \$189,579.56 balance on hand, as follows:  
Certificates of deposit shown us by President Samuel Gompers, as held by Treasurer John B. Lennon, deposited in the following banks of Bloomington, Ill.:

Delegate Carey—I move the adoption of the report of the committee. (Seconded and carried.)

#### Assignment of Subjects to Committees.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT. That portion of the report of President Gompers under the caption "Organization and Growth," referred to the Committee on Organization. That portion under the caption "The International Secretariat," referred to the Committee on Resolutions. That portion under the caption of "Organizers,"

referred to the Committee on Organization.

#### Executive Council's Report.

That portion of the report under the caption "New Unions Chartered—Organization," referred to the Committee on Organization. That portion under the caption "Organizers," referred to the Committee on Organization. That portion under the caption, "Organizers," relating to increase of per capita tax referred to the Committee on Laws. That portion under the caption "Building Trades Department—U. B. of Carpenters—Steam Fitters," referred to Building Trades Committee. That portion under the caption "United Brotherhood of Carpenters—Amalgamated Wood Workers," referred to Committee on Adjustment. That portion under the caption "Amalgamated Carpenters—U. B. of Carpenters," referred to Committee on Adjustment. That portion under the caption "Electrical Workers," referred to Building Trades Committee. That portion under the caption "Machinists—Elevator Constructors," referred to Committee on Adjustment. That portion under the caption "Teamsters—Bakers," referred to Committee on Adjustment. That portion under the caption "Theatrical Stage Employees—Electrical Workers—Moving Picture Operators," referred to Committee on Adjustment. That portion under the caption "Organized Farmers," referred to Committee on Organization. That portion under the caption "Union Label Leagues," referred to the Committee on Law. That portion under the caption, "A. F. of L. News Letter," referred to Committee on Education. That portion under the caption "A. F. of L. Office Building," referred to the Committee on President's Report. That portion under the caption "Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation Laws," referred to the Committee on President's Report. That portion under the caption "Industrial Accidents," referred to the Committee on Resolutions. That portion under the caption "Industrial Education," referred to the Committee on Education. That portion under the caption "Pure Food, Pure Drugs," referred to the Committee on Resolutions. That portion under the caption "New Mexico's Constitution," referred to the Committee on Resolutions. That portion under the caption

"International Secretariat," referred to the Committee on Resolutions. That portion under the caption "Boy Scout Movement," referred to the Committee on Resolutions. That portion under the caption "Conservation Natural Resources," referred to the Committee on Education. That portion under the caption "White Rats Actors' Union—Benefit Performances," referred to Special Committee to be appointed in accordance with the recommendations of the Executive Council. That portion under the caption "Labor Representation Committee's Report," referred to the Committee on President's Report.

In the report as originally read the portion of the Executive Council's Report under the caption "Amalgamated Carpenters—U. B. Carpenters," was referred to the Building Trades Committee. Delegate Duffy (F.) requested that it be transferred to the Committee on Adjustment. No objection being offered at the time, President Gompers stated that it would be so transferred.

Delegate Wilkinson—I move that the portion of the report dealing with the dispute between the Amalgamated Carpenters and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters be given back to the Building Trades Committee to which it was originally assigned.

Vice-President O'Connell—I second the motion, Mr. Chairman.

Delegate Kelly (W. J.), raised a point of order that the transfer had been adopted by unanimous consent and a reconsideration would be necessary before the motion before the house would be in order. The point of order was declared not well taken.

Delegate Wilkinson spoke in favor of the motion.

Delegate Duffy (F.) opposed the motion.

A viva voce vote was taken on the motion offered by Delegate Wilkinson. The chair not being able to decide on an aye and nay vote called for a show of hands. The motion was then declared lost by a vote of 99 in the negative to 60 in the affirmative.

Vice-President Huber—I wish to again decline to serve as chairman of the Building Trades Committee. My best judgment tells me I have no business on that committee.

President Gompers—Is there objection? Delegate Carter moved that declination

of Vice-President Huber be accepted. (Seconded and carried.)

President Gompers—The chair will make an appointment later on. Until that appointment is made, the delegate next on the committee, Delegate Short, will act as chairman.

The announcement was made that Delegate Kline, appointed as chairman of the Committee on Treasurer's Report, had been called away from the Convention, and that Delegate Skemp would act in his place.

On motion of Delegate Wilson (W. B.), the addresses of fraternal delegates was made a special order of business for 10 o'clock a. m. Thursday.

During the session Resolutions Nos. 63 to 83 inclusive, were submitted and referred to the proper committees.

No committees being ready to report, at 10:30 a. m. the rules were suspended, and a recess taken to 1:30 p. m. of the same day.

### Third Day—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 1:30 p. m., Wednesday, November 15th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Pfell, Smith (Fred), Roach, fer, Kelly (Wm. E.), Anderson (W. H.), Ferry, Hurley, Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Schneider (John), Wendt, Davis, Welsh (Edward F.), Fuller, Winchenback, Ford, Belt, Cramer, Donnelly, Saum, Schaub.

President Gompers—The committees are not ready to report. What is the pleasure of the Convention?

Delegate Barnes (J. M.)—I move that the rules be suspended and that the Convention adjourn to 9:30 tomorrow morning. (Seconded.)

After announcement of committee meetings, resolutions 84 to 95 inclusive, were introduced and referred to the proper committees.

At 2 o'clock the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9:30 a. m., Thursday, November 16th.



## Fourth Day---Thursday Morning Session

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Thursday, November 16th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees:** Pfeil, Smith, (Fred), Roach Coakley, Price, Dold, Gaviak, Kaefer, Kelly (William E), Anderson (W. H.), Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Hobbs, Davis (William A.), Fuller, Winchenback, Ford, Belt, Saum, Schaub.

Delegate Moorhouse, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

Your committee has received the credential of the Glove Makers' International Union, and recommend that Agnes Nestor be seated, with nine votes.

D. A. CAREY, Chairman.

S. L. LANDERS,

E. F. MOORHOUSE, Secretary,

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Morrison read a communication from the United Garment Workers' organization in St. Louis, announcing the termination of the trade dispute between the members of that organization and the firm of Marx & Haas, clothing manufacturers, and expressing gratitude to organized labor for help rendered during the struggle.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

"New York, November 15th, 1911.

"Mr. Frank Morrison,  
American Federation of Labor Convention, Atlanta, Ga.

"The Water Front Federation of New York and Vicinity by unanimous vote of its delegates in regular meeting assembled and representing one hundred and sixty thousand transport workers in this port endorses and pledges its support to a transport workers' department of the American Federation of Labor.

"W. S. CARTLEDGE,  
"Secretary Water Front Federation  
of New York and Vicinity."

"Seattle, Wash., Nov. 15, 1911.

"Frank Morrison,  
Care of American Federation of Labor Convention, Atlanta, Ga.

"The Seattle Hotel Men's Association extends to your body a cordial invitation to hold your 1912 Convention in this city. Our beautiful climatic conditions, together with the scenic beauties which surround our city, also a positive assurance that the hotel rates will remain nor-

mal at all times, will assure the visiting delegates to this Convention a good time in the queen city of the Northwest.

"SEATTLE HOTEL MEN'S ASS'N.,  
"H. E. Kennedy, Secretary,"

"New York, Nov. 15, 1911.

"Mr. Frank Morrison, American Federation of Labor Convention, Atlanta, Ga.:

All Maritime Unions of the Atlantic, composed of Sailors, Marine Firemen and Marine Cooks, Stewards and Waiters and covering the greatest Maritime District in the United States, endorse and pledge their united support to a transport workers' department of the American Federation of Labor. Verbatim resolutions adopted follow by mail.

"H. P. GRIFFIN,  
"Secretary Marine Cooks' and Stewards' Union of the Atlantic.

"JAMES VIDAL,  
"Secretary Marine Firemen's Union of Atlantic and Gulf.

"D. SASSEN,  
"Atlantic Coast Seamen's Union, New York."

"Caguas, Puerto Rico,

"November 6, 1911.

"Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Atlanta, Ga.

"Dear Sir and Brother:

"Federal Labor Union No. 13134, of Caguas, Puerto Rico, sends greetings to the officers and delegates assembled in convention in Atlanta, Georgia.

"Although when this letter reaches you the Convention will have assembled, and though not represented in the Convention by a delegate, we thus convey by mail our hearty good wishes for the Convention.

"We are hoping much from the work of the Convention and trust that the condition of the people of Puerto Rico, as regards the rights of citizenship, will not be overlooked by the Convention.

"The workers of Puerto Rico are in full sympathy with the efforts being made for the defense of the McNamara brothers.

"Again we desire to repeat the expression of our best wishes for the work of the Convention.

Fraternally yours,

"FEDERAL LABOR UNION, No. 13134,

"By Lorenzo Bouillia Flores.

"Financial Secretary."

BAKERY AND CONFECTIONERY WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA, LOCAL NO. 48.

"Caguas, Puerto Rico, Nov. 7, 1911.

"To the Officers and Delegates, Convention A. F. of L., Atlanta, Ga.

"Greeting:

"Although when this letter reaches you, the Convention will have been in session

for several days, yet we desire to convey our best wishes for the success of the Convention.

Fraternally yours,  
 "ANDRES ORELLANO,  
 "Secretary Financial.  
 "IGNACIO RODRIGUEZ,  
 "Secretary Recording."

President Gompers announced that Frederick W. Gardner, President of the Buck Stove and Range Company, had sent a letter requesting that a number of attractive souvenirs be distributed to the delegates, and instructed that they be distributed during the time set for the introduction of resolutions.

Delegate O'Connor (T. V.), moved that the telegram from the Water Front Federation of New York be made part of the record of the Convention. President Gompers stated that if no objections were offered all the communications read would be made part of the proceedings.

President Gompers announced that upon the adjournment of the session the delegates were requested to proceed to the State Capitol, where a group photograph of the Convention would be taken.

At 10 o'clock President Gompers announced that the hour had arrived for the addresses of fraternal delegates. President Gompers stated that the fraternal delegates had arranged their order of speaking and introduced as the first speaker Mr. J. Crinlon, representing the British Trades Union Congress.

Fraternal Delegate Crinlon—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: In the name of the British Trades Union Congress I convey to you their hearty greetings, and in the name of two million, four hundred thousand organized workers of Britain their sincere wishes for your success in this, your thirty-first Convention.

Mr. Chairman and Friends, it is my intention to touch as briefly as I can upon industrial questions that are before the British public. And in so doing I wish to bring it under the heading of the Federation of Trades Unions, a federation which is conducted principally on the same lines as your own federation. The federation is looked upon as the militant part of our trades union movement, is an offspring from the Trades Union Congress, and has the great Labor disputes, strikes and lockout that take place in our country to deal with. We recognize that we have too many unions and far too few trades unionists. We have many unions similar to each other, but still claiming their own autonomy, with few members in their individual societies. The federation has set about to bring about a better understanding by having fewer unions and having members more amalgamated or federated than they have been in the past.

When the Federation of Trades Union came into being in 1899 there were forty-three societies and three hundred and forty-three thousand members connected with it. Today it possesses no less than one hundred and forty societies with seven hundred and fifty thousand members. This will show you that we are taking a step in the right direction. Considering that it is only thirteen years since the formation of our Federation we can claim that we have done much useful and serviceable work in behalf of the industrial toilers of Great Britain.

In recent years we have used our persuasion to the effect that we have been able to bring about an understanding with the general laborers, numbering some twelve organizations, to federate together in, practically speaking, one common union. This has had the good results many of you have read of in this country in the recent upheaval we have had, where the dockers, the seamen, the carters and many other labor organizations, that for long, long years had been asking, pleading, I might say, to the employers for an improvement in their working conditions, were able to improve their conditions. For many years they had pleaded, but all their pleadings having fallen on deaf ears. They made up their minds to put up with their conditions no longer. The result was the cry of "Down with tools!" and by downing the tools those men proved they were not to be trifled with any longer, and their position is much improved today by that action.

Many people in our country had hoped to find, because it was they said an interference with trade, a paralyzing of the industries of the country, that some drastic measure might be taken to prevent a recurrence of that action. But before that can be accomplished workers of our country will have to be accounted with, because long enough have they stood silently and borne the brunt of the capitalist classes. Now they are determined that it shall not again come to pass that the laborer will not be able to command a decent return for his labor and decent conditions to live under. No matter what the criticisms may have been, those in the movement believe they were justified in the action they took.

I am only sorry that I have to stand here and say that I think the mistake that was made—a mistake that should have been foreseen years ago—was made by the railway workers in our country. Had they been inside the federated movement of the country they would not have come out as badly as they did, and it would not have come to pass that a commission was suggested by the government when these men had victory almost in sight. This commission, the men were led to believe, would be favorable in its findings toward them. You have all read for yourselves what those findings were. Those men back at their work are, practically speaking, in the same position they were before they left it. The findings of the commission—what were they? That the men shall have

the right to select whom shall be their secretary. It may be their general secretary or it may be a secretary agreed upon and appointed by the men to go along with a committee. A committee of what kind? A committee that is working for some of the railway companies, men who cannot go honestly, without fear of their situations being jeopardized, to voice the feelings and sentiments of their class.

I say that such a proposal is not worthy of picking up to read, because I hold the men have a right to say whom they will appoint and whether or no it will be officers they will select to represent them in official position, not men selected from the company, who have to meet and deal with these questions with them across the table. Furthermore, their finding is that there shall be no interference with the management or discipline of these great railways. What underlies that? Do I need to tell you? You understand quite as well and perhaps better than I do what underlies it. Men may be marked for taking an advanced view, men may be marked for having the courage to say they will not submit to any kind or condition of labor or wages that may be paid. What will be the result? Marked men must go. If any one questions the rights of the men it will be said, "Hands off! You have no right to interfere with the management or discipline or the way we run those locomotives across our lines!"

Such a state of affairs is not worthy of men, but that is the findings of the commission that was appointed. All I have to say is that while we as a federation of trades unions do stand for the working men who are looked upon, as I said before, as a militant part of our movement, this is the finding of the commission and the men have accepted it for the time being. But while the time is coming when they can act again in the matter they should prepare the financial side of the question, and then if they cannot get a hearing in a reasonable and proper manner from the great railway magnate, then, by all means, let them strike and stick to it, and heed no commissions or government interference until they have the victory they deserve.

As there are several other fraternal delegates to speak I shall have to briefly skim over the work we have further in hand. There are many of the trades or callings represented in this Convention, and perhaps it would not be out of place to give something of what is being done by the trades in our federation. The glass workers in our country numbered sixteen small unions. We have been able to bring together fifteen of them and form one grand union. The sixteen organizations were small in number, and each viewing things in their own light were practically at the mercy of the employers. Now that they are federated the employer can no longer look upon them in the same light he did when they were so many small fragments. Then we have the gold and silver trades unions, which numbered thirteen, with only twelve hun-

dred members. You will readily see that with so many unions it was really a waste of energy and funds, because they were paying thirteen officials, had different committees and executives, and the money that ought to be going into one exchequer and to one set of officials, providing for a fighting fund, as we call it in our country, was divided among these organizations.

Then we have the Iron Foundry trades, numbering seven, with thirty-five thousand members. This included the core makers, the plate molders, the bench molders, and some branches I am not thoroughly acquainted with. We have been able to get these people to see the benefit of federation or amalgamation, and at the present time they have agreed among themselves and have drafted a code of rules, contributions and benefits to be paid, and are now taking a ballot of the members of those seven associations. That to me is a step in the right direction; it is one of the things I admit ought to be copied in our country, because it is similar to what you have in the United States of America. This is recommended by each of the Executive Councils, and I have no doubt it will be accepted by the rank and file of the members.

Now, coming to the engineers, Shipwrights Provident and the Shipwrights Constructive Association who were out on the river Thames, London, for a working agreement. They were also out for increased rates of pay during the time the upheaval was on. But although many of the labor disputes were out of the way there was a stand made of one part of the shipping employers. They would not recognize the men or their leaders. The men and their employers were looking on, neither doing anything.

During the trouble the Board of Trade was seeking to come in, to the credit of the men they said, "No, we have no desire for you yet. We are capable of managing our own affairs. But if we do want any assistance that assistance must come from the federated trades union movement." And that assistance did come, because no other person than our respected secretary, Mr. Appleton, approached the employers and the men as a mediator between them, where the Board of Trades failed, and got the men and employers together. And a code of rules was drawn up which lifted the wages and dealt with the hours in a way satisfactory to the men concerned. The Board of Trade became annoyed at the Federation as a result. Let me tell you that on the advisory boards we have recently had appointed, because the Federation is the militant part of our movement, it has been ignored. Let me say that although that industrial board has been formed, do not believe that it carries with it the trades union movement of our country. About it the trades union movement of our country has never been consulted. We knew nothing of what the work of these industrial boards was to be. No scheme was placed before the trades union movement, yet the Gov-

ernment through the Board of Trade office appointed men, naming them as representatives of Labor, and Labor had no voice at all in the appointment. I am satisfied that the trades union movement will allow neither the Government, the Board of Trade, or any other outside body, the right to arrogate to itself the privilege of saying who shall represent labor in our country.

Now I will speak briefly concerning my own craft. Perhaps there is not here any great representation from my trade. I can quite understand why that is the case. You have many different tongues spoken here; in fact, this is the resting place of the world, I believe. I can quite understand the difficulties that are in the way of the cotton people in organizing their craft. I am told that there is not twenty per cent of the workers in that craft in this country in the organization. I am sorry to hear that. Only last night a gentlemen who happened to come from the same town as myself, but who had been in the City of Atlanta for the past twenty years, said that when he saw a photograph of the Convention that appeared in the paper he remarked: "That strikes me as Crinion from Oldham, and I am going to find out whether it is so." He came here yesterday and we talked about things at home and conditions here. He said: "I will take you around this city and you can see for yourself in one or two cotton mills the conditions that prevail. I am satisfied when you have seen them you will deplore the pitiable plight of the white people in those mills. You can take it from me—and I know what I am speaking of—from what I have seen in the old country and from what I have seen here, that the white people in the cotton mills of Atlanta are much worse off than the colored people."

I was very sorry to hear that. I don't know how you people will agree with me when I say they are much worse off than the colored people. Not that I in any way despise the colored man; in my opinion he is as worthy as I am; but I knew what my friend said has as its meaning that the white man should be getting better returns for his labor and better treatment than he is getting in the cotton mills of Georgia.

I have heard it stated that the workers as a whole have no newspaper they can call their own. That was an error on the part of the person who made the statement. I know there are people here who receive papers from our country that give the conditions of our workers, their wages and the hours they work. That is all contributed by the representatives of the workers themselves. That journal is the Cotton Factory Times. It is devoted wholly and solely to the condition of the workers in our mills. Then we have the Yorkshire Woolen Factory Times. That also is devoted wholly and solely to the workers, to the woolen workers of Yorkshire. I do not want you to think that all labor in England is alike unrepresented by any press. It is on the tapis to start a paper in the labor interests, representing not only the trades union

movement but the work in parliament. I believe there is a prospectus before the country asking for capital to be subscribed to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, not dollars, but one hundred and fifty thousand sovereigns.

What has our craft been able to accomplish? Our craft in a sense was unorganized twenty-five years ago. Then we counted hundreds to our thousands today. Twenty-five years ago we were at the mercy of our employers. That is no longer the case. During those twenty-five years we have had a thirteen-weeks' stoppage of our mills, we have had a twenty-one weeks' stoppage, we have had a seven weeks' stoppage, and we had a one week's stoppage only a matter of a year ago. Notwithstanding these stoppages and starting from rock bottom, we have been able as textile workers to place many laws on the statute books and to get many fixed agreements between ourselves and the employer, or the Home Secretary. We have a clause which defines the work of every female piecework hand in the mill. The female who goes into our mills knows exactly the work that will be cut out for her, the price that she will be paid, and it is an impossibility for the employer to take away a cent from her wages. She knows how much is coming to her at the week's end, and if she is one cent short, she can ask the employer to refund it. If she fails to get it she will not be long in bringing it to the notice of our union and asking our officials to deal with the employer. In this organization I have the honor to be at the head of, the local union in the town where I reside has twenty thousand members, has its own office and four hundred and twenty thousand dollars to its credit. That money is invested in corporation stock and the interest more than pays the working expenses of the organization.

While in New York my colleague and myself attended a meeting of his craft and heard a discussion of the printers' grievance in regard to tuberculosis. We have had the same question, and have it yet to some degree, in our mills at home. The cause was that they were not in a proper sanitary condition, that we had not the means of taking away the dust and lint. We had to toll under those conditions in former days, but during the past two years, through the agitation that was started by the cotton workers of Lancashire and adjacent counties, we have been able through the Home Office to bring pressure to bear on the employers to compel them to install in each of their mills apparatus that will take away all the dust and loose fibres the workers of our department had to inhale.

Not only have we been able to improve the sanitary conditions, but we have succeeded in having machinery guarded. Employers must see that the dangerous parts of all machinery are properly fenced. Only within these last twelve months we have been able to bring inspectors, employers and ourselves together at the

same table and showed that this or that machine was not properly fenced. The employer has been given to understand by the inspectors under our government that those things must be attended to, and that without delay. The time is not long ago when we would be told to go and attend to our own business and not interfere with them in their management and control of their mills if such a thing had been suggested.

Another thing we have been able to accomplish for the cotton workers has to do with what we call robbery by the employers of those who were paid by the hour. Although our Factory Act says the working hours shall be 55 1-2 a week, many employers ran their mills 67 and 68 hours a week. Those men who were putting in the extra hours received no compensation for it. We took the matter before the Home Secretary. While it has not been placed on the statute book we have what is very effective in check-in—such a nefarious piece of business. Whereas inspectors used to come along and if they caught a mill employing two or three hundred people, forty or fifty being paid by the day, running over time they would summons five or six persons to the court. The piece hands are all right, because the longer the machinery is running the more they earn. They would summons five or six persons who were working by the day and would find the firm guilty, perhaps. What would be the penalty? In one case it would be ten shillings and cost, and in another only the cost. That would amount to only a few pounds. The firm would immediately leave court and go back and resort to the same thing. But that is not the case to-day. The inspectors have been given instructions to bring all the hands employed in that mill in our department to court if they choose to do so. And they do it. They are bringing twenty, thirty and forty persons to court, and it is no longer a fine of ten shillings and cost, or merely the cost, but one and two pounds and cost, making it in some cases something like one hundred pounds for an average mill. Not only that, but the police who patrol our streets are instructed during the winter months, and even in the summer months, if they happen to be on their beats nearby any of these mills, to walk into the mill office and ask why the mill is still at work when it is past the hour. That is accomplishing something in nipping the robbery of the working people.

There is one thing we have that I notice is on your agenda. That is the half-time question. That half-time question is attracting the attention of our people at home. At least 95 per cent of the representatives are as much opposed to half time as any person in this convention. It is the one black spot that remains upon the escutcheon of our country now. I wish it were possible to remove it. A parent who has any regard for his children will not turn them over to the mills at the tender age of twelve years. I am speaking now my own individual opinion, because I know there are some few officials who hold a different opinion.

A majority of the rank and file we represent are not of the opinion I am; but, nevertheless, I claim I have a right to my own individual opinion, and that is that the half-timers should be abolished in our mills. I know that along with representatives that you have had from our country before, the late James Maudsley, the late David Holmes, the late Henry Wilkinson, myself, Mr. Mullen and David Shackleton some years ago were selected to meet Members of Parliament, with a Member of the Government in the chair. The school teachers were up in arms against the children going to the mills and the workshop. The employers tried to make much of it by parading the fact that the six representatives of labor had come through the mill as half-timers. They described the men, from Mr. Shackleton as a veritable giant, down to myself as a small, muscular man. That was twelve or fourteen years ago. I want to say, frankly that although we went through the mill as half-timers, that the half-time of those days was much easier than it is today. The half-time to-day has considerable more work to contend with and the stress is greater than it was in my day. We have all our adults calling now for a forty-eight-hour week or an eight-hour day; we have them also complaining of the great strain imposed upon them. If that is so with the adult it is much more so with the young children who are turned into the mills and the workshops.

We are seeking to bring about the eight-hour day. We have a Cotton Bill drafted and drawn up by our own Legislative Council, and I believe it will find its way to the House of Commons in this session. We propose to deal with it in the following manner: We will take it by easy stages. If we go for a forty-eight-hour week from a fifty-five and one-half-hour week we are likely to spend years in agitating and trying to explain without getting nearer. We recognize that we will have the employers and the capitalists against us. We propose as an amendment to the Factory and Workshop Act of 1901 that we shall say after July, 1912, to the end of July, 1913, that we start work on Monday at 9 a. m., leaving that week to be fifty-three hours. From 1913 to 1914 we will start on Tuesday at 9 a. m., leaving that working week fifty hours, and after July, 1914, start work on Monday at 8:30 a. m. and cease work for the week on Friday evening. In other words have Saturday and Sunday as clear days of rest.

I know there is a universal demand on the part of the organized movement and throughout our Congress for a forty-eight hour week. Some have got the forty-eight-hour week, but not many. We feel that we can get and will get the ear of the Government and also be able to convince the employer that it is useless to stand in the way of this desired improvement in behalf of cotton workers.

Let me say here that beyond the local I have spoken of, with its 20,000 members, we have an amalgamation of our own section of 57,000 members worth over

800,000 dollars. We have the card and blowing room operatives in one union, the spinners in another, the weavers are in their union and the twisters and drawers all have their separate unions and their own autonomy. We do not interfere with each others' work in any way or shape. Although I started in my early life as a little piecer in the mills I left the spinning room at sixteen or seventeen years of age to go into the card room. Although I have some slight knowledge of the spinning room I think it would be before the spinners of their work. They sented if I were to express any opinion claim that I know nothing at all about it. I grant it to save argument. Likewise I claim that they do not understand my work, and so it goes throughout the whole cotton industry in my country. Each representative has his own affairs to attend to, wages and hours to adjust, and after that is done we get together. We have what is known as a United Textile Workers' Association, which embraces the whole of the workers in the cotton mills and the bleachers. We have from that body a legislative council, with representatives serving from each section. That body deals with legislative matters only; it has nothing whatever to do with the internal affairs of the separate organization. That body has accomplished very, very much useful work. That body in the earlier days, perhaps before many unions in our country thought of taking up the question of workmen's compensation, was instrumental largely in shaping that act and getting it before the government by the labor party and placed on the statute books. That act in itself, although it may not be all that is desired, was considered in our country one of the greatest boons that had been conferred upon the workers. I know this quite well, and I have had thirty years' connection with my own association, five years in minor offices and twenty years in my present position. I know if I had stood up twenty years ago and talked about a workman's compensation act, if I had said the workers would see the day when, if they happened to be maimed while following their calling, they would get fifty per cent of their earnings, they would have said there was something wrong and strange about that man and he ought to be taken away to an asylum.

We have in my office at home no less than 800 claims per annum. Seven are of those who were permanently incapacitated from following their usual occupations. During the past two years there were seventeen cases of injury to members that put them beyond following their usual occupations, but not permanently incapacitating them from following other work. Through being connected with the union, after drawing for months, and in some cases years, fifty per cent of their wages, I have been able to recover for them a sum of \$20,675.00. To recover that sum did not cause the injured persons one minute's anxiety, nor has it cost the association, beyond pen, ink, paper and stamps, one cent.

I am afraid I am taking more of your time than I ought to take, but there is one more matter I wish to talk upon. I am given to understand that the Textile Workers of this country have decided to throw in their lot with our International movement. We have an International textile movement that has been going on for close to twenty years. In it are Germany, Austria, France, Belgium, Denmark, Switzerland and Holland. I hope to be able to read next year at home or to hear tell at our committee meeting to be held next year at Stuttgart, Germany, that America is also with us.

I feel deeply grateful for the honor conferred upon me in having the privilege of speaking before such a great federation as you have here. You have a great country, and much of it I have seen strikes me as having plenty of room for all. You have much work on hand, but judging from the able reports I have heard from this platform, from your genial and well-informed chairman and other officials, you are in fairly good trim.

From the bottom of my heart I thank you for the manner in which you have received me and for the kind hospitality you have meted out. I am sure no one could desire more. Friends, I thank you all.

President Gompers introduced to the Convention Mr. G. H. Roberts, Fraternal Delegate from the British Trades Union Congress.

Fraternal Delegate Roberts—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Like my colleague I am charged by the British Trades Union Congress, that representative institution of Trades Unionism in the Old Country, by my colleagues of the Labor Party in the House of Commons, Socialists and labor men alike, and by many of Great Britain's most distinguished sons and daughters to bring you greetings, fraternal, sincere and heartfelt. As you observe, this Convention and our Congress exchange these greetings year by year, nevertheless they are never stale, for I believe we may say the attachment is animated by a true friendship, it possesses a rich and rare and correct understanding and also enjoys some of the attributes of music, for there is, if I am able to apprehend things aright, little difference in our aims, and meanwhile our methods become more and more attuned to one accord.

This is my first visit to your great Continent, still I have not felt strange. As soon as I set foot on shore I was received with such cordiality and acclaim that all reserve was dispelled and I felt to be at once admitted into the inner courts of the temple of American Labor. I felt that you had desired me to come, that you were glad I had arrived, that you were anxious to hear the message with which I was charged, and that you were equally willing that I should learn something of the methods you pursue in this great country.

During the reading of the reports from this platform I have found myself environed with a very familiar atmosphere.

It appears that in every country in the world the workers have the same interests; they are engaged in the identical struggle; that east and west, white and colored are all striving today for the realization of that fuller and completer life which we claim to be due to every human being.

My colleague has in an interesting fashion told you of some of the recent developments in the Old Country, how the sailors and the firemen, the dock laborer, the carmen, aye, and not forgetting many grades of women workers, have made manifest their determination to put an end to the slavery that has hitherto been their lot, and they are claiming for their labor a fair living wage which will allow them to enjoy life as it ought to be enjoyed by human beings.

My colleague made some observations respecting the strike in which our railway workers engaged. Like him I always prefer to be perfectly candid. Whenever workers suffer a setback in Great Britain or elsewhere it is due to some failure of their own, and we have to remark that the workers on our railway systems have never been suitably or appropriately organized. The railway magnates are aware of that, and I would like to emphasize the moral that he has drawn from that experience—that the railway workers, like every other worker, must realize that he will only win that which he is strong enough to compel, that mere pleading will never suffice. You have been strong enough to compel the railway and other employers to make concessions to you.

It is quite true that certain of my colleagues and myself were called upon to take a hand in that railway dispute. Three members of the Labor Party, my chairman, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, my colleague, Mr. Arthur Henderson, and myself were called upon to act as the intermediary between the different parties. But it cannot be denied, even by ourselves, who were friends of the men and anxious for their victory, that their weakness lay in the lack of organization; because where railway workers are thoroughly organized they cannot possibly be resisted, they get the recognition to which they are entitled and their demands receive more favorable consideration. Therefore, we have to learn the lesson of complete organization, of perfect loyalty, appreciative all the while that whatever methods we may be adopting, in the last resort the result will depend upon the strength and the perfection of our respective bodies.

Whilst in Great Britain we have a great deal to lament, still our Trades Unions are progressing. Older methods are being discarded; small, ineffective organizations are being eliminated; the principle of amalgamation is more and more resorted to, so that I confidently believe that ere another decade has passed Great Britain's labor forces will appear before the world as among the best organized and most effectual of international working class organizations.

We find in our country, as indeed I am inclined to believe you do here, that the workers do not get anything like a fair share of the proceeds of their labor. For many reasons some groups of workers are compelled to accept wages which are not sufficient to cover the whole of their life. The daily wage too often is simply sufficient to supply the daily need. We are now animated with a new idea, that out of the industry in which we are engaged we shall draw such a reward as will cover the whole of our life, the waste as well as the utilized portions thereof.

The previous speaker has told you of our compensation legislation. Aye, we are proud of that measure. I have watched my colleagues of the labor party, few in number, but practical in mind, experience and character, fashioning that measure, combating bitter opposition, but wringing concessions that would never have been possible had not our labor men been in the committee room and on the floor of the House of Commons to make manifest our desire. Yet that legislation is by no means perfect. Fifty per cent of the wage is the principle of the measure. I am here to say that if a worker is incapacitated through his employment, not fifty per cent but complete sustenance is he entitled to until such time as he is able to labor; and if he is not able to return to his labor, a sufficient amount, based on his previous earnings, to maintain him throughout the whole remainder of his life.

In our country we have this unrest which is apparent in every country in the world, unrest which is being fanned and aggravated by national, aye, and international causes. While wages tend to remain stationary, prices of life's necessities are constantly being enhanced. Statisticians have told how during the past twenty years wages have risen with us some thirteen per cent; but statisticians on the other hand have told us the cost of living has increased twenty per cent. Therefore, when we are speaking truthfully and accurately, we have to say that the workers are not making an advance, because of the depreciation that has taken place in the value of the wages they receive. This phenomenon is not confined to us. I am not going to dogmatize on conditions in your country. I think it is gratuitous for a man who is simply making a flying visit to dictate what is best for you, based on his own knowledge and experience; but I believe I am not transcending the ordinary bounds of truth when I say this phenomenon is also with you, that prices are rising in greater ratio than wages. If that be demonstrable then I say the workers of the United States of America, with the workers of Great Britain, are not making the advance to which they are entitled, because there are some powers in our midst that are able to take back to themselves that which you have compelled them to give as a result of your trades union activity.

Recognition of these facts has induced the trades unionists of my own country to go to the House of Commons to ascertain the causes. We believe the legislation

which is passed and the way in which our laws are administered have a great bearing on our wage standards. Furthermore we claim the working classes have a right to positions inside the House of Commons. Hitherto we were told the workman was not sufficiently well educated for such a position. Even today we are informed in the old country that the workers are not cultured. They do not speak with an Oxford drawl, they may not be able to reel off Latin text, yet workmen in the House of Commons have proved that the fact that they have graduated in the university of experience makes them the most effective representatives of our working classes.

Later we have heard a great deal of the tyranny of the working class organizations. The charge is often leveled against you, "Why, some of our labor unions seek to compel the non-unionist to go into the organization." And why not? Has the non-unionist the right to jeopardize the standards set up by the organized workers? And when we are contemplating liberty we have to recognize that in order to make the masses free we have to restrict the liberty of some persons or others. In our factory legislation we have been limiting the liberty of the mill owner to sweat child and woman labor, and throughout the whole of our social reform aim we have been engaged in preventing some people from using their power in order to oppress others. Therefore, the real case is this: If by limiting the liberty of some people we extend the liberty of a greater number that action is perfectly justifiable, and organized labor ought to utilize the weapon to its fullest extent. Therefore I am going to say I will not criticize even those unions that are able to utilize their power in order to compel some workmen to do what they ought to be willing to do quite voluntarily because of the great benefits trades unionism has bestowed upon them.

Since 1900 the British Trades Union Congress has set up as part of its ordinary work a labor party to act in the House of Commons. The Labor Party was called into existence by repeated resolutions of the Trades Union Congress. With us it is an alliance of the trades unions and Socialist Party, and I am certain that my colleague will agree with me that the alliance has proved highly successful and that the relationship between those two bodies is of a very congenial and agreeable character. I believe it is now widely acknowledged by the organized workers of Great Britain that our labor movement could never have occupied the proud position it fills today but that it has added one more to the older functions that characterized trades union movements previous to the calling into existence of that body.

Our movement now is triple in character. We still recognize the necessity and the desirability of purely industrial action. We acknowledge that collective bargaining must ever be the basis of our labor movement. Secondly, so well represented by my colleague, the coming from time to time of the other bodies to

the assistance of any union that may be engaged in a dispute, has been an aid to the progress of the movement. To these two older functions we now have added that of political action. At the present time we have forty-two members in the British House of Commons. They form there an independent group, and while a great deal of consternation struck the ranks of the possessing classes when they first entered Parliament, nevertheless they are now acknowledged as among the most effective legislators in that body. I can well recall the opening days of the Parliament of 1906. The newspapers were filled with stories of how these labor men would comport themselves on the floor of the House. Some suggested that an extra supply of spittoons ought to be laid in, because assuredly those men were only accustomed to public house company.

The corridors and the galleries were filled with people who came out to see these new freaks. I remember a little story told of the occupants of the ladies' gallery. Titled ladies had secured seats, but one working woman had also been privileged to get a seat in the center of these scented favorites of society. She was quite the center of curiosity because she was able to name the men as they came in. She was familiar with us—I mean that in a general sense, because we are all respectable married men. The labor group had been having a meeting and we marched in together. One old dowager duchess looked down on the floor of the house and said to our working woman friend, "Do you mean to tell me that is a labor member of Parliament? Why, he looks quite a respectable little gentleman!" That was the speaker here this morning. That is fairly typical of the attitude of the other classes towards the new party. They certainly thought that the working classes were uncouth and uncultured, yet before many days were past even our leading statesmen and politicians had to acknowledge that out of the working classes can be called as much genius, as much talent, as much experience as can be derived from any other class of society. We had claimed for years, with the poet Pope that

"Prodigious action may as well be done  
By weaver's issue as by prince's son."

I have watched the career of my colleagues. Being the whip of that party, having to select our men because of their various aptitudes and qualities to place them on those committees for which they are particularly fit, to call on them to speak in this or that debate because of their acquaintance with the particular subject—I say because of that experience I am proud of the Labor Party. I am proud of my class because they have demonstrated to the others that there is a genius, a working class loyalty to be found in our ranks, although they have claimed a monopoly of those things for their own particular class.

And what did they do? Outside great railway combines had sought to destroy trades unions, they had taken our un-



ions into court, had wrested great sums out of our trades union funds, simply seeking to distort the law as some other monopolies seek to distort it in this country. By this method they had deprived us of powers we had always held to be right and legitimate. The first thing the Labor Party did was to secure the restoration to our trades unions to that free activity they had hitherto enjoyed, and make it again possible for our trades union movement to progress and develop.

Our next measure was the Compensation Act. And when I say that it embraces six millions more workers than was contemplated on its introduction into the House, and that in many of its vital particulars it is greatly improved, you will understand the benefit of it. This is directly attributable to the presence of the trades union and labor men in the House of Commons. Their work has justified their existence.

One little measure I will always be proud of. We introduced and succeeded in passing a bill for feeding the necessitous school children. I acknowledge with you that the parents ought to receive such a reward for their labor as will enable them to feed their own children; but we had the spectacle in our lives of thousands of little children being compelled to go to school without sufficient food to eat. We recognized that this was unwise in the interest of the nation; that the best efforts of the most highly qualified teachers must be wasted on half starved children. After all, behind our movement there is a religious impulse. We agree not to quarrel about forms and symbols, but a labor movement, like every other beneficent movement, must be wisely guided and have a lofty aspiration. We sought there to carry out the divine creed—"Feed My lambs." That is the message which has been conveyed to society throughout the ages. In our country as in others we have seen those who are paid thousands a year to preach this gospel, we have seen the wealthy ones who have listened to it gladly hearken to the words of the sermon, but for the remaining six days of the week engage in cutting the wool off God's lambs.

Your men in the House of Commons said the children must be fed, that the sins of the parents should not, so far as we could help it, be visited on the heads of innocent, helpless little children, and today there are thousands of our little ones being fed in our various public schools who otherwise would be hungry. They are fed because of the presence of men in the House of Commons who knew life's problems, who were animated with a loyalty to their own class, and who intended to see to it, as far as they possibly could, that the children of their own class should have an equal start in life with the children of any other class in society.

Then at the other end of life we have also accomplished something. In this respect I do not say that we alone have done it; but I do most honestly believe that but for the presence of our men in the House of Commons this mightily

beneficent old age pension measure might still have remained among the unfulfilled promises of party politicians. Today we know that a million poor old men and women have five shillings a week coming in where otherwise they would have had nothing. A small sum, true, I know it appears; to us its dimensions are far too meager; but nevertheless it is a right start because it is applying to our own people the principle which has hitherto been the monopoly of the favored ones of society. A few years ago we had the rank individualists going about and warning the people against receiving an old age pension. Five shillings a week, they said, would banish the priceless jewel of thrift from our great Empire. They themselves were receiving state pensions of nine hundred and twelve hundred a year, still they were not thrifty, they did not have that priceless jewel of thrift! We say if a state pension is good for our lords it is equally good for our workers. We have with us today the old man and woman who has to retire earlier than was hitherto the case, because the working life is shortened because of its speeding up. By the extended use of machinery the worker is unable to remain in the factory so late in life as under the former more leisurely methods of production. He has less opportunity to save and the time arrives sooner when he has to draw on those savings. Old age pensions are essential if we are to keep our old people from the degradation of having to take advantage of the poor law system. In the past we paid pensions to the rich, now we are paying pensions to the poor in order to have them live the last days of their lives in comparative peace and comfort.

In reading through your reports I remember that your Convention once passed a resolution in support of the principles of the Budget of 1909. You there commended the principles of the Budget introduced by our Chancellor, Mr. Lloyd George. Because you did that I felt that you recognized with us that the incident of taxation is a matter of vital concern to the wage earners. I am not intending to discuss that Budget in detail but one of its important principles I think deserves to be acknowledged here. For the first time in the history of our country we are seeking to adjust taxation so that it falls upon the shoulders of those who are best able to bear it. We are out for the abolition of all indirect taxation. We want all taxation taken off the necessities of life. And incidentally here I might interpolate this fact, that if we can take taxation off sugar and other things their price must be reduced by the amount of tax they are relieved of, and if that does ensue you have actually effected an increase in the real value of wages to the whole working class of your population. At any rate that is the theory the working party is proceeding on in the House of Commons. We are saying that more and more of our national revenue shall be raised from the swollen incomes and accumulations of our wealthy classes. And after all this wealth comes

from labor. The idler in society today gets a great deal more than the industrious man. Our working classes seem to be unable to see this. In our great establishments the lavish display is all derived from the working classes. The more thoughtful of them are now making up their minds that these comforts, these luxuries shall no longer be the monopoly of a class, but shall be the heritage of the whole of our population. Therefore, we embraced the principles of that Budget. The main principle to which I make reference is this, that for the first time a British Chancellor of the Exchequer recognized that there was such a thing as unearned increment in wealth. That is to say, he was dealing purely with the land question. We find land in our urban areas constantly raising in price. Whenever you want to buy any its price is enormously enhanced. At the same time if you desire to levy a tax on it you will find the proprietor telling you it is comparatively worthless. We say, "We are quite willing to let you value your own land. If you put too low a value on it, we are going to take compulsory purchase; and, on the other hand, if you put an inflated value on it we are going to tax you on that inflated valuation. Our Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to take twenty per cent of this unearned increment. The Labor people say, "Your justification for the appropriation of that twenty per cent is that the inflated value is created, not by the owner of the land, but by the presence and activity of the population compelled to live on or about that land." Therefore we say, "If we are justified in appropriating twenty per cent we have equal justification in taking fifty or more per cent when public needs may demand more money."

This sort of thing has aroused a great deal of hostility. We are called robbers and confiscators. You will read in some of the British newspapers how the labor people are simply concerned with deprivations on the wealthy classes. It is just as well I should have come here, for you see in me the most harmless form of robber that was ever able to strut about the world! When I hear these people talk I am reminded of a little story. I know my reverend friend here will exonerate me from any slight on his cloth. A certain reverend gentleman was walking home with a parishioner on a sharp, snowy day in winter. The parishioner slipped on the ice and fell. The reverend gentleman looked down at him and very facetiously said, "Brother, it is said in holy writ that sinners stand in slippery places." The man looked up from the ground and said, "Yes, I see they do, but I can not."

And that is what has been occurring in our country. These people have stolen for their own private gain those things which ought to have been directed into the homes of the common people. We are there now to tell them, "This robbery must cease. The wealth which is co-operatively created by the industrious classes shall be enjoyed by them. The inequality that has scandalized our society

must be eliminated, for there is no necessity today for any human being to be degraded or poor." It is for the working people to utilize all their power: politically, industriously and in any other thing that may present itself in the various countries. In our country we are troubled with that worst of all problems, unemployment. I am told that you are unfamiliar with it in this great continent. At any rate some of the speakers on our side have depicted the United States of America as an Eldorado, where all you have to do is to tickle the surface of the soil and you get a bounteous harvest. If you want to find a gold mine, just take a spade and lift up a few feet of soil and you will have all your wants supplied and you will be a modern Midas. As I said before, I am not dogmatizing, my time here has been too short, but I assume your problem is the same as ours. Wherever the competitive system exists there must be a reserve of labor.

I am reminded of a little experience that happened in my own country during the last general election. A large employer of labor came into my constituency, not to help elect me, but to see if he could substitute a noble lord for the labor member. He said all that was necessary was a little tinkering here and there and the unemployment problem would vanish like snow under the sun's rays. I had to negotiate with that same gentleman a little later. I was arguing for a reduction of hours in the interests of the unemployed. He said, "The industry cannot stand it. We cannot afford it. Our profits are too small already." I reminded him of his political promise. He said, "Mr. Roberts, how can we conduct industry without some reserve of labor?" Our employers' newspapers tell us they must have a reserve of from two to five per cent of labor to properly conduct their business. My reply to this employer was, "Sir, you admit that these unemployed are there, not for their own advantage, but for the profit and convenience of the employing class. Well, then, in my opinion, it is your business to maintain those things which are essential to the conduct of your business." There is no one here who will deny the right of every human being to live; that is, in the abstract. But with us we claim that the right to live and the right to a living are indistinguishable; that if you acknowledge the right of a human being to live you must also admit the duty of society to provide him with a suitable method of earning a livelihood.

We find many a good man in our own country affected by this problem. I have watched them passing down the various gradations from regular employment to intermittent employment. Some of them have sunk to what we call the submerged tenth. Today they are called undesirable, they won't work; but I believe the divine spark is still smouldering there and when society appreciates its duty aright we will not scorn these people but take them by the hand and restore them again to respectable society.

That is our great problem. We are told it is a visionary solution of this question, that unemployment must always be with you, that it is part of the law of economics, the law of supply and demand. They speak to us as though these economic laws are like the fixed and unchanged framework of the universe. They would have us believe that economic laws are like the law of gravitation and cannot possibly be diverted; but every day economic laws are controlled and modified in the interests of certain people. Your trust magnate controls economic laws. When he can create an artificial monopoly and force up prices for his private profit, he is interfering with economic law. We say these laws are simply made by men, and can be altered by men as soon as we put the right class of men into places where they can be altered.

Thus it is that the party in Parliament is now putting forward the plea for the unemployed, the right to work and the right to receive for that work such a sum as will enable them to maintain themselves decently and honestly. We workers have been too modest in the past years. A bare sustenance has been quite satisfactory to us. Sometimes, as I jokingly put it, the worker is satisfied if he has a job. He belongs to the Union and his fraternal organization. When he has ceased to be his wife or other relatives draw from these organizations the funds they are entitled to, a slab is placed in the churchyard over his grave and on it is placed the inscription that he has fallen asleep, when the truth is he was never properly awake during his entire life. But the workers of the entire world are awakening. They know that life was intended for every human being and that its comfort and enjoyment was not intended to be the privilege of any one class.

The Labor Party in Parliament has stimulated certain measures. Our labor exchequers, while not solving unemployment in themselves, are in our opinion essential as a basis for the national organization of labor. We have succeeded in inducing the Government to introduce an act to provide funds for opening up and developing the resources of our country. Small as our land is we have millions of acres of fertile soil lying idle, and the landlords refusing access to the women workers. We are now asking the Government to say that land really belongs to the people and it is the first duty of a civilized community to see that idle labor is brought to the idle land, in order that they may at least produce what is essential for their own livelihood. Land is the physical basis of all life. Land has been referred to as perpetually man's; therefore the Labor Party in Parliament puts forward as one of its first claims that the land shall be restored to the people and used for the peoples' good. Those of you who have visited London may have stopped before the stock exchange and read the inscription on the central stone, "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof." We have to paraphrase that today, "The earth is the money

lord's, and the fulness thereof." We believe the soil is God's common gift to all people, and we will not rest in our endeavors until England belongs to the English people and not to a small handful thereof.

I want to tell you of a little experience I had at a beautiful seaside resort in our country. I used to believe that dead men were useless, but I have changed my opinion. The Eastbourne Burial Board were greatly concerned because they wanted fresh land to extend the cemetery confines. Twenty years ago they bought their present land at the rate of seven hundred pounds per acre from one of the ducal families. They said, "Please, sir, our people will die; we are compelled to bury our dead. We paid you seven hundred pounds an acre twenty years ago. We are willing to pay that price on this occasion." "Nay, nay," said the lord, "the land is mine." Not seven hundred pounds, but in order to bury their dead seventeen hundred and eighty pounds per acre did that public board have to pay for the land. That is the sort of robbery we are protesting against. It has no effect on wages. To pay for that cemetery greater rates will have to be levied on that district. The higher you pay in rates and rent the less you have to pay for other commodities; therefore we say that robbery—robbery I think you will admit it to be unmistakably in character—has an effect on our living condition, and the Trades Unionists and Labor people are perfectly justified in going to Parliament to right some of these wrongs and correct some of these anomalies.

Next year we are going to enact a great piece of justice, a measure I am sure you are glad to know the Labor men are associating themselves with. I mean home rule for Ireland. The relations of the Irish Party with the Labor Party are always agreeable. We are going to support them in their demands as we have consistently done throughout, because we believe it represents common justice, the right of a people to govern themselves according to their own ideas. We are certain the Irish people can govern themselves more economically and efficiently than is the case at the present time. The present method is expensive, is provocative, and can never satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Irish people. Therefore whilst our party is primarily concerned with social and Labor legislation, nevertheless it is broad enough in its outlook to embrace any measure of common justice. I believe the prospects of home rule for Ireland are brighter and better because of the fact that the organized laborers of Great Britain return a Labor Party to the House of Commons.

I am not going to occupy your time much longer. This session we have two measures we hope will pass into law. One is a shops bill to regulate the hours of assistants. Today there are many young men and women working eighty, ninety and even more hours per week. We have compelled Parliament to introduce a bill to reduce the hours to sixty, too long, we acknowledge, but still a boon to

well nigh a million shop assistants. Again we have a coal mines act being molded and fashioned by experienced men in the House of Commons. These things go to prove the value of our new departure and methods, and the wisdom of the British Trades Unionists in engaging in the political action to which I am referring.

In conclusion, I want to say how glad I am to be here, how profoundly I have been moved by some of the sentiments expressed from this platform. I am glad to read the literature of your various organizations, proud to know that the American workmen, the Americans of my own class, protest against child labor, how you refuse to recognize it as essential to the conduct of industry that the little child shall be sacrificed on the altar of mammon erected among the wheels of modern industry. Child life is the most sacred charge God has entrusted to us. We all love children. Our lives are brighter and better because children enter into them, and I am here, as I am in my own country, claiming for my own child, for the child of my own class the same happy, bright, comfortable life which is the heritage of the child of the well-to-do. I say we are not worthy the name of fathers or of men so long as we acquiesce in the exploiting of child labor. Therefore I am proud to be able to stand by you and say I rejoice and I glory in the step you have taken, and I hope ere many years have passed we in Great Britain will be able to say with you that child labor is a thing of the past and that the nation is making the best of the prospect of its children.

I know you have in your large cities many other great social problems with which we are afflicted. We have in our country thousands of our sisters thrown into vice, not through inherent fault, but due to unjust economic conditions. A few years back one of our progressive newspapers organized a sweated industry exhibit, and I learned there that the folding of the Bible and Prayer Book sheets was done for a penny a hundred sheets. And I learned that the women and girls who had been folding up God's Word were compelled to go out at night and earn what their employers denied them. We wish you are concerned to alter these conditions. We want to see women appropriately engaged. I have no objection to a woman in my own craft anywhere so long as she is not utilized to depress the general standard of the man. Equal wages for equal work should apply irrespective of sex, and I am glad to recognize it.

I am glad also that you are interested in civic activities. I was proud to attend a meeting of Bix Six in New York and there learn that they were discussing the great white scourge that deprives so many of our class of the life they ought to enjoy; yet society has known since 1882 that tuberculosis is a poverty disease, that it is born in our city slums of the poverty of our people, and, knowing that all those years they have done so little that sixty thousand people in Great Britain are being killed year by year. So-

cial murder is the only verdict a thinking man can pass upon it. We are now seeking better housing and better sanitation. All these things come within the purview of the enlightened Trades Unionist and Labor man. I am glad to observe that you take those broad views and that you are concerned to right those wrongs to which I have referred.

We are often told that the labor agitator from Great Britain is simply a pirate, that he is always out to destroy. There are many things I want to destroy, but it is destruction, if I may use a simile, of a bird breaking a shell, not for the purpose of destruction but in order that we may emerge into a fuller and completer life. Destroy the barriers of working class progress, not for the purpose of being a mere destroyer, but because we realize that those things must go in order that life may become really enjoyable to the whole of our class. No longer are we going to believe that happiness for us is always over the hills and far away. Through our labor organizations, through our activities in our old country and your activities in your new country we are able as it were to ascend to Mount Pisgah and get a glimpse of the Promised Land, the land that is going to be when the working people of the world are united and solidified, and they have determined with one resolution to put down all oppression, all injustice and to declare the inalienable right of every human being to know a full, complete and happy livelihood. I am glad to believe those sentiments and the principles form the basis of your movement as it does with us. Therefore I say, as I do to my colleagues across the ocean, let us do what we may in our own time and according to our own capacity, and when we have to resign our Labor and give an account of our lives the verdict must be, "He has sought for others the good he desired for himself. Therefore let him pass on."

President Gompers introduced to the Convention Mr. William Glockling, Fraternal Delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Fraternal Delegate Glockling—Mr. President and Delegates to the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor: I am only sorry I cannot emulate the perfect address of our fraternal delegate from England. It seems hardly necessary for a delegate to come from Canada to the United States. I have never yet been able to discover wherein the difference lay between the citizens of this country and the citizens of Canada. I believe in the last analysis the only difference that exists is the tariff wall you meet in going and coming between the countries.

I want to say a few words about the Congress that sent me here. I appreciate the honor they conferred upon me. I feel it a very great honor to have the privilege of mingling with men who have the reputation of being the brainiest men we have in our midst, no matter from what class they are drawn. I was glad to have the privilege of listening to the splen-

did reports read here during the last three days. I believe the men who compose this Convention represent the highest aims and aspirations of the people. I know they are doing a great deal of good for the people, and only they themselves know the great sacrifices they make. God bless them in their noble work, and may they be permitted to continue to do it.

We have been able through our Congress, owing to the force behind us, to enact legislation that was beneficial to us and also prevent pernicious legislation from being enacted. The growth of the Congress in the last ten years has been such that it has increased by 50,000. I want to thank those to whom that growth is due. It may not appear much to the people of this country, but as Canada only contains a little more than seven million people, a growth of fifty thousand is really marvelous in such a movement. The international organizations of the United States are largely responsible for that growth. The members of our organizations represent a good portion of our working class. However, whether small or great, the body has been able to achieve a great deal.

To show the value of your assistance I will say that our friends the enemies have made three attempts through the Senate to prevent your men from coming across to our country to lend your help in times of strife. A bill has been introduced, known as Bill CCC, which is intended, not only to crush the leaders of the labor movement, but the members. The bill if enacted would have provided that if a man came from Atlanta to work in Montreal or any other city he would be classed as an alien, he would be amenable to the law and punishable under the criminal code. They did not care so much about you coming over, but after they had crushed the spirits of the workers there would be no necessity of your coming there.

There is another bill that somewhat affects you. We have another bill on our statute books known as the Investigation of Combines Bill, an act to investigate monopolies and mergers. When the first draft was made the Minister of Labor submitted it to the Congress executive. The Congress executive, having in mind the experience you have had with the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, under which the Hatters' Association suffered so deeply, foresaw danger; they felt the same thing might arise under it that arose in the United States under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. We went to the Minister of Labor and said we would not favor it as it was submitted. We said if a clause was inserted which would make us immune we would accept it. The Minister consulted his colleagues and as a result they inserted a clause in the bill which also appears in the Trade Union Act of 1906. That gave us the right to organize. It gave us all the rights and privileges we had enjoyed prior to its passage. That bill in itself is a good one, and as occasion may arise wherein a few men would meet and raise the price of commodities. This gives us a remedy

for that particular ill in connection with our political life.

I want to speak briefly of immigration. I do not want it understood that the workers of the Dominion are opposed to immigration. They are as favorable to immigration as many other elements of the community; but we did not desire to have saddled upon us the class of immigrants who come to this country. There are instances where philanthropic organizations have brought people to this country, ostensibly to labor on the farms and on construction work; they were dumped in the vicinity of our large industrial centers and when winter came they flocked into the city to compete with us for our jobs. We have had immigration laws passed owing to the representations we made to our government, but they have not been as complete as we wished them and they have not been carried out as successfully as we would like. We are continually battering at the doors of Parliament for amendments to the immigration laws. We desire the population of Canada. I believe Canada will at some stage in its history have nearly as large a population as you have in the United States, and we want if we possibly can to frame laws that will endure for all time; we want to prevent legislation such as has been enacted in other countries being enacted in ours; we have a big and growing country and we want to establish laws that will be of lasting benefit to the workers and the people generally.

I wish to speak for a few minutes on a resolution that passed at the Calgary Convention. The Calgary Convention introduced what is known as a resolution in opposition to the craft organizations. I want it emphatically understood that the Dominion Congress is an international organization from the ground up, that it has never been anything else. The resolution introduced was merely to endeavor to bring about a condition of things similar to that which exists in the printing trade, wherein every craft in the printing trades meets together and formulates their demands, which are considered jointly. That was the object of the resolution, not as some people inferred, that it endorsed the Industrial Workers of the World. I do not believe there is a man who attended the Congress who would uphold for a minute such a man as Vice-President Duncan referred to, Mr. Foster, of Chicago, or the theory he advances.

I would like to refer briefly to political action. We have on every occasion endeavored to bring about a state of things which would allow the people to elect their own members. We have not yet been as successful as we should be. We have one man in the Dominion Parliament, Mr. Verville, who is doing all he can, and we have one member in the province of Ontario. I believe, however, the workers are awakening to the fact that they can better represent themselves than they can be represented by doctors, lawyers and men of that class. We are now in the throes of an election in Ontario, and I understand men are being placed in the field for the workers' suffrage. We go periodically to our Federal Parliament and to our Pro-

vincial Parliaments with bowed heads and hats in hand asking, or rather pleading, for legislation. We are told by the members that our requests will receive their serious consideration, and there are matters of importance, and there are matters of importance, and there are matters of importance. I think it is essential for the workers of the Dominion to have their interests represented as are the interests of the men in the Old Country.

We endeavored by legislation to secure an eight-hour day for government employees. The measure was bitterly fought. Owing to the representations made by the working people the matter was delegated to a large committee of the House. Information was sought from every source. Men were brought from every part of the country to give testimony, but it was nothing more nor less than an effort to shelve the question. However, a bill was drafted and submitted to Parliament, and even in a modest form it was refused us, and today it lies in what is known as the political cemetery in Canada, the Senate.

I will not go into this matter of legislation farther, because our wishes in this respect are the same as yours. I wish to thank the Convention for the many kindnesses that have been extended to me. I trust your business will be conducted in a most successful manner and that your legislation will do those you came here to represent the good you intended. I trust that posterity will have it to say that these meetings have resulted in advancing the interests of the workers all over this continent. I again wish to convey to you the fraternal greeting of the Canadian Trades Union Congress.

President Gompers introduced to the Convention Mrs. Raymond Robins, President of the National Women's Trade Union League of America.

Mrs. Robins—I come to bring you greetings from the National Women's Trade Union League of America. It is an organization of women workers, with some of us thrown in who have not had the privilege or opportunities of knowing how to work with our hands; and yet the constitution provides that the majority of the workers must be Trades Unionists in good standing.

We know there is going on at the present time an investigation into the conditions under which women and children are working in America. This investigation, I hope and trust, for some time at least, may be the last investigation necessary before we can all definitely unite upon such action that no more will we tolerate conditions that are in existence today. For the past eighty-two years, first in this locality and then in that locality, we have been investigating the conditions under which women and children work. Matthew Carey, another of those Irishmen who have come over to America to help us and make America, as far back as 1829, made an investigation into the conditions of the work of women in the needle trades of Boston, New York and Philadelphia. The conditions found were so shocking it was thought better not to make them public. From that time, 1829, until the present day we have had these investigations going on. Shock-

ed by these conditions the National Women's Trade Union League in 1905, at its annual convention in New York, appointed a committee to ask that such investigation be made by our National government, so that finally we could have an investigation so authoritative in statement that its findings could not be questioned.

Miss Mary McDowell was made the chairman of that committee in 1905, and she secured the co-operation of the American Federation of Labor and the organized Labor bodies, the co-operation of the women's clubs, the men's organizations, of churches and other bodies, so that united a demand might be made upon the Department of Labor and Commerce to find out the conditions under which women are working in the richest country in the world. We now know. It was an easy matter to say that perhaps the story was exaggerated because an enthusiastic or sentimental worker overstated it. But now that the facts are given in nineteen volumes, eleven of which are published, they challenge the conscience of the manhood and womanhood of America.

We have women working for three dollars and four dollars a week. We have women working for four dollars, five dollars and six dollars a week, and we have as the average wage given to the women workers of this country less than \$300 a year. Many and many a time we have been told that there are two things that made for the low wages of the women. The one is the curious group of women who work long hours for little pay because they are working for pin money. I am glad that at last the ghost of this pin money group of workers can be laid at rest. In some cities 88 per cent and in other cities as high 98 per cent of the women put their earnings into the family treasury.

Now, brothers, you are interested in the wages paid to women. There is no trade, no matter how skillful, no matter how much training may be demanded to turn out the workers, that is secure against the invention of a machine which may be run by the woman or child. Therefore, every man must stand with us for self-interest as well as the social interest to see that we get, as our brothers from England said so splendidly, equal pay for equal work. Unless we prevent the women from becoming the under bidders in the market not only the women's movement but the men's movement is threatened at its very foundations.

We are told that there are several great and important reasons for this cheap labor of women. We are sometimes told that the cause of the cheap labor is the number of foreigners who come to our shores, the untutored girls of many nationalities. And then we find ourselves suddenly face to face with the great social upheaval in Iowa, where the women and the men of the pearl button industry worked for such low wages and under such miserable conditions that they had to go out on strike. They went out last February. They signed an agreement with the employers, to which Governor Carroll, of Iowa, was a witness. That agreement was broken by the manufacturers. The

men and women went out on strike again. Brothers, the crux of that situation, as in many other strikes in this country, lay in the hands of the women. The buttons had been made in the rough. The women were there to drill them. If the women refused to strike the men could not win. But, thanks to the movement that had been built up by Mr. Emmett Flood, of the American Federation of Labor, and thanks to the character of the women there, they stood by the men. The American Federation of Labor, recognizing in its very natural wisdom the importance of getting the women organized, has sent one of our organizers, Miss Catherine Finnegan, into Muscatine, and at the special request of Mr. Wilson, Mr. Flood and the girls of Muscatine, we have sent Miss Emma Steghagen, of Chicago, there.

There is always one thing a woman can do better than any man. She can talk to the women of a community better than a man can. That is primarily the work of Miss Finnegan and Miss Steghagen. Having called a great mass meeting in September or October, and having made a great appeal to the women, it was followed by another meeting for the women of Muscatine. That was followed by a mass meeting of the children of Muscatine one Saturday afternoon, the children who sew the buttons on the cards and carry them from the homes to the factory. At that first meeting 155 little boys and girls formed themselves into a Juvenile Protective Carriers' and Sewers' Association, and now that it has been formed every Saturday at its weekly meeting the numbers have grown until today there are 500 such children meeting weekly. Can't you see what is being done? Naturally, these children, so determined not to be strike-breakers—why, some of them are only four and five years old—could not be taken into the Union, could they, Mr. President? But we could form and did form them into a Juvenile Protective Association, and we can so appeal through the children to the women that we have been able to form in Muscatine women's organizations in every ward in that city, not of the strikers, but of the supposed neutral citizens.

I wish I might tell you the story of these pearl button makers and the story of the buttons for which the girls as well as the men got nothing. I suppose our friends the miners will understand the system of weighing by which the biggest buttons are taken out and made the basis for payment. The little ones that drop between are not counted at all. Every button that is not passed by the inspector because it is not quite even or because there is a little black on it is refused payment for, yet these same buttons sell in the city of Muscatine for ten cents to sixty-five cents a dozen. The workers do not get a cent for their production. And this is happening in the corn belt of the great State of Iowa, where there are no foreigners!

It is not only the foreigners who are at the bottom of our difficulty. We know that coming in from the small towns are the strong, healthy, capable, self-respecting women of the farmers' families who have

been taught to believe in honest work and who believe that honest work and faithfulness to an employer brings adequate payment. We have this great influx, not only of foreign girls, but of country girls who have to learn their lesson all over again, who have to learn that oftentimes the harder they work the less they earn.

I will tell the story of an Illinois girl who came from a farm to work in a factory. She was only 18. Other girls in the factory where she went to make skirts had been working from the time they were twelve or fourteen years old, but she had saved her young, splendid strength until she was eighteen, for she had been supported by her father up to that time. She went into this factory and was making cloth skirts, well-made skirts such as I am wearing for 35 cents apiece, and because she was quick of finger and keen of perception and physically strong she was able to make something like fourteen dollars a week. The other girls came to her and told her the story of being a pace-maker. She would have none of that. Didn't she know what terrible people Union men and women were? Didn't they cut down the product of the employer and help to make for poverty?

So this girl went on. Two months later the price of the skirts was cut from 35 cents to 30 cents; later it was cut from 30 cents to 25 cents and then from 25 cents to 20 cents. And this girl who had come from a self-respecting American family who had paid \$2.00 a week for a room, who had purchased good food and had something left for other things, now found the necessity of cutting down her expenses. Being a woman, curiously enough, she thought she could cut down on food. Men do not begin to cut down expenses in that way; they know the value of proper food. This girl started to cut down her food expense account. Then she tried to work harder and make the same wage. At the end of the month she found the wage cut again and could not keep up.

Every man knows, I believe, that when you call a woman to act in an emergency she can act better and more efficiently for a time, but there comes a time of breakdown. This girl, working to the limit of her capacity and being under fed, broke down and now for the next twenty or thirty years the taxpayers of Illinois will have to take care of her in an asylum. Before she reached that stage she came to me and said: "Mrs. Robbins, the thing that hurts me is that I did not know that the harder I worked the less I would earn. How was I to know that when I came here, thinking myself better than these little factory girls, feeling myself superior because I was better educated than they were, that all I was to do was to bring to them bitterness of spirit because their wages with mine had been cut down?" I think that it helped to break her heart as well as her mind and finally landed her in a state asylum.

That is part of the cost. But the great wonder of the story now as we see it is that this cost is being faced. It was at

the child welfare exhibit in Kansas City. That exhibit is not the result, as it was in Chicago, of the generosity of one or two persons. This child welfare exhibit in Kansas City was under the auspices of the public welfare body of that city, a group of men and women appointed by Governor Hadley, of Missouri. In the first clause of its statement it says: "We, the public welfare body, believe in justice rather than charity." Do you wonder, with such a sentence for their slogan, that they put not only the text of the low wages received by the department store girls of Kansas City on exhibition, but photographs of the rooms they were able to secure and under a glass case the tencent lunch they were able to buy with their small wages. We know that the women who are in the houses of prostitution are not there of their own free will, but because of the terrible machinations of the white slavers. Out of three hundred women in a certain number of houses there were one hundred and fifty-four who were earning less than six dollars a week when they were honorably trying to earn their daily bread.

Now, men, these things are the challenge of our life today. They are not only challenging our conscience, they are challenging the very foundations of our life, and to organize the women into trades Unions is the work of the Women's Trade Union League. Not because it is not done by the American Federation of Labor, for it is; but because we women have something to contribute which no man can contribute and because, I will repeat, our women can speak to women and girls and children as no man can speak to them. And because of these facts we come to you and ask from you and receive from you the heartiest co-operation.

Now I will speak of what we are trying to do with the foreign girls who are all the time coming to our cities, not knowing the cost of life in America and willing to take the low wage because they do not know the cost of living is greater than in the old countries under their old peasant conditions. You will realize that the woman has been looked upon as an educator throughout the centuries. The Roman Catholic church in the early days of its convents turned to its women and asked them to enter that life for the purpose of qualifying themselves to teach the young girls and children. And then when the American Republic, making part of democracy come true, entrusted every man with a vote, that American Republic recognized the governmental necessity of an educated electorate, and it turned to its women to educate the men who were to be its voters. As eminent an American statesman as John Adams, in a letter he wrote to Joseph Warren, of Boston, said: "The education of the children, the future citizens of America, the future voters of this republic, you and I must entrust to our wives and our sisters." That story of woman's work is one of the brightest contributions to America's democracy.

We are beginning to have our Trades Union primers printed in six or seven

different languages. They are primers and primers only. They teach English and Trades Unionism to our foreign sisters at the same time. A young woman came to our office in Chicago the other day and asked if we thought she was qualified to teach English to the Lithuanians? I said: "That is not the question. Are you qualified to teach Trades Unionism to the Lithuanians?"

Mrs. Robins described at length the primers and the methods of teaching the foreign girls English and Trades Unionism.

Continuing her address Mrs. Robins said: "Now men, we must do something to help put a stop to the bottomless pit of wages for women and the children. Everywhere men and women are asking themselves the question whether or not we ought to see to it that there will be formed in America as there are in England and Australia minimum wage boards by which the workers, the employers and the public can come together and determine what is the minimum that industry can pay. Then the public will understand that any industry that cannot pay a living wage is a parasitic industry and must be swept from the earth. Who are the girls who are earning those small wages? They are the daughters of the working men. I will ask you, my brothers, if you cannot find a better place for your money than to put it into a silent partnership with those firms that do not pay your daughters enough to live honestly? Is it proper for a working man to become a silent partner with the merchant princes of our country?"

That is why Massachusetts has appointed a commission to ascertain the best method of securing a minimum wage. For this reason the Illinois Trades Union Leagues have asked the State Federation of Labor to stand for the appointment by the next legislature of a commission to consider the best method of providing for a minimum wage so that we may safeguard the dangers attached to such a proposition. We know that not even that minimum wage can be secured except through the strength of the organization of Trades Union men and women. Our English brothers will bear witness to the fact that the minimum wage in the chain-making and lace-making industries had to be secured for the workers through a strike. The organized people of England were so aroused that the coffers of the unorganized trades were filled and they were able to win their victory. This is not fooling ourselves with the thought or belief that it is the wisest thing to do. It is only because we know that under the juggernaut of present conditions is buried and crushed out so much power and strength and beauty of mind and body and spirit in America that we have got to find a way, artificial if you will, to release that power.

In closing let me ask you to remember one thought. During the great Garment Workers' strike of last winter in Chicago, when I had the honor to be the Treasurer of that Division of the work that had to deal with the Commissary Department, while we were trying to make pos-



sible the feeding of fifty thousand people a day, it was natural that with nine, ten and eleven different nationalities represented and that many languages spoken somebody would be overlooked. While we hoped that coal and food were being sent into every needy home some few were overlooked. Going into one of those homes I found a woman lying with a new born baby at her breast and three small children standing around her. There was no coal in the house, and it was a bitter winter's day. There was no food in the house. Lying on the bed open and catching my eye were three letters from the employer of this woman's husband offering to raise his wages from \$15 to \$25 a week if he would come back and be a scab. The man refused and that woman and mother rejoiced in his refusal.

After witnessing one of the real human—not tragedies but joys of life—I turned to that woman and said: "Friend how do you do it?" She said to me in broken English: "We give not only bread to our children, we give freedom to our children and I will die if need be to make my children free." And it is the thought that freedom is a costly thing and that eternal vigilance is the cost of liberty that makes me so heart and soul a Trades Unionist, because no other movement in America today stands so positively for freedom as the Trade Union movement. We cannot maintain a free church, a free political world, a free government, while for six days of the week our men and women are living under despotic conditions. And so because freedom is a costly thing, and because back of all the Trade Union movement is trying to do and accomplish, back of the wages so essential to maintain a home, back of the wages so essential to

the protection of the womanhood of our nation is the building up of a free people, and for that people—and may the vision never leave us during the day's drudgery—above all things we are trying to do is to free the human soul and bring forth a free people in this America of ours.

President Gompers stated that there not being sufficient time before adjournment for the addresses of the other fraternal delegates they would be postponed until the session to be held Friday morning.

President Gompers stated that, owing to the fact that the Convention would adjourn for the afternoon at 1:30, resolutions might be presented in the office of the Secretary or President up to midnight.

Delegate Gallagher, (A. J.), stated that he had intended to introduce a resolution bearing on the McNamara case, but by request had withheld it until the report of the Committee on President's report could be presented. He asked if there was any way in which it could be presented later on if he desired to do so. President Gompers stated that the only way it could be presented was with the unanimous consent of the Convention.

During the session resolutions No. 96 to 167 inclusive were submitted and referred to the proper committees.

Adjourned at 1:30 p. m. to meet tomorrow morning at 9:30.

## Fifth Day--Friday Morning Session

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Friday, November 17th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Phell, Roach (John A.), Coakley, Price, Kaefel, Kelly (William E.), Hardy, Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Sontheimer, Quick, Wendt, Davis, Fuller, Winchenback, Ford, Belt, Creamer, Donnelly, Saum, Schaub.

Delegate Moorhouse, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

"We have examined the credentials of the Mineral Water Workers No. 12674, and recommend that Samuel Lebowitz be seated, with one vote.

"We also recommended that the names of the representatives of the Ladies' Garment Workers' International Union be inserted in the proceedings as follows: A. Rosenberg, Solomon Palakoff, Alexander Block, Harry Kleinman, Harry Dubinsky, 668 votes."

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate Brock stated that he had been absent on Thursday organizing the Laundry Workers of Atlanta, and failed to introduce a resolution he had in his possession before the time limit had expired. Unanimous consent was given for the introduction of resolution No. 169.

**President Gompers**—The order of business for this morning is the continuation of the addresses of fraternal delegates. The chair takes pleasure in introducing to the Convention Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, fraternal delegate from the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

**Fraternal Delegate Macfarland**—In the first place, I wish to express my regret that Brother Charles Stelzie is unable to be here. Although I have succeeded to his office, I invited him to come as my associate, but his duty in another part of the country prevents his presence.

I cannot come before you, strictly speaking, as a union member, because my craft, although it knows as yet no minimum wage, and has a pretty low average, is as yet unorganized. And when, in my boyhood and young manhood, I was engaged in manual toil, there was no

union in my trade, or if there was, I did not know it.

While I was in Newcastle last summer, attending the British Trades Union Congress, in writing to my home, I asked the question: "Why is it that I have given up my vacation to come up here for this meeting? It is more than anything else, I think, because, as I look into the faces of these men, I see a vision in the background of millions of homes, wives, mothers and children, some with the glow of happiness, with countenances expressing the joy of health, like my own home, and still more of other little children with the haggard face of want, and with womanhood bent and burdened by the relentless iron hand of industrial rapacity or maladjustment."

Let me at the beginning of my relations with you, say a word as to the attitude of the Christian Church. It should not be that of entangling itself with your economic machinery but rather, first, that of continually reminding you of the moral idealism of your movement, and second, of co-operating with you in what should be, and are, your ultimate moral aims and ends.

I am in the warmest sympathy with Mr. Duncan as to a certain movement in Germany, and my estimate, made during a recent visit there, is much the same as his. I would, as quickly as any one of you, resent the assumption and intrusion of any ecclesiastical or clerical authority.

But your leaders and ours are rapidly discovering that we are moving in parallel lines and in the performance of sympathetic tasks.

Perhaps the best evidence of progress, during the past year, was the request which came to me from this National Federation of Churches, to resign my pastorate, in order that I might give myself entirely to the social service work of the churches of the nation. Upon my assumption of office, a clear-cut program was handed me and, under the providence of God, it becomes my duty to carry out that program.

Among other things, it speaks as follows:

"To us it seems that the churches must stand—

"For equal rights and complete justice for all men in all stations of life."

Among the things that are passing away is that old heresy that there is an inherent difference between the work of the head and the work of the hand; that the one element of humanity belongs down here and the other up there. Whenever in the university city of New Haven, I happen to be passing in company with one of its learned pro-

fessors, it always gives me a sense of mischievous joy to see the bootblack who calls himself 'professor,' because it is an intimation that honest service rendered in one sphere of life is equally entitled to recognition with any other.

The program proceeds thus:

"For the right of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, a right ever to be wisely and strongly safeguarded against encroachments of every kind. For the right of workers to some protection against the hardships often resulting from the swift crises of industrial change."

"For the principle of conciliation and arbitration in industrial dissections."

"For the protection of the worker from dangerous machinery, occupational disease, injuries and mortality."

This leaves no room for "fellow servant," "assumption of risk," or any other specious limitation.

It means nothing else or less than that the burden of such disaster should be borne not by the toiler who gives himself or his life as a sacrifice upon the altar of industry, but by the industry which he serves, in some fair and equitable way. I spent two days last summer with the chairman in Berlin, of the German Commission, and it seems to me that they are working in the right direction.

The other articles read:

"For the abolition of child labor."

"For such regulation of the conditions of toil for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community."

"For the suppression of the 'sweating system.'"

"For the gradual and reasonable reduction of the hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life."

"For a release from employment one day in seven."

"For a living wage as a minimum in every industry, and for the highest wage that each industry can afford."

"For the most equitable division of the products of industry that can be ultimately devised."

"For suitable provision for the old age of the workers and for those incapacitated by injury."

"For the abatement of poverty."

But, gentlemen, that creed or confession is not worth the paper upon which it is printed, unless it also takes into account some means by which it can effectively be carried out. Therefore, the wise and thoughtful men who framed it, added this final clause:

"To the toilers of America and to those who by organized effort are seeking to lift the crushing burdens of the poor, and to reduce the hardships and uphold the dignity of labor, this Council sends the greetings of human brotherhood and the pledge of sympathy and of help in a cause which belongs to all who follow Christ."

And that, I understand, 'is the reason

why I am sent here by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ.

We have, therefore, within the past few days, endeavored to put that program into actual operation.

First, by the establishing of a National Office, in which, you will be interested to know, we receive over two hundred Labor papers and magazines regularly, and while I do not read them all through, I think perhaps I may say that I read more Labor literature than some of you Brethren do of religious reading.

Here is another item:

"The relation of the churches to the multitude of Agencies for Social Reform, and betterment is an important problem before the Commission. Its influence will be brought to co-operate with such societies and movements in relation especially to those measures which affect the moral and spiritual welfare of the people. This will include such matters as child labor, the reduction of hours, the betterment of wages, housing conditions, and many other similar causes."

That means close working relations, not only with your movement, but with others, like the Child Labor Committee, the Consumer's League, the Association for Labor Legislation, and the Woman's Trade Union League.

The Federal Council is also becoming the publishing agency to issue handbooks and study courses for our preachers and churches, an important feature of which will be to give them a sympathetic understanding of the interests of Labor. We shall, by means of news letters, like your own, inform the labor and trade journals of our doings and the religious press of your movements.

Here is another significant item:

"The Commission will confer with Labor Representatives and will send its delegates to their gatherings. Similarly, it will confer with groups of businessmen and send delegates to their gatherings."

If any of you should be conservative enough to object to one part of this, I shall have to answer as I once did on a similar occasion. Having accepted an invitation to offer the opening prayer at a Republican Convention, then a little later on, also at a Democratic Convention, and being rebuked for my inconsistency by a Republican candidate, I asked him if he did not think that the one element needed praying for fully as much as the other.

This program announces that an impartial investigation will be made of important industries and I want to say that we shall make them fair and open, and rebuke wrong and oppression, even if we should find you to be the oppressors.

There is one matter in relation to which it seems to me you have lost much ground. We are having, gentlemen, a very rapid increase in what are conveniently called "Continuous Industries" and most of them involve continuous toil for the workers. I wish to say fairly and squarely, in the name of the Federal Council of Churches, that for a man to be deprived of one day out of seven for

rest and recreation; for cultivation of the life of his home; for companionship with his wife and children; and for his moral and spiritual culture, is an unspeakable disgrace upon our nation, and when it comes to be not even one day in thirty, or as in some cases, not even one day in 365, there is no appropriate vocabulary with which to give it description.

We talk a good deal about the "dignity of Labor," as a paltry and beggarly excuse for forgetting and neglecting the dignity of him who labors.

Therefore, We have entered upon a nation-wide campaign for one day in seven for industrial workers, and in this, I am sure that my colleague, Father Dietz, will express a hearty co-operation for whatever may be the differentiation between us; there is certainly no such thing as Catholic seven-day labor as distinguished from Protestant overwork.

For the purpose of renewing interest in all these plans, we mean to preserve and increase the observance of Labor Sunday in the pulpits and by the churches of the land.

When I ask myself what service we can best render in this great cause, I begin to look for those aspects of it which seem to be neglected. Among these is that of the creation of a better state of public opinion. I think this has been neglected. The great mass of the people who are not directly affected by the wrongs of Labor are either indifferent or hostile. I am frank to say, whatever may be the explanation, that you do not receive on the whole, a fair treatment from the press.

In this situation there are many things which need to be explained to those who are not on the inside of your reasons, and I mean to do my best to bring about a fair and just attitude regarding your movement.

I am richly enjoying these days with you. Perhaps it will do no harm to put a little touch of human nature into the formality of this address. I write each evening, a letter to my wife regarding the doings of the day. It is a very good thing to do, gentlemen, and I hope you do it. Here are some extracts from these daily letters:

"This is an historic meeting, charged with most serious and solemn tasks. I like its profoundly ordered ways and measures."

"Old Samuel Gompers (the descriptive adjective, Mr. President, is in the nature of a term of affection, and relates to your length of service rather than to the number of your days) gave his address today. Had he been the leading actor in the Old Testament story of the Prophet Daniel, that story would have been the same. His companions in the apartment would have taken him for one after their own heart. But I more than suspect that the old man's heart is as big as his head, and his address today was a classic in economics, an epitome of history and a moral philippic that would do credit to an inspired ancient or modern prophet. To read that address is to take a course in political economy."

"If James Duncan were to wear a black frock coat and a white tie to set forth his measured dignity in fitting garb, I never would be taken as the representative of the churches at this Convention. His review today of his recent trip abroad was a masterpiece of serious statesmanship, wide information, broad vision and keen discernment."

"John Mitchell has grown still shyer during a year when he has grown to be a bigger man than ever in the estimation of his fellows and of the world at large, because he has gone through the crucible of a severe test of loyalty."

"If I were to go back to the local pastorate again, I would like to be called to the Presbyterian Church at Bloomington, Illinois, that I might have John Lennon as my senior deacon, to keep me in the straight and narrow way."

"Why is it that all our moral leaders do not see that in the American Federation of Labor, with its tried and proven economic machinery, the most gigantic economic force of any day or generation, we have, in the midst of our seething, threatening social unrest, one great safety valve, one great conserving, constructive social agency, one clear speaking voice amid the many clamoring tongues, so many of which

"Are like infants crying in the night,  
Like infants crying for the light,  
And with no language but a cry,"

one great evolutionary force that is, more than anything else, bringing order out of chaos, because it mingles light with heat and serves not only to incite but also to restrain. My profound belief is that, far more than they know, these men hold the destinies of human social order."

You can readily see, gentlemen, that my utterances need be somewhat cautious and guarded, because, at least in an ideal sense, I commit by them a constituency of 100,000 churches and 18,000,000 men and women, and the utterances which I am now to make are not without premeditation. There is surely one thing for which the church cannot stand. It cannot stand for anarchy. And one definition of anarchy is that it is the attempted destruction of any fundamental institution of society. In a democratic state, the organization of labor is, by the common agreement of statesmen and economists, one of those fundamental institutions.

It needs guidance; it calls for restraint; its methods should be the subject of most careful thought and revision, but with all its limitations, this remains true, that any group of men who conspire together for the covert or avowed intent and purpose of crushing out of existence the organization of industry, would be the most dangerous and dreaded group of anarchists in this or any other land.

Brethren of this Convention, in our ultimate aims, we belong together. In the mind and heart of God, such movements as your own and his church look toward the coming of the same Kingdom of Heaven. And what God hath joined together, let no man put asunder. And I say it thoughtfully and reverently, of any man who would seek to separate the

church and modern industry, it were better for him, as our Master said, "that a mill stone be hanged about his neck and he be cast into the depths of the sea."

For, after all, the church and the Gospel have been, in large measure, the creators of social unrest, because the Gospel has given to man the vision of a high, pure and noble life.

There is one of the old masterpieces, upon which I love to gaze. It is the painting of Raphael in the Vatican at Rome of the Transfiguration of our common Master. But whenever I look upon it, I wish that I might have the genius to wield the brush of a master, that I might paint and place beside it, one other picture, which would be that of the same Master a little later in the day, down upon the plane of human life, healing men of their diseases and feeding their hunger.

It must be admitted that the Church has faltered some in the face of the great social problems which she, herself, has partly created. She is now with Peter, on his way from Rome, in the old story of the Russian novelist,

"Seest thou yon brightness approaching us?"

"I see nothing," said Nazarius.

"Some figure is coming in the gleam of the sun."

Then Peter fell upon his knees and this cry left his lips:

"O, Christ! O, Christ!"

Then the question: "Quo Vadis, Domine?"

"If thou desert my people, I go back to Rome to be crucified a second time."

"Quo Vadis, Domine." This time the question of Nazarius to Peter.

"To Rome," said the apostle, and he returned.

I bid you, then, go on with your work, patiently, guardedly, with a deepening sense of justice, until every home in our land, even to the home of the last poor stranger that comes within our gates, becomes the abode of happiness and health;

Until the rushing wheels and roar of industry no longer drown the moans, while they blight the lives, of little children as dear to God as your children and mine;

Until womanhood in the home shall be a happy wifehood and a sweet motherhood that shall bear its own natural and sufficient burdens without the sad countenance of hunger of body and of soul, or if in toll, shall have the safeguards of virtue and health;

Until manhood, with a toll that does not diminish self-respect and with leisure to cultivate the finer graces of our human life, shall all be the answer to our prayer: "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done, as in Heaven, so on earth";

Until the Fatherhood of God shall be in reality and truth a Brotherhood of Man.

And to this end I repeat:

"To the toilers of America and to those who by organized effort are seeking to lift the crushing burdens of the poor, and to reduce the hardships and uphold the dignity of labor, this Council sends the greetings of human brotherhood and the pledge of sympathy and of help in a cause which belongs to all who follow Christ."

President Gompers introduced to the Convention Rev. P. E. Deltz, Fraternal Delegate from the American Federation of Catholic Societies.

Fraternal Delegate Deltz—Mr. Chairman and Delegates of the American Federation of Labor:

I am not going to make a speech this morning. I will have my innings later on. Mr. Deneschau, my co-delegate from the American Federation of Catholic Societies, will make the address for that Society.

I have come to realize that there are a great many misconceptions, both with regard to the church on the one hand, and on the other with regard to the real meaning of the old trade union; and therefore I have determined to preach a sermon next Sunday morning on that topic, the relation of the Catholic Church to the trade union movement. I understand the delicacies of the situation very well, as well as any man can, but I want to treat that subject in a straightforward, frank and manly manner, and therefore I wish to invite all of you to come to that church and to hear what I will say in the name of the Catholic Church in regard to her position in the Labor movement of the United States.

Rev. Mr. Dietz read a communication from Rev. Robert S. Kennedy, pastor of the Immaculate Conception Church, in which the delegates were invited to attend services in that church at 11 o'clock a. m., Sunday, November 19th, the sermon to be delivered by Rev. Mr. Dietz.

President Gompers introduced to the Convention Mr. Charles I. Deneschau, Fraternal Delegate from the American Federation of Catholic Societies.

Fraternal Delegate Deneschau—Mr. President and Delegates:

During the last few days I have had an experience varied and interesting. First was the pleasure of coming to Atlanta to attend this gathering. Since coming here I assure you that I have experienced the emotion that any stranger would feel in coming to a gathering such as this, that being one of edification. And yesterday I experienced another emotion, one of surprise at being called upon by the senior delegate of our organization to make this address. At this time I confess that I feel my last emotion, that of pride at being able to stand before you as a speaker for the organization I represent.

The American Federation of Catholic Societies has sent to your body two delegates accredited with the pleasant duty of conveying to you its greeting, a greeting from its three millions of members. We compliment you upon what you have done and what your organization is doing for the protection and the uplift of the working masses of our country. We raise our voice with yours for the universal acceptance of the cardinal principles of Trades Unionism, the one the maintenance of an honest wage scale, the other the recognition of a fair working day. The

American Federation of Catholic Societies has seriously considered these phases, phases which are essentially yours, but are likewise questions which are of vital moment to any American. We thoroughly appreciate the great task before Organized Labor; we know that probably no constituents demand a stricter accounting of the stewardship from their delegates upon their return than is required of you. For the people whom you represent are vitally interwoven in this movement, and your every action, and every conclusion this Convention reaches strikes home to every man and to every woman going to make up this great army of the working people of our Republic.

We feel as you do on this all-powerful question which you have so admirably handled and which you are today engaged in the deliberation of, the disposition of the child. We appreciate and the American people as a whole thank the American Federation of Labor for what it has done for the coming generation and the little ones who are with us today. We realize as you do that the child has a right to require of us two things, one the endowment of his faculties and the second the opening up of that avenue of opportunity which will permit him to cope with this world when he is in full possession of his own being. There is no question than has been of greater interest to the people of this country as a whole. I say that advisedly, and I know that what has been done by you in that connection will eternally redound to the greater glory of your organization.

Now, gentlemen, I want to say that I have made no preparation for this address; I did not come here anticipating this great compliment; but I assure you that the organization from which I come is in thorough sympathy with you, and its heart throbs with yours for the cause for which you are striving. It believes, and sincerely so, that Trades Unionism is the salvation of labor. It believes that the problems and the solutions before you are questions of vital import, not only to yourselves, but to this nation. And these questions are entirely to be solved by you. The American people look upon this body with a keen and critical eye, because we thoroughly realize that through you the great masses, the great rank and file of our Republic speaks. And it is with you heart and soul, this American Federation of Catholic Societies, and in their name, Mr. President, and through your delegates I again extend a sincere and heartfelt greeting.

Miss Martha Hines, representing the striking Button Workers of Muscatine, Iowa, was introduced to the Convention by President Gompers. Miss Hines reviewed the progress of the strike and the conditions that led up to it, and made an eloquent appeal for assistance for the strikers.

Treasurer Lennon—I desire to move that Miss Hines be allowed to select some of the delegates to help her and that

they be permitted to take up a collection in the Convention. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Proebstle asked if the Button Workers of Muscatine were affiliated with the American Federation of Labor as a Federal Labor Union, and if they had been affiliated a sufficient time to be entitled to financial assistance.

President Gompers stated that they were affiliated as a Button Workers' Protective Union, that some of them had been affiliated long enough to be entitled to financial assistance, but most of them had not.

Delegates Cox and Mead assisted Miss Hines to take up a collection among the delegates.

President Gompers, in replying to the addresses of the fraternal delegates, said in part: Gentlemen, permit me to express the great appreciation we feel for your addresses and your expressions of sympathy, co-operation and good will. The commendation you express of our work, of course, gratifies us. It is not necessary that you shall agree with all we do, and it is not at all necessary that we shall agree with all your utterances. That we are in the main agreed is of primary importance; that we are in sympathy with each other in the work which we undertake to do is helpful, and will be helpful as time goes on.

I might say, simply to make it known where it may not be known, that the A. F. of L. for many, many years has stood upon the demands of one day's rest in seven; and that the Labor movement, where it has not been able to entirely abolish Sunday work, has penalized it and by that method made it too expensive for employers to indulge themselves in. Only where we have really not the power or where the work is one of necessity Sunday work may be done; but in the one instance it is because we cannot help it, because we have not the power to remedy it, and in the second instance reducing it to a minimum whereupon the performance of the work depends the safety of property, and primarily the safety of life. One of the grounds upon which the initiatory charges were made against the United States Steel Corporation was its inhumane practice of continuous work and not permitting one day's rest in the week. The charges now before the courts

against that corporation, the investigation conducted by the Congress of the United States, are the outcome of the charges we, of the American Federation of Labor, presented both to the President of the United States and the departments of Justice and Labor.

Again, I want to express on my own behalf, and I feel sure I express the sentiment of the delegates to this Convention, our great appreciation of your words of sympathy and good will and co-operation, which are entirely reciprocated. Fraternal delegates from across the border and across the Atlantic, we thank you most heartily for your addresses. We hope you may have a most enjoyable and pleasant time while in our country, and that you may have a safe return to your families and your fellow workers.

Vice-President Mitchell in the chair.

#### Report of Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Delegate Nelson, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Local and Federated Bodies beg leave to submit for your consideration the following report on various matters that have been referred to it:

Resolution No. 55—By Delegates M. M. Donoghue, of the Montana State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, At the eighteenth Annual Convention of the Montana Federation of Labor, held at Missoula, Mont., August 21-26, 1911, the following resolution was adopted:

WHEREAS, The Federal Labor Union, as organized under the American Federation of Labor, represent the unskilled workers of the country; and

WHEREAS, The present administration of the Montana Federation of Labor have given much effort toward organizing these workers and are to be commended for their work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers be instructed to continue the work as has been so well begun, and they be instructed by this Convention in behalf of the Federal Labor Unions represented here to use every effort to build up the Federal Labor Unions, wherever possible, and to render every possible assistance to such Federal Labor Unions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all delegates to the Annual Conventions of the American Federation of Labor, be instructed from Federal Labor Unions, Central Bodies and State Federations to use every honorable effort to secure beneficial legislation for such Federal Labor Unions to

secure the organization of Federal Labor Unions by the American Federation of Labor organizers and to ask for and seek the placing of a representative upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, representing such Federal Labor Unions as a member, therefrom:

(Signed)

E. C. JOHNSON,  
Helena Federal Labor.  
R. C. SCOTT,  
Butte Federal Labor.  
H. S. DAVIS,  
Butte Federal Labor.  
ALBERT KUFNER,  
Butte Federal Labor.  
WILLIAM O'BRIEN,  
Butte Federal Labor.  
JAMES LACEY,  
Great Falls Federal Labor.  
L. B. GRAY,  
Bozeman Federal Labor.  
R. C. PRICE,  
Trident Federal Labor.  
GEORGE ELLIOTT,  
Missoula Federal Labor.  
JAMES CLARKIN,  
Missoula Federal Labor.

WHEREAS, The above resolution as herewith presented speaks for itself; and WHEREAS, The said resolution calls upon the American Federation of Labor for action along the lines suggested; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the request contained herein be granted and the resolution be adopted.

The committee report as follows on Resolution No. 55:

Your committee, while fully recognizing the good work done by the Montana State Federation of Labor in organizing Federal Labor Unions, does not deem it advisable to make class distinctions when selecting members for the Executive Council, and therefore non-concurs in the resolution.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate M. M. Donoghue, Montana Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, We realize the urgent need of a vigorous and persistent campaign for the purpose of organizing the vast horde of unskilled workers who are still outside of the pale of Organized Labor; and

WHEREAS, We feel that the American Federation of Labor has in the past exhibited a woeful lack of initiative and efficiency in this direction as evidenced by the insignificant showing of Federal Unions now affiliated with the organization; and

WHEREAS, There is a pronounced feeling of dissatisfaction plainly in evidence among the membership of the Federal Unions, with the past and present policy of the American Federation of Labor, in expending the bulk of its funds and ener-

gies in promotong the organization of skilled mechanics into a species of craft unions, which is no longer able to cope with the new industrial conditions arising from the advanced stage of practical co-operation now in vogue with the magnates who own and control the principal industries of the nation; and

WHEREAS, We believe that a continuance of this policy on the part of the American Federation of Labor would eventually result in the formation of a dual organization more in conformity with the modern requirements and better calculated to promote the advent of that universal solidarity of the workers now recognized as necessary for the attainment of our ultimate goal, economic justice; and

WHEREAS, The number of Federal Unions organized in this state during the past year as a result of the energetic efforts of our State Federation of Labor tends to show that similar results could be attained by similar methods in other sections; be it therefore, by the Butte Workingmen's Federal Union No. 12985, American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we earnestly urge upon the delegates to the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor the necessity for devising ways and means to inaugurate a systematic propaganda among the common workers in every state of the Union with a view of effecting the formation of Federal Unions in efficient numbers to enable this class of workers to assume their logical position as the most powerful factor within the economic and political labor movement of the future.

The Committee report as follows on Resolution No. 62:

One of the chief objects of the American Federation of Labor is the encouragement and formation of local trade and Labor Unions. The number of organizers employed must largely depend upon the revenues received, and it is altogether likely that a more intimate knowledge of the facts in the case would change the views of the members who drafted the resolution. Secretary Morrison's report shows that during the year ten organizers participated in organizing local and Federal Unions, and 262 such unions were established.

The receipts for the Defense Fund from such unions in the year 1910 were \$12,-570.15, and in 1911, amounted to \$16,-010.75, thus indicating that effective work has been done.

As the resolution bears more particularly upon the employment of organizers, your committee recommends that the same be referred to the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

In a brief discussion of of the resolution President Gompers said, in part: The criticism is that we have not organized enough of the unskilled working men in Federal Labor Unions and are devoting our time to the organization of skilled workmen. On the other hand this preamble criticises us because we have not the conception of this broader industrial Unionism. As a matter of fact, there has been a constant broadening of the International Unions to open their doors for the admission of the less skilled workmen in those trades, and the existence of this smaller number of Federal Labor Unions and local trade unions is attestation to the further fact that they have been transferred to the International Unions.

The motion to concur in the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 63.—By Delegates Barry, Suarez and Peterson, of the International Alliance Theatrical Stage Employees:

WHEREAS, The Spokane Sectional Central Labor Council, of Spokane, Wash., have illegally and in violation of the laws of the A. F. of L., seated in said Central Body a rump local of the unaffiliated brotherhood of electrical workers; and

WHEREAS, The Spokane Sectional Central Labor Council have caused to be sent to all managers of moving picture theatres in Spokane, Wash., a circular letter, signed by John R. Merford, Secretary of said Central Labor Council, informing these managers that both the I. A. T. S. E., moving picture operators and the rump local of the unaffiliated I. B. of E. W., were both members of Spokane Central Labor Council; and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. laws do not permit of dual organization; and

WHEREAS, The action of Spokane Central Labor Council has caused a reduction in wages and an increase in hours for the members of the I. A. T. S. E.; and

WHEREAS, The I. A. T. S. E., affiliated with the A. F. of L., since its formation, have obeyed every law of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, Every affiliated local in the I. A. T. S. E. must belong to the Central Labor Body in their respective localities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., do at once order the Spokane Central Labor Council, of Spokane, Wash., to at once unseat the dual organization of the unaffiliated I. B. of E. W.; and, be it further



**RESOLVED**, The said Spokane Sectional Central Labor Council be ordered to give the widest publicity to this matter under signature of its president and secretary with the seal of the Spokane Sectional Central Labor Council attached.

The committee reported as follows:

As this matter concerns the seating of delegates in a city central body contrary to law, your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for action.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Barry discussed the question at length, stating that the matter had been in the hands of the Executive Council since January, 1911, that the men concerned in Spokane were suffering a reduction in wages as a result of conditions existing in that city, and urged that the Convention instruct the Executive Council to take immediate action.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried.

**Resolution No. 140**—By Delegate John H. Malin, of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers:

**WHEREAS**, Owing to the fact that there is no International Union to which Bag, Box and Envelope workers belong; and

**WHEREAS**, Those trades are of a similar character, the work often being performed in the same factory with the members of this organization; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, be extended to include the above workers.

The committee reported as follows:

As this matter involves the extension of jurisdiction to an affiliated organization whose charter rights have already been defined, your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for investigation and action.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Secretary Nelson—That completes the report of the Committee, which is signed by the committee in full.

H. P. PERHAM, Chairman.  
OSCAR F. NELSON, Secretary.  
JOHN CARROLL,  
THOMAS FLANNIGAN,  
JOSEPH D. CANNON,  
JAMES P. HOLLAND,

FRANK X. NOSCHANG,  
W. E. BRYAN,  
SAMUEL KELLEY,  
PATRICK MURPHY,  
G. F. MOUNTES,  
J. F. GAVLAK,  
JOSEPH BIRNES,  
E. W. BLAKEY,  
MAURICE DE YOUNG.

Vice-President O'Connell, Chairman of the Committee on Adjustment, requested that Resolutions Nos. 115, 117 and 128 be referred from the Committee on Adjustment to the Building Trades Committee.

Delegate D'Alessandro objected to referring Resolution 117 to the Building Trades Committee, stating that it would be referred by that Committee to the Building Trades Department and he desired to have it considered by the Convention.

Vice-President O'Connell spoke in favor of referring the resolution to the Building Trades Committee, as that committee was composed of men connected with the Building Trades, while the Committee on Adjustment was composed of men connected with the miscellaneous trades, who were not familiar with the conditions in the Building Trades.

A motion was made and seconded that Resolution 117 be referred to the Building Trades Committee. The motion was lost by a vote of 73 in the negative to 50 in the affirmative.

No objection being offered to referring Resolutions 115 and 128 to the Building Trades Committee, Chairman Mitchell stated that they would be so referred.

President Gompers stated that a general impression seemed to prevail that the sessions of the Convention were not open to the public, and asked that delegates, visitors and newspaper men notify people who were under that impression and desired to visit the Convention that all the sessions were open to the public.

No further committees being ready to report, Secretary Morrison moved that the rules be suspended and that the Convention adjourn to 9:30 a. m. Saturday.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 11:30 a. m., the Convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9:30 a. m., Saturday, November 18th.

## Sixth Day--Saturday Morning Session

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Saturday, November 18th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Pheil, Roach, Coakley, Price, Gavlak, Kelly (William E.), Anderson (W. H.), Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Hobbs, Wendt, Davis, Fuller, Winchenback, Ford, Belt, Welsh (Thomas E.), Creamer, Donnelly, Schaub.

Vice-President Mitchell obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution and submitted the following, which was referred to the proper committee by President Gompers:

Resolution No. 170—By Delegate John Mitchell, of United Mine Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The use of poisonous phosphorus in the manufacture of matches causes among match workers a most loathsome disease of the bones of the face, known as "phossy jaw;" and

WHEREAS, The use of poisonous phosphorus in the match industry is no longer necessary and the United States is the only civilized country of commercial importance that has not already prohibited the use of this deadly poison by national legislation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor commends and endorses the American Association for Labor Legislation in its efforts to secure early action by Congress which will absolutely prohibit the use of this unnecessary poison in American match factories, and give to the workers in this industry the same protection from unnecessary suffering and death that has been extended to the match workers in the other civilized countries of the world.

Referred to Committee on President's Report.

### Report of Committee on Treasurer's Report.

Delegate Young, Secretary of the Committee, read the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

We, your Committee on Treasurer's report, beg leave to submit the following:

We have carefully examined the Treasurer's report, and have compared the same with the report of the Auditing Committee, and find it correct in every detail.

We would not feel that we had done our full duty at this time did we not commend Treasurer Lennon for the very careful and business-like manner in which he has handled the funds of this great organization, not only during the past year, but for the twenty-two years that he has been the custodian of these funds.

It should be a source of great satisfaction to the men of labor, when they realize the vast amount of money that has passed through Brother Lennon's hands, that every penny has been satisfactorily accounted for.

Respectfully submitted,

J. C. SKEMP, Chairman,  
CHARLES LAVIN,  
W. F. GILMORE,  
JOHN J. HYNES,  
PETER HENRETTY,  
JOE F. WINKLER,  
J. W. HOLDER,  
JAMES F. BROCK,  
M. R. PACE,  
CARL YOUNG, Secretary.

On motion the report of the Committee was adopted.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

November 13, 1911.

To the American Federation of Labor, in Convention Assembled, Samuel Gompers, President; Frank Morrison, Secretary.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, on motion of Victor L. Berger, has adopted the following motion:

"That a request be made to the American Federation of Labor, through President Gompers and Secretary Morrison, that the Federation assist financially in the Los Angeles campaign, and thus prove the solidarity of labor.

As you know, the enemies of labor are making a determined effort to break the spirit of the workers in Los Angeles. They have chosen that city as the battleground where they hope to crush labor so completely that it will not lift its head in self-respect and struggle for its rights again. They are making this attempt both on the economic and the political field. Just at present, the fiercest part of the struggle is on the political field.

If the enemy should succeed it would have a disheartening effect upon the

labor movement everywhere. On the other hand, in the language of John Spargo, a member of our National Executive Committee, "No man doubts that the election of Harriman would be a great gain for the McNamaras and the cause of labor unions. The circumstances are wholly exceptional.

I am safe in saying that our National Executive Committee thoroughly understands the non-political character of your body. We are not asking you for any general endorsement of the Socialist Party, or its principles or policies. Any action you may take in this matter will not be so construed.

Kindly bring this communication to the attention of the National Convention.

Fraternally yours,

National Executive Committee Socialist Party,

By JOHN M. WORK,  
Acting National Secretary.

Delegate Hayes (Max S.)—In view of the fact that there is a request made by the Secretary of the Socialist Party with reference to the Los Angeles campaign now in progress, and is being regarded with peculiar interest by the working people of the entire country, it seems to me some action ought to be taken. I, therefore, move that the matter be referred to the Labor Representation Committee, and I hope the Committee will see its way clear to bring in some recommendation

respecting the matter not later than Monday. (Seconded and carried.)

President Gompers stated that a communication had been received suggesting the advisability of more co-operative effort among the members of the theatrical profession, the Actors, Musicians and Theatrical Stage Employees, and requesting a meeting of the representatives of these three bodies after adjournment for the purpose of organizing.

Delegate Marks of the Local Committee announced that there would be an organ recital in the Convention Hall Sunday afternoon at 4 o'clock.

President Gompers called for reports from Committees. No reports being presented, Vice-President Duncan offered the following motion: In order to give the Committees time to prepare to report on Monday morning, I move that the rules be suspended and the Convention adjourn to meet at 9:30 Monday morning. (Seconded.)

After the usual announcements of committee meetings the motion was adopted and at 10:30 the Convention was adjourned to reconvene at 9:30 a. m., Monday, November 20th.

## Seventh Day—Monday Morning Session

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Monday, November 20th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Coakley, Price, Gaviak, Kelly (W. E.), Anderson (W. H.), Jones, (J. H.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. R.), Quick, Hobbs, Davis, Wangberg, Fuller, Winchenback, Ford, Belt, Welsh (T. E.), Creamer, Donnally, Lebowitz, Schaub.

President Gompers announced that Thomas N. Scales, who had been appointed to act as assistant sergeant-at-arms, found it impossible to continue in that position and had resigned. With the consent of the Convention President Gompers appointed to serve as assistant sergeant-at-arms, J. R. Penny, of the Printing Pressmen's Union of Atlanta.

President Gompers introduced to the Convention Miss Annie Fitzgerald, Fraternal Delegate from the National Women's Trade Union League of America.

Miss Fitzgerald—It has been my pleasure on previous occasions to meet with the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor. At no time have I done so with as much pride and satisfaction as I do today, pride in the splendid organization I have the honor to represent, and satisfaction in its helpfulness to the greatest uplift movement of our time and country, the Trades Union Movement. Many of you do not seem to fully realize the work our organization is doing. The purpose of the organization, as many of you know, is to interest the women in the Union Label in particular and in the Organized Labor movement in general. Our organization has been in existence for eleven years and at this time we feel that the women have carried on a campaign of persistent agitation for the Union Label.

It is unfortunate that in some localities the men do not realize the necessity of such an organization. Expert economists agree that 90 per cent of the money spent for food, shelter and clothing is spent by women. This being true, it seems there is but one logical thing to do and that is to organize the women. If Organized Labor is going to persist in pending money earned under Union conditions in patronizing the non-union or manufacturers' association merchants, it cannot progress. In localities where women are not interested in this move-

ment it is impossible to get garments for women that bear the Union Label. The same may be said of brooms and other household articles that women buy. Since I have been in this Convention I have been told by different delegates that immediately on the formation of a Label league in their localities the women became interested and the increase in the number of Union Label goods sold amounted to as high as 90 per cent.

I recognize the fact that the officials of the American Federation of Labor and many of the organizers have been ever ready to lend their assistance in this work, but unfortunately, in some localities the Unions do not seem to see that there is a necessity for it. The organization of the Women's Trade Union League is second in importance only to the American Federation of Labor itself, and I believe we should receive the co-operation of every Trades Unionist in this country. The work we are doing is possibly not as spectacular as some work we might engage in, but we realize that it is an effective means of taking the children from the factories and bettering the conditions under which women work. The organization I have the honor to represent will take the child from the factory and bring about just such conditions as were pictured by our friend Mr. Jones when he referred to the roses and the sunshine. There is nothing we can do that will be as effective as refusing to buy the product of child labor. I urge all the delegates at this time, if they have not an organization of women looking after this part of the work in their localities, to interest the women and insist on organizing them. The reason we have not extended our organization to as many parts of the country as we would like to have it is on account of the limited resources we have at our command. We have to depend upon the limited resources of the organizations in the different localities to help us in this work.

I thank you for these few minutes, and I hope my words will not be idly passed by, but that you will give this matter some serious thought. It is a work we cannot afford to ignore.

Delegate Crozier—I would like to have unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution in regard to the American Federationist.

President Gompers—If there is any complaint of the Federationist the delegate can make it to the Executive Coun-

oil, the officials or the editor. Unanimous consent is not given for the introduction of this resolution. Objection is raised to its introduction.

Secretary Morrison—A resolution was introduced by the Hatters' delegation and referred to a Committee, but was not printed in the proceedings.

Another resolution was introduced by James H. Hatch. There were two resolutions on one sheet. I would ask permission to separate them and incorporate the second resolution in the proceedings this morning.

No objection being offered resolutions No. 171 and 172 referred to by Secretary Morrison were introduced and referred to the proper committees:

#### Report of Committee on Organization.

Delegate Fischer (J.), Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Organization begs to report that, of the thirty-three resolutions referred to us, twenty-one were requests either for the appointment of special organizers or the assignment of regular organizers to do special work.

The finances of the American Federation of Labor, as indicated by the reports of the Secretary and the Treasurer, are such as to make it manifestly impossible to increase the number of field workers unless there is a corresponding increase in the revenues of the Federation. And even did the Federation's funds permit, we would question the wisdom of recommending to the Convention the appointment or assignment of organizers, believing as we do that this is an administrative function which should be exercised by those in charge of the administrative work of the Federation.

Therefore, we are recommending that all resolutions in which application is made for special organizers or for the assignment of regular organizers to do special work shall be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to examine carefully the requests contained in the various resolutions and then to carry into effect, so far as it is possible, the purpose of these resolutions.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was concurred in.

The Committee further reported as follows:

We concur in the recommendation of the Executive Council that efforts be continued during the coming year to se-

cure the affiliation of the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union and the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Fischer—The Committee also recommends that efforts be continued to secure the affiliation of the National Association of Letter Carriers with the American Federation of Labor.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Secretary Fischer—The Committee concurs in the recommendation of the Executive Council that work in co-operation with the farmers' organizations shall not only be continued, but that as far as practicable and advantageous it shall be extended.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Secretary Fischer—The Committee recommends that the Executive Council be authorized to designate a representative of the American Federation of Labor to attend the next annual Convention of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union as a fraternal delegate from the A. F. of L.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate Groce Lawrence, of the Illinois State Federation:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has inaugurated a movement to organize the migratory laborers of this country; and

WHEREAS, The present helpless, unorganized state of these workers, and the almost unspeakable conditions under which a great majority of them are compelled to live and labor, constitute an extremely grave menace to the American people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor recognizes the great necessity for organizing these migratory laborers in order that they may be given an opportunity for self-help and advancement; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be requested to appoint a committee of trade unionists in this state to co-operate with any committee that has been or may be appointed in other states to gather data regarding the workers herein referred to and to assist in organizing them.

The Committee recommended that Resolution No. 7 be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to co-operate with the various State Federations in an

effort to organize the migratory laborers.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate Homer D. Call, of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen:

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America has for the past seven years made a determined and consistent effort to organize the employes in the packing industry; and

WHEREAS, Their efforts have been vigorously opposed by what is known as the American Meat Trade Association, who have repeatedly declared for the open or non-union plant; and

WHEREAS, At the present time the wages and conditions of the employes have been systematically reduced until today the average wage of the Butcher Workman is less than \$7.00 per week; and

WHEREAS, Owing to the present system of government inspection, we believe the time opportune for organizing the said Butcher Workmen of North America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled do hereby request the Executive Council to instruct its general and special organizers to make a special effort to organize the Butcher Workmen of this country in their several localities, as far as possible.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate J. R. Crozier, of The International Union of Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers:

WHEREAS, The International Union of Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers have undergone a thorough reorganization; and

WHEREAS, Since the reorganization the membership has more than doubled; and

WHEREAS, Large sums of money have been spent and are still being spent for organization purposes; and

WHEREAS, There is such a large field to cover; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the organizers of the American Federation of Labor to take up the work of organizing men who are eligible to our organization and grant them charters under this International Union, in accordance with the International charter as issued.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

Delegate Crozier in a brief discussion stated that he did not object to the resolution being referred, but desired to have

it referred with instructions to the Executive Council to carry out the intent and purpose of the resolution.

Vice-President Mitchell, Chairman of the Committee, stated that the Committee had already made a general recommendation in regard to organizers, which had been adopted by the Convention.

On motion the report of the Committee was adopted.

In reporting on Resolution No. 19 the Committee recommended that the words, "and that in case such request is not complied with within ninety days, that the A. F. of L. proceed to organize local unions of Bricklayers and Masons and that when a sufficient number of unions are organized to form an International Union of Bricklayers and Masons," be stricken from the resolution, the resolution as amended by the Committee to read:

Resolution No. 19—By the Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wis.:

WHEREAS, The Bricklayers and Masons' International Union has time and again refused to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The said International is a building Trades Union, and should work in harmony and co-operation with other building trades unions, thereby assisting in the formation of a solid phalanx in the building trade industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Building Trades Council of the city of Milwaukee, affiliated with the D. of B. T. of the A. F. of L., that the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union be again requested to affiliate with the A. F. of L.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the Committee be adopted.

Delegate Donlin—The title of the organization referred to is "The Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasters' International Association." Remember that, for some day you may have trouble when they get in. I would like to have the change made.

Secretary Fischer—We are merely reading this resolution as it was presented.

Delegate Lavin discussed the question at some length, stating that he objected to money being spent in organizing the Bricklayers and Masons, but desired that such money be spent for organizers to work among the unorganized men and women of the country, and to better their miserable conditions.

Vice-President Mitchell, Chairman of the Committee, made a brief statement, in

which he referred to the fact that it was not proposed to spend the money of the A. F. of L. in large amounts in attempts to secure the affiliation of the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union; that representatives were not sent to their local unions; that the American Federation of Labor was not organizing their men; that it was simply proposed that a representative of the A. F. of L., perhaps one living in the Convention City, would be sent to one session of that Convention to extend an invitation to them to affiliate with the A. F. of L., and perhaps urge that they enter the family of Trades Unionists.

Chairman Mitchell further referred to the fact that during the past year two hundred and seven Local Trades Unions, fifty-five Federal Labor Unions and sixty-one Central Labor Unions were organized by the A. F. of L., and stated further that the American Federation of Labor was carrying on the work of organizing as fast and as fully as possible considering the amount of money that was available for that purpose.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried.

**Resolution No. 20—By Delegate J. Louis Engdahl, of the Stenographers' and Typists' Association No. 12755, Chicago:**

WHEREAS, At the present time there are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor local unions of Stenographers and Typists in the cities of Indianapolis, Ind.; San Francisco, Cal.; Brooklyn, N. Y.; Chicago, Ill., and Washington, D. C., the organization of additional locals through the efforts of the American Federation of Labor will, no doubt, make possible the organization of a national Union of Stenographers and Typists, thus enabling that class of workers to more effectively carry on their agitation throughout the country by placing their own organizers in the field; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That this Convention instruct the American Federation of Labor Executive Council to encourage and assist wherever possible the organization of Typists and Stenographers; and be it further

**RESOLVED,** That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the five local unions of Stenographers and Typewriter Operators now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and that the Secretary urge these organizations to begin an active campaign to increase their membership.

The Committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 21—By Railroad Helpers' and Laborers' Union No. 14085:**

WHEREAS, We, the Railroad Helpers' and Laborers' Union No. 14085, a new body, having been in existence only about three months, and as yet not represented in the System Federation of the Great Southern, pray the Convention to take cognizance of and assist us, together with all of our craft on the System who may be yet unorganized, and beg your co-operation in bringing them into the fold; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That this Convention do all in its power to get the Machinists' Helpers organized and federated with the other five crafts of railroad workers, and to give the Machinists' Helpers the right of representation at the next meeting for the purpose of securing a contract; and

**RESOLVED,** That the Machinists' Helpers have a shop committee, and be locally federated with the five crafts and their shop committees; and

**RESOLVED,** That this Convention assign a special organizer to work among and organize the employees on the Great Southern and its allied lines.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 22—By Delegate W. E. Bryan, of the International United Brotherhood of Leatherworkers on Horse Goods:**

WHEREAS, The National Saddlery Manufacturers' Association, an organization of manufacturers, in the saddlery industry, combined solely for the purpose of combatting labor, determined and exerting every effort to disrupt the Brotherhood of Leatherworkers, to this end demanding of men of our craft seeking employment that they give up their Union; to sign articles to such effect, and in many cases demand the surrender of their due books, as a condition of employment; and

WHEREAS, The Leatherworkers are reduced in membership to the minimum by reason of such antagonism, their finances at a low figure; reduced in an earnest effort to establish the universal eight-hour day during the year 1910; the revenue seriously impaired and confronted with almost insurmountable obstacles in the upbuilding of our organization by reason of such barriers, aided and abetted by men of our craft currying favor at the hands of unfair employers; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the American Federation of Labor render every assistance possible to the upbuilding of the Brotherhood of Leatherworkers on Horse Goods; that the General and Voluntary

Organizers be instructed to devote all the time possible to increase the membership of their local branches to the end that they may better protect the interests and promote the welfare of all engaged in this industry.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 37—By Delegate George Myers, of the Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor:**

WHEREAS, Owing to the unorganized state of many locals not affiliated with the Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor and in accordance with a resolution adopted in convention held at Cumberland, Md., Sept. 11 to 15th, 1911, requesting the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to place an organizer in Maryland and the District of Columbia; and to co-operate with the officers of the above named body, or federation, in organizing the unorganized in said localities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be requested and directed to place an organizer in Maryland and in the District of Columbia.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 51—By Delegate M. E. Shay, of the State Federation of Labor of Texas:**

WHEREAS, Texas is today confronted with conditions that are of much importance to organized labor, its growing conditions, and vast amount of territory to be covered, its hundreds of unorganized, skilled and unskilled laborers. Trade differences and jurisdiction disputes are becoming so numerous and of such large proportions, that it will require constant and continuous effort on the part of the American Federation of Labor to handle; and

WHEREAS, Texas is the largest state in the Union, and has been sadly neglected in the past several years by the American Federation of Labor, and it would, with the very best efforts that could be put forth, require the entire services of an organizer to cover it in a year which would be necessary to get results; and

WHEREAS, New towns are springing up daily and the population is increasing at such rapid rate, that it is only a matter of time when it will exceed New York. With these growing conditions confronting it, it is absolutely essential that the American Federation of Labor give these matters consideration, educating

and organizing this great army of workers; and

WHEREAS, General organizers of the American Federation of Labor, sent into Texas are always allotted only a limited time, and are for this reason unable to cover only a small portion of the state, on account of the great amount or mileage and distances to be covered with added time for organization work, are totally unable to get the results required; and

WHEREAS, These same organizers are only available at rare intervals, their time being fully taken up in other places; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor appoint an organizer for at least one year to work Texas exclusively, if results are obtained service to be continued; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the appointment be given a man conversant with the condition of Texas, a native Texan, if possible, who has had some experience in the labor movement, and is fully conversant in the labor movement.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 59—By Delegate Moffitt, of the Hatters:**

WHEREAS, The Seamen of the Great Lakes have been struggling for four years to defend themselves against a system of the grossest servitude, which the United States Steel Corporation, through its subsidiary, the Lake Carriers' Association, is trying to impose on them; and

WHEREAS, This system, by employers called the welfare plan, by the Seamen the hellfare plan, may be used against any class of workers; and

WHEREAS, This system, once fastened upon the workers of any trade or calling, would deprive them of all independence and reduce them to a condition equal to the peonage of Mexico; and

WHEREAS, The Seamen have conducted this struggle, and are yet conducting it, without asking any financial assessment from other organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we congratulate the Seamen upon their fortitude and endurance; that we pledge to them our moral and financial assistance to the end that they may win this struggle, and thus prove that human courage, singleness of purpose, and endurance can win against money, no matter how unequal the contest.

The Committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 65—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, M. W. Kelleher and Martin Cole, of the International Longshoremen's Association:**



**WHEREAS,** But a small percentage of the Hawaiian Longshoremens are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor through the International Longshoremens' Association, and being informed that much good work can be performed in this territory if some good live organizer, or organizers, were placed or assigned to said field, which would benefit materially the Longshoremens of the Pacific coast, as well as all other crafts thereof; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the President of this Federation appoint an organizer for the Hawaiian Islands, using his best judgment as to length of time same shall continue.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 71—By Delegate J. W. Holder of the Florida State Federation of labor:**

**WHEREAS,** The present and existing condition of labor in the extreme Southeastern States is in an unsatisfactory stage of organization, owing to the influx of unorganized labor, caused by the continued and persistent advertising by employers; and

**WHEREAS,** There will be a still greater influx of unorganized labor, owing to the near opening of the Panama Canal, and the immediate opening of the East Coast Extension to Key West and Cuba, also the drainage, reclamation and opening of the Great Everglades, and

**WHEREAS,** The State and Central Bodies of these states, through lack of funds, are not able to place organizers in the field; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That this convention authorize the placing of an organizer in this District at the earliest possible convenience of the Executive Council.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the report of the Committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 74—By Delegates Barry, Suarez and Peterson, of the International Alliance Theatrical Stage Employes:**

**WHEREAS,** During a conflict in the city of Hartford, Conn., between Mr. S. Z. Poll, of New Haven, Conn., who owns and controls many theatres in several sections of the East; and

**WHEREAS,** During a conference held in the city of New Haven, Conn., between Mr. S. Z. Poll and his attorney, one Mr. Slade, Mr. Charles J. Donahue, President at the time, of the Connecticut State Federation of Labor, did, entirely unsolicited by the members of the I. A. T. S. E., intrude himself into said conference as he, Mr. Donahue, himself informed the offi-

cers of the I. A. T. S. E., the request of Mr. S. Z. Poll; and

**WHEREAS,** Mr. Chas. J. Donahue did wilfully write President Gompers a misstatement of the true facts in the said controversy; and

**WHEREAS,** Said Chas. J. Donahue caused the I. A. T. S. E., considerable time and expense in the city of Hartford, Conn., and elsewhere in injunction proceedings, which had been served on the President of the I. A. T. S. E., and others; and

**WHEREAS,** Such actions are not in accordance with union principles and more especially so from prominent Labor officials, and members of the A. F. of L.; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** By this, the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we do severely condemn the actions of Charles J. Donahue for his unwarranted and unsolicited interference in the controversy between Mr. S. Z. Poll and the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes of the United States and Canada.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Connecticut State Federation of Labor.

Delegate Barry stated that he had no objection to referring the matter to the State Federation, but felt that his organization was warranted in asking that such action as that complained of in the resolution be condemned, and as much publicity as possible given to it in order that such action might not be repeated in other states.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 76—By Delegate Frank Butterworth, of the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers:**

**WHEREAS,** The International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, the International Union of Stationary Firemen and the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen have, since April 13, 1910, been on strike against the Purlington Paving Brick Company, of Galesburg, Ill., in defense of their rights to become members of the union of their trade; and

**WHEREAS,** The unions involved, with the assistance of the American Federation of Labor, the Illinois State Federation and the Galesburg Central Body have been, and are still, maintaining an effective and vigorous resistance to the attempts of the Purlington Company to destroy their organization therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That we, the delegates of the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, hereby extend our full moral support to the unions affected and request our officers and the officers and members of all affiliated unions to do all in their power to assist the battling men of Galesburg to secure the rights and ben-

efits of organization, under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

The Committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate Jacob Tazelaar, of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers:

WHEREAS, In September, 1910, an attempt was made by the American Federation of Labor to organize the glove workers employed by the Saranac Glove Co. of Littleton, N. H., makers of the Saranac and Parker glove; and

WHEREAS, This attempt was successful in securing about 40 employees in applying for a charter, who were threatened with discharge by the company unless they gave up their membership in the organization of glove workers; and

WHEREAS, The Saranac Glove Company discharged a number of men who had been employed by them for a large number of years, some of them eleven years, some eighteen years and one twenty-one years, for refusing to give up their membership in the Union; and

WHEREAS, The product of this company is sold largely among the working people, particularly railroad men; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be authorized to take steps at once to thoroughly advertise the attitude of this company among the organized and unorganized workers, particularly the railroad workmen and unions where the product of this company is sold.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to endeavor to effect an adjustment of the question in controversy, and failing, to take such action as they may deem advisable.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate C. F. Russi, Jr., San Antonio Trades Council:

WHEREAS, The flour and cereal milling industries in the United States are in a deplorable condition, to-wit: Long hours, sometimes twelve or fourteen a day; defective machinery and, in many instances, unsanitary; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has assumed direct jurisdiction in the milling trades; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council give to the general organizers of the American Federation of Labor special instructions to try and organize Federal Local Unions of flour and cereal mill employees in the different cities throughout the country which they visit.

The Committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 84—By Delegate W. E. Scoggan, of the Black Hills Trades Assembly:

WHEREAS, The Homestake Mining Company of Lead, South Dakota, has enforced a tyrannical and relentless blacklist against all Union men since January 1, 1910, by requiring of all applicants as a condition of employment the signing of the following card:

"OFFICE HOMESTAKE MINING COMPANY, Lead, S. D. ....19

"I am not a member of any Labor Union, and in consideration of my being employed by the Homestake Mining Company, agree that I will not become such while in its service.

"Occupation .....  
"(Signed) .....

Believing this card to be in direct conflict with the Constitution of the United States and a violation of the rights of citizenship, submission to its demands would be a wrong against posterity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, that we pledge our moral and financial support to our brothers now struggling against greed and oppression of this mining corporation; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That organizers be placed in this District for the purpose of aiding and assisting our locked-out brothers in South Dakota to maintain their organization and rights of citizenship.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to make an inquiry as to conditions prevailing at Lead, South Dakota, and to render whatever assistance they can in promoting an adjustment of the dispute.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the Committee be adopted.

Delegate Scoggan requested that a copy of an appeal sent to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor by the Black Hills Trades Assembly be printed in the permanent proceedings of the Convention.

Secretary Morrison read the appeal referred to by Delegate Scoggan. Delegate Scoggan moved that it be made part of the permanent proceedings of the Convention. The motion was seconded, and carried by vote of 53 in the affirmative to 49 in the negative.

The following is the appeal:  
Samuel Gompers, and the Members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Gentlemen:

The Black Hills Trade Assembly, and its many affiliated Unions of the various International Organizations of Labor,

wish to call your attention to the Homestake lockout, of which you no doubt have some knowledge, as we believe there are many phases of the same that are not understood by the officials of the American Federation of Labor. This lockout has been in force since November 24, 1909, the first notice of the same being given by the following order or ultimatum:

#### Notice.

Notice is hereby given that the Homestake Mining Company will employ only non-union men after January 1, 1910. The present scale of wages and the eight (8) hour shift will be maintained. All employees who desire to remain in the company's service must register at the general office of the company on or before December 15, 1909.

T. J. GREIR, Superintendent.

November 17, 1909.

When this order was given no demand had been made on the above named company. The motive and object of this lockout can only be surmised, but without a doubt the Unions once out of the way it would mean a reduction of wages or lengthening of hours. The result also would be that where between four or five thousand men were employed, their former places would be taken by non-union men and this Trades Assembly and the unions of which it is composed, will all go out of business.

While this lockout has been in force over twenty months, it is not a successful venture for the mining companies, as they have expended enormous capital in their fight on Organized Labor, and its effect on the community morally and financially has been disastrous. Property has depreciated, homes have been broken up and business all but ruined outside of the company's stores.

At the beginning of this controversy, after being threatened by agents of the company and banks that are dominated by the company, most of the business men of the district signed a list in sympathy with the company and against the unions. Enclosed find running advertisement in the official paper of the company pointing to the fact, as they say, that all business deprives its support from the mining industry. By the experience of the last twenty months the business men have found they have made a grave mistake in bestowing their sympathy and we believe would lend support to a movement to bring about a settlement of this lockout in the near future.

The following card each employe must sign before obtaining work readily shows the damnable scope of the company's opposition to Union Labor.

#### Homestake Card.

I am not a member of any Labor Union and in consideration of my being employed by the Homestake Mining Company, agree that I will not become such while in its service.

Signed by Employe .....

This card that all must sign, thereby breaking their obligation to their Union and selling their right of citizenship, is

one of the main issues in this controversy. We look upon this as a direct attack on citizenship and the fundamental laws of the country, and it should be the concern of all laboring men, non-union as well as union, as it is nothing less than the meanest form of peonage.

That you may fully understand how well the unions were established in this district, we will state in the following lines of a brief summary of the principal ones involved and the effect on the same.

The Lead Miners' Union, owned a building (the largest in town), worth \$100,000, was paying sick benefits of \$10 a week to its members, and \$75 funeral benefit. It was known as the most benevolent institution in Western South Dakota, as it gave more to charities and taking care of the widows and orphans of deceased miners than any other organization. They were also the means of all other unions reaching the acme of their power and when it shall fall so will all the unions. In Deadwood, Terry and Central, nearby towns (six miles of territory include them all) the Miners' Unions owned property of like value and paid the same benefits besides charities performed. Now all this property must be sacrificed as well as that of the various members if this lockout is continued indefinitely.

The Electrical Workers still maintain a Union; all their men being employed by the Consolidated Light & Power Co. All men working for the mining companies have left the organization.

The Musicians' Union, formerly had a Union shop in their craft. Now in the city of Lead, there are three scab bands, five scab orchestras, and all the local show places employ scab musicians but one. The power of this once powerful union is practically disrupted.

The Carpenters' Union had almost a union camp. All carpenters working for the mining companies are scabbing and the union is powerless, with only 25 per cent of their former membership.

There is no vestige left of the Painters' and Decorators' Union, and they gave up their charter.

The Teamsters had very nearly a union camp, but had to give up their charter, the few loyal members being taken into the Western Federation of Miners, where they drew relief.

The Clerks were compelled to give up their charter, principally on account of the action taken by the business men who favored the tactics of the mining company.

The Working Girls' Union had a union shop, now disrupted.

The Bartenders' Union of Lead, was broken up on account of action taken by the business men.

The Barbers had a local union, now long since dissolved.

The Brewers still have a contract with the Brewing Company, but the owners are emphatically in favor of the action of the mining companies.

The Machinists were the first to give up their charter and those remaining in

Lead are all scabbing for the Homestake Mining Company.

The Homestake Mining Company, as the principal instigator of this lockout, forced the smaller mining companies to follow their lead, but several have lately started in with union men and abolished the Card system.

We know the Mine Owners' Association has taken an active part in our downfall and we believe it is but a start to disrupt Unionism in the entire West, and our defeat would mean an attack on other strong centers in the mining industry.

The city administration, county officials and the courts, have been emphatically against us, and when the situation and all the facts are understood the diabolical meanness of the company is beyond belief.

Like the charge of the Light Brigade, who gave the order is unknown. The local superintendent says it came from higher authority than himself, and the Hearst estate, also the Haggan estate both disclaim credit for the same.

While the Hearst estate is, we believe, the controlling interest in the Homestake Company, W. R. Hearst, the self-claimed friend of Labor, has remained silent as the tomb, while thousands of union men are paying for and reading Hearst papers, and in so doing contributing to the enemy. We believe such inconsistency on the part of W. R. Hearst, should be known to all Union men.

While it is said W. R. Hearst claims he owns no stock in said company nor any financial interest in the Homestake mine, and has nothing to say in its management, he or his manager for him, when he was a candidate for Governor of New York, in 1906, did ask the miners to brand as false statements made by a rival paper concerning his connection with said mine and endorse him as a friend of the laboring men and the Union.

The Lead Miners' Union met in special session and complied with the above request as they at that time believed him to be a friend of them and their cause. We have here on file the telegram asking for this favor and also the minutes of the special meeting wherein the action was taken favorable to W. R. Hearst. These and affidavits of the same may be had should any action by the American Federation of Labor require them.

The union men of this district would like to know why this change and lack of interest on the part of W. R. Hearst.

The many hundreds of union men who have so loyally stood by their principal, and suffered many hardships are still as determined to fight to the end, if their comrades in the American Labor movement stay by them.

We beg of you to take this under your immediate consideration and investigation, and favor us with an early reply.

Any other information desired will be immediately forthcoming.

Yours fraternally,

J. C. MAY, Secretary.

W. E. SCOGGAN, President.

Lead, S. D., August 14, 1911.

Delegate Moyer discussed the question briefly. He stated that while William Randolph Hearst claimed that he owned no stock in the Homestake Mining Company, the property belonged to the Hearst estate, and Mr. Hearst and his mother were the beneficiaries of it. He stated that the matter vitally concerned the Western Federation of Miners, as 2,200 of their members had been practically driven out of the Black Hills country and forced to go elsewhere to secure employment. He stated that in addition to the investigation made by the Executive Council he desired that every delegate who could do so make a personal investigation, either through correspondence with some member of his organization who still remained in the Black Hills country, or by any other means he desired.

Delegate Cannon (J. D.) stated that while the Western Federation of Miners had no Label, and for that reason could not ask for support of a Label, they could ask that Organized Labor refuse to buy the paper of an enemy of Organized Labor.

Delegate Lynch (James M.), discussed the question at some length, and urged that a careful investigation be made before condemning as unfair a man who employed members of the five International Trades in the printing industry in all of his eleven newspapers. He stated that Mr. Hearst was one of the largest employers in the printing industry outside of the United States government; that he employed members of Organized Labor in all departments of his newspapers, and in every instance had paid a higher scale than the generally accepted scale in that locality. He stated that while he held no brief for Mr. Hearst he felt that an investigation should be made and all the facts ascertained before such a man should be condemned before a Convention of the A. F. of L.

Delegate Mead made a brief statement in which he referred to the fact that Mr. Hearst and his chief editor had been unfair to organized Steam Fitters in New York City.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee on Resolution No. 84 was adopted.

Resolution No. 93—By Delegates Wm. J. Cooke, Harry DeVeaux and Jos. Birnes, of the White Rats Actors' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The White Rats Actors' Union has since the amalgamation of the White Rats of America and the Actors International Union and the rechartering of the Amalgamated Association by the American Federation of Labor upon the 7th day of December, 1910, conducted a thorough campaign of organization; and

WHEREAS, During this short period of time the White Rats Actors' Union has succeeded in practically organizing all of the desirable and competent actors and actresses engaged in vaudeville in this country; and

WHEREAS, The White Rats Actors' Union desire a thorough understanding with all of the allied trades and professions engaged in the production of theatricals for the purpose of perfecting their plan of organization and inducing a complete affiliation of all actors and actresses in all branches of the theatrical profession in this country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in the city of Atlanta, Ga., do hereby request the Executive Council of American Federation of Labor to arrange and set a date for a conference of all allied theatrical organizations that shall have for its purpose the outlining of plans for a better understanding between the allied trades to better protect and enforce conditions which will bring about reforms and make the business of the employment of actors and actresses and all others engaged in and about the stage one that will allow just and equitable treatment for both employer and employee alike and eliminate much of the present unfair methods adopted by many employers in this class of business throughout this country.

The Committee offered the following recommendation:

Owing to the fact that since the introduction of the resolution a conference has been agreed to by the organizations engaged in the production of theatricals, we recommend that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to use their good offices in furthering co-operation among the trades referred to in this resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

The Committee recommended that Resolution 101 be amended by striking from the sixth line of the last paragraph the word "directed" and inserting the word "requested," and striking from the end of the same paragraph the words "within thirty days after this Convention adjourns or stands suspended by and from such National and International Unions," the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 101—By Delegates J. P. Holland, of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity, and

Maurice De Young, Central Labor Union, of Brooklyn, N. Y.:

WHEREAS, A Central Body exists in the city of Brooklyn, Greater New York, known as the Brooklyn Federation of Labor, which is not chartered by the American Federation of Labor, and is antagonistic to it and the chartered Central Bodies of Brooklyn, Manhattan and the Bronx, which bodies are known respectively as the Central Labor Union of Brooklyn, Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity and the Bronx Labor Council; and

WHEREAS, Said Brooklyn Federation of Labor is composed of dual and seceding unions of National and International Unions and of independent unions, and these National and International Unions are chartered by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Local Unions of National and International Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor are represented in the said Brooklyn Federation of Labor, and approve of action by that body undertaken against the American Federation of Labor, and the legitimate and recognized National and International Unions and their Local Unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED by this Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that all National and International Unions whose local unions are affiliated with the said Brooklyn Federation of Labor, are requested to instruct all such local unions to withdraw from the Brooklyn Federation of Labor.

The Committee recommended concurrence in the amended resolution.

Delegate Holland (J. P.) stated that he had no objection to the word "directed" being stricken out and "requested" inserted, but contended that something should be done by the International Organizations who had local unions seated in the dual Central Body in Brooklyn. He stated that members of locals affiliated with the dual Central Body were employed as strike-breakers when local unions affiliated with the regular Central Body were on strike.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 102—By Delegates Chris Kerker and Henry Koch, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers:

WHEREAS, The Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union has for many years been engaged in a terrific struggle against the gigantic "Bread Trusts"; which, with their enormous money power were enabled to either destroy or buy up good union bakeries throughout this country, and hence thwart the efforts of the union bakers; and

WHEREAS, The Bakers and Confectionery Workers' International Union has

made titanic efforts to organize and progress and finds itself in need of funds owing to the depletion of its treasury by this long struggle; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Atlanta, Ga., hereby authorize the Executive Council to confer with the officers of said International Union as to the best ways and means of raising a fund to assist the Bakery Workers in their determination to uplift their craft and defeat the "Bread Trusts."

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted:

**Resolution No. 105**—By Delegates Chris Kerker and Henry Koch, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union:

**WHEREAS**, Unscrupulous employers of the Baking industry employing thousands of craftsmen of the Baking trade have in the past year reduced wages and forced men to inhuman conditions, and while we are doing all within our power to uphold and defend our Constitution against the wanton attack of corporate power which seeks to take advantage and fasten upon its employes a slavish condition of servitude; and

**WHEREAS**, The members of Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America have been engaged in bitter strikes the country over, we feel that the conditions of the bakery industry must be sharply looked after; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed by this Convention to give to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union assistance in the way of organizing, by instructing organizers in all localities to give some attention to the organizing of bakers wherever they may meet.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 116**—By Delegate M. R. Pace, of the Richmond, Va., Central Trades and Labor Council:

**WHEREAS**, There is great need for organization in certain portions of our country; and

**WHEREAS**, It is through this method that the gospel of unionism is disseminated; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the A. F. of L., in Convention assembled in the city of Atlanta, Ga., that the Executive Council be and are hereby instructed to create a new district to be composed of the State of Maryland, the District of Columbia, and the States of Virginia and North Carolina, to be known as District No. —; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council is hereby requested to name an organizer for the District hereby created at the earliest possible moment.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 118**—By Delegates Joseph Smith, of the Michigan State Federation of Labor, and Charles Schaffer, of the Kalamazoo Trades and Labor Council:

**WHEREAS**, The State of Michigan is fast becoming one of the leading industrial states of the Union and there is a vast army of unorganized workers in the State; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor appoint a permanent organizer to assist the officers of the State Federation to thoroughly organize the state.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the Committee be adopted.

Delegate Smith (Leland), discussed the question briefly, and urged that the Executive Council give the matter very serious consideration, as at the present time there were about 5,000 unorganized building laborers in the city of Detroit.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried.

**Resolution No. 121**—By Delegate Andrew J. Gallagher, of the California State Federation of Labor:

**WHEREAS**, Due to internal friction and differences there has existed in this country, two organizations of Steam Shovel men; and

**WHEREAS**, The existence of dual organizations is detrimental to those crafts in which they exist, in particular, and to our movement in general; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the President of the American Federation of Labor is authorized and directed to call a meeting of the representatives of the International Union of Steam Engineers and representatives of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, and representatives of the Associated Union of Steam Shovel men, before the next meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of uniting all the organized members of this craft into one organization affiliated with the International Union of Steam Engineers.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive

Council, with instructions to call a meeting of representatives of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen and representatives of the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen, and such other organizations as are interested in the subject for the purpose of uniting all organized members of this trade into one organization in accordance with the laws of the A. F. of L.

On motion the report of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 123—By Delegates Martin E. Goellnitz, F. C. Gengenback and O. A. Tveitmo, of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers:

WHEREAS, There are thousands of men employed at cement work who are as yet unorganized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the organizers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by the proper authorities to pay particular attention and devote as much of their time as possible in organizing cement workers throughout the United States and Canada.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 148—By Delegates Thos. V. O'Connor, P. F. A. Vaccarelli, M. W. Kelleher and Martin Cole, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The affiliation of all organizations of the workers employed in the industry of transportation, such as Longshoremen, Seamen, Teamsters, Railroaders, Freight Handlers, Street Car Men, Boat Men, etc., will be of advantage to all concerned; and

WHEREAS, The developments of industry will eventually force the workers to organize and affiliate on industrial lines; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, take such steps as they may deem necessary for the formation of such a Department, and that all Transportation Organizations be invited to join the Transportation Department.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Treasurer Lennon in the chair.

Resolution No. 150—By Delegate Joseph D. Cannon, of the Western Federation of Miners:

WHEREAS, Modern industrial concerns are constantly being brought into closer

inter-relation with each other and this result of the industrial trend of the age, makes the workers in the different crafts and trades, to a greater extent, inter-dependent upon each other; craft lines are more closely drawn, and in most trades there are constant infringements of jurisdictions, the exact boundary of which, it is impossible to define, this condition naturally familiarizes the workers of one trade with the technique of others; consequently, these workers when forced to seek employment seek it wherever they can find it; they do not limit themselves to their own particular trade or craft, but accept employment in any craft or trade of which they have acquired the necessary skill; and

WHEREAS, Under our crude form or system of Federation this makes it necessary for workers, securing such employment, to pay large initiation fees upon each such change of employment, thereby rendering it more difficult for our members to live and provide for their families under this regime of "Full Dinner Pail" and ever-increasing "High Cost of Living." It is in effect, equivalent to the placing of a premium upon non-Unionism and a discount upon our members who keep their cards in good standing; it is the placing of a cruel and unnecessary hardship upon those who make it possible for us to maintain our various unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this matter be referred to the proper committee or to the Executive Council with instructions to prepare a clause for the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, which will provide for an equitable exchange of paid-up cards between all affiliated unions.

Secretary Fischer—The Committee reports that the American Federation of Labor has uniformly and consistently encouraged the acceptance of paid-up cards of affiliated Unions, and recommends a continuance of this policy. We recognize, however, that the A. F. of L. has no authority to direct the internal affairs of the affiliated National and International Unions. We, therefore, recommend non-concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 151—By Delegates M. W. Mitchell, Jas. A. Short and J. W. Bridwell, of the Journeymen Stone Cutters Association of North America:

WHEREAS, There are working in and around the marble quarries of North Georgia several hundred skilled and unskilled laborers who compete with the organized labor of the marble industry in other sections of the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in the Thirty-first Annual Convention assembled, pledges its moral support in bringing about better

conditions in the section mentioned, and directs its executive officers to assist in organizing these operatives by sending an organizer into this field at the time they may think will be the means of accomplishing results.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendations of the Committee were adopted.

**Resolution No. 159—By Delegates Matt Comerford, J. G. Hannahan, J. L. McNamara and John Glass, of the International Union of Steam Engineers, and Timothy Healy, Wm. J. Brennan and M. J. Friel, of the International Brotherhood of Firemen:**

WHEREAS, The Prudential Life Insurance Company of America, whose home office is located in Newark, N. J., operates a large power plant therein and refuses to permit the employees to become connected with the respective trade unions as are engineers, firemen, oilers, switchboard operators, etc., and do not pay the recognized union scale of wages; and

WHEREAS, The Essex Trades Council, of Newark, N. J., has made strenuous efforts by committee and correspondence to organize those employees and failed; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** By the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Atlanta, Ga., to instruct the Executive Council to take up this case with the Prudential Life Insurance Company in an effort to organize that particular department.

The Committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 160—By Delegate Fred W. Sutor, of the Quarry Workers' International Union of North America:**

WHEREAS, In view of the fact that a great number of quarry workers throughout this country and Canada are not organized; and

WHEREAS, Quarries as a rule are in outlying districts, the organizers of the A. F. of L. generally fail to reach them; and

WHEREAS, It is difficult for our organization to procure the services of a permanent organizer; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That this, the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, direct the Executive Council to instruct its organizers to give special attention to these unorganized quarry workers while in localities where the same may be employed.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 169—By Delegate James F. Brock, of the Laundry Workers' International Union:**

WHEREAS, Comparatively a small per cent of the Laundry Workers of America are organized and the larger portion of them are women and young girls of tender years, who have to work long hours under slavish conditions for the lack of being organized; and

WHEREAS, This vast number of Laundry Workers is by far the largest contingent of unorganized labor embraced in a single class now in existence; and

WHEREAS, The Steam Laundry Workers' International Union has organized a certain per cent of this class and increased their wages and shortened their hours from sixteen hours a day to nine hours a day through such organization; and

WHEREAS, The organization of this vast body of working women and children and working men is of paramount importance to the labor movement at the present time; and

WHEREAS, The International Steam Laundry Workers' Union had to withdraw their International President off the pay roll on account of no funds being in the treasury, and as the General President has been acting as the organizer of our craft, and without an organizer being in the field, the Laundry Workers' Union shall soon be on the decline; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized by this Convention to give to our organization assistance in the way of organizing by instructing organizers in all localities to give particular attention to the organizing of the laundry workers.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

The Committee reported the completion of their partial report.

A request was made that Resolution No. 130 be referred from the Committee on Adjustment to the Committee on Boycotts. No objection being offered, Chairman Lennon stated that the resolution would be so referred.

#### Report of Committee on State Organization.

Delegate McNamara (J. L.), Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

**Resolution No. 114—By the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs' Delegation:**



WHEREAS, There exists at the present time, in the city of New York, a strike among the Garbage Workers, involving about 4,000 men, who are members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs, duly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Great distress and inconvenience prevails to the general public; and

WHEREAS, The men have offered to submit the grievances existing to a committee representing the business interests and the Civic Federation, as well as a certain number representing the Central Federated Union of New York and the Chamber of Commerce; and

WHEREAS, The men have offered to return to work pending an investigation of the said grievances existing, thereby granting relief to the citizens of New York and eliminating the present inconvenience existing as a result of the strike; and

WHEREAS, The mayor of New York city has absolutely refused to agree to the above proposition, but has ordered that the strike-breaking agencies be called into the case and engaged to hire strikebreakers in every section of the city and country for the purpose of breaking the strike; and

WHEREAS, This is the first instance that we know of in the country, where a large city, such as New York, that ought to be a model employer of Labor, has turned to using the same tactics as the most unjust employers and haters of labor unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the A. F. of L. instruct President Gompers to investigate the statements herein contained immediately, and if conditions exist as herein described that he make known the facts to this convention and to the labor organizations of the country and to the general public.

The Committee recommended that President Gompers take steps to have an investigation made at the earliest possible opportunity, and report back to the Convention the findings of such investigation, if possible.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the Committee be adopted.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.) discussed the question briefly. He stated that he did not ask the Convention to condemn the New York City government without an investigation. He stated further that the Garbage Teamsters had been working at nights and overtime without extra pay; that they struck as a protest against the treatment they had been receiving from the city of New York, and after they struck they requested the city officials through the mayor to have an

investigation of the grievances made; that they offered to work pending such an investigation and agreed to leave their grievances to arbitration. He stated that the city officials absolutely refused to listen to any plan for arbitration or conciliation, but on the contrary proceeded to employ strike breaking agencies to disrupt the union.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried.

President Gompers in the chair.

Resolution No. 139—By Delegate J. T. Carey, of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers:

WHEREAS, Practically all paper used by the United States Government is made in mills where the employees, both men and women, are compelled to work thirteen hours per day or per night; and

WHEREAS, There is an apparent understanding or agreement between the manufacturers of book, bond, writing, ledger, tissue, wrapper and post card papers, to compel employees to work long hours, which is a disgrace to a civilized country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. through the Executive Council, make every effort possible to secure the appointment of a Committee of Congress and the United States Senate, to make a full investigation, as to the conditions under which book, bond, writing, ledger, tissue, wrapper and post card papers are made.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for further consideration and action.

On motion the report of the Committee was adopted.

President Gompers—The Executive Council recommended to this Convention action for the appointment of a Committee to confer with the delegates of the White Rats Actors' Union in regard to proposed performances to be given throughout the country for the benefit of Labor.

Delegate DeYoung—I move that such a Committee be appointed.

The motion was seconded and carried, and President Gompers appointed as such Committee Delegates E. E. Tharp, W. V. Russell and A. J. Kugler.

#### Report of Committee on Laws.

Delegate Pierce, Secretary of the Committee, read the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Organizers," and also the following resolution:

**Resolution No. 167—By Delegate W. B. Abell, of the Central Labor Union of Miami, Fla.:**

WHEREAS, The efforts of the American Federation of Labor, for the accomplishment of our various principles is frequently hampered by an insufficiency of funds: therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention does hereby authorize the increase of the dues at least 50 per cent.

Secretary Pierce—Your Committee gave these propositions careful consideration and recommended that Section 1 of Article X of the Constitution be amended by striking from the fifth line the words "one-half" and inserting in lieu thereof the words "two-thirds," so that the per-capita tax of the International Unions will be two-thirds of a cent per member per month.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the Committee be adopted.

The motion was carried by a vote of 123 in the affirmative to 27 in the negative.

Secretary Pierce read that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Union Label League" and also read the following resolution:

**Resolution No. 28—By Delegate W. J. Pfeiffer, of the Indiana State Federation:**

WHEREAS, The International Women's Union Label League is an organization created for the sole purpose of creating a greater demand for articles bearing the Union Label of all crafts affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Said organization is doing a great work for all label trades as well as the trade union movement in general; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Committee on Law of this Convention is hereby instructed to so amend the Constitution that at all future conventions of the American Federation of Labor the delegate representing the International Women's Union Label League will be entitled to one vote on all matters coming before said Convention.

The Committee recommended concurrence in the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Union Label League," and recommended non-concurrence in Resolution 28.

On motion the report of the Committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 3—By Delegate Groce Lawrence, of the Illinois State Federation:**

Amend Article VII. by inserting a new section, to be known as Section 5, as follows:

"The Secretary shall, on the first day of each quarter of the fiscal year of the Federation, forward to the Secretary of each State Federation recognized as such by the A. F. of L., a sum equal to one-half cent per member per month for every union man connected with the A. F. of L., either direct or through affiliation, in such state jurisdiction."

Renumber Section 5, Article VII, by making same new Section 6.

Renumber Section 6, Article VII, by making same new Section 7.

(Section 6, as now in effect, (new section 7), gives the Secretary full power to secure the data necessary to put the proposed change into full operation.)

Amend Article X, Section 1, by striking out the words "one-half of one cent," in line six, and inserting the words "one cent" (thus collecting one-half cent per member per month for State Federations.)

The Committee reported unfavorably on Resolution No. 3.

On motion the report of the Committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 41—By Delegate A. W. Smith, of the South Chicago Trades Assembly:**

**Amendment to Constitution:**

**Article XIV.—Miscellaneous.**

Add after twenty-first (21st) line:

"No employer shall be eligible to membership in a Federal Labor Union."

The Committee offered the following as a substitute for the proposition: That there be added to Section 2 of Article XIV the following: That employers who are members of a Federal Labor or local union directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall not attend meetings or have a vote in the management of the union, and shall work in accord with the scale and rules of the Union in which they hold membership.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the Committee be concurred in.

President Gompers—The chair would inquire from the Committee what they had in mind when they speak of employers as members of a Federal Labor Union or a local union?

Treasurer Lennon—The Committee is informed, and I know it from my own observation, that occasionally in a local union, as for instance, a Teamsters' Local, there will be a member who owns his own team and one other team. He drives one team and employs a man to drive the other. They both work regularly as employees for wages, but the second teamster, of course, works for the man who owns the team. In many cases

these men are in the small unions where it is impossible, on account of the small number, to have a Teamsters' Union without them. There being no law in the A. F. of L. governing the matter, although I know there has been a decision, the Committee thought it was best to offer this recommendation.

After a brief discussion by Delegate Walker (J. H.), President Gompers and Treasurer Lennon, a motion was made by Delegate Wilson (J.), that the matter be referred back to the Committee for further consideration. The motion was seconded and carried.

**Resolution No. 87—By Delegate Jacob Tazelaar, of Painters, Paper Hangers and Decorators:**

Amendment to Section 7, Article IX.  
Strike out the figures \$5.00 per day and insert the figures \$6.00 per day on line 4.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for careful consideration, with power to act.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the Committee be concurred in.

After a brief discussion by Delegate Tobin (D. J.), who spoke in favor of the recommendation, the motion was adopted.

**Resolution No. 95—By Delegate Jacob Tazelaar, of the Brotherhood of the Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers:**

No delegate shall be admitted and seated in future conventions of the American Federation of Labor, who has been guilty of discriminating or using his influence among the members of the organization he represents or others against union label products.

The word voluntary association or membership wherever such may appear in the Constitution, decisions or edicts rendered by the officials or persons representing this Federation, shall under no circumstances be construed and interpreted to mean and be regarded or understood as a license for members of this Federation and persons seeking to sit as delegates, to oppose the sale and patronage of union label products, or refusing to employ members in good standing of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The Committee offered the following as a substitute for Resolution No. 95:

WHEREAS, The purchasing power of Trades Unionists and their families is not used to the extent possible; in fact, in thousands of instances the neglect to purchase union label products appears to be almost deliberate and certainly is gross

negligence; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, that failure or neglect by union men or women to purchase union-made goods or to hire union labor when required, if it is possible to obtain it, should be condemned by this Federation and by union labor so vigorously as to become in the near future effective in stopping such practice entirely.

On motion the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 97—By Delegate Joseph Proebstle, of International Union of the United Brewery Workers of America:**

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has at all times favored the adoption of the Initiative and Referendum and Recall in our Municipal and State governments, and is now making every effort through the State and Central bodies, to have the Initiative, Referendum and Recall embodied in the Constitutions of the various states of the Union; and

WHEREAS, The Initiative and Referendum is the only true Democratic form of making laws and electing officers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED (1), That this Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, adopt the Initiative and Referendum in the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor, by providing for the nomination of candidates for elective offices by and through the delegates to the Convention, the names of the nominees for the various offices, to be placed on a ballot, and a sufficient number of ballots forwarded to every affiliated International, National and Federal Labor Union; these organizations to conduct the election and forward the ballots to the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor where the same shall be counted by a committee to be composed of four members selected from different International or National organizations and one member of a Federal Labor Union; the officers as elected to take office the first day of March following the Convention; all officers to be elected for a term of two years; (2), that changes of law may be made on existing laws of the Federation repealed either at the Convention, or by the demand of one-eighth of all International or National organizations; single majority to govern all elections. (Specific rules and regulations governing Referendum vote to be worked out by Committee on Law.)

The Committee reported unfavorably on Resolution No. 97.

Treasurer Lennon—One member of the Committee desires to submit a minority report and has asked me to read it. The following minority report is submitted by Delegate Walker, of the Committee:

RESOLVED, That we favor the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor by the referendum vote

of the membership of the affiliated unions who are paid up and in good standing, if after thorough investigation, mature and deliberate consideration, it is found to be practicable and for the best interests of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the question of the practicability and desirability of electing the officers of the American Federation of Labor by referendum vote be referred to the Executive Council for investigation, with the understanding that they report on this subject to the next annual convention for its consideration.

Treasurer Lennon—I move the adoption of the report of the Committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Walker (J. H.)—I move to substitute the minority report for the majority report of the Committee. (Seconded.)

Treasurer Lennon—In the meeting of the Committee when this matter was before us for consideration, I offered a proposition almost identical as to the object to be secured with that of Delegate Walker. The Committee, however, nearly all the members being present except Brother Walker, decided that the whole proposition was not workable in the Federation, and as I concur in that belief I did not see fit to bring in a minority report or to sign any, but the view of the matter I took in the committee was that the investigation should be had and reported to this Convention. I know quite well the conditions of most of our international unions. I have a large degree of information as to their methods of conducting elections and legislation, and I know how inadequate those methods are in many instances. However, if the convention is desirous of taking up that line of action it certainly will have no disapproval from me.

Delegate Proebstle stated that he had no objection to the minority report, and spoke at length in favor of the initiative, referendum and recall.

Delegate Lewis (T. L.), spoke at length in favor of the minority report. Delegate Kelly (W. J.), supported the majority report. Delegate Walker (J. H.), and Delegate Cannon (J. D.), spoke in favor of the minority report.

Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

President Gompers discussed the question of the initiative and referendum at some length. He stated that he had always been in favor of the initiative and referendum and in 1877, in a Convention of the Cigar Makers' International Union, where but seven delegates were present, he proposed the election of officers and the adoption or ratification of laws for the International Union by the initiative and referendum; that in a later Convention of the Cigarmakers' International Union he had not only advocated that system but had drafted the laws which are now part of the Cigarmakers' International Constitution by which officers are nominated and elected by the initiative and referendum, that voting is not only made a right but a duty, and that failure to perform that duty is punishable. In closing President Gompers said, "I think the question of the election or the possibility of the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor by the initiative and referendum is a subject worthy of honest investigation and honest report. Delegates to this Convention and the American Labor movement ought to know whether we can or whether we cannot elect by referendum vote. I am in entire sympathy with and will support, if I have an opportunity, the minority report."

Delegate Barnes (J. M.), discussed the question at length, and supported the minority report.

Delegate Hayes (Max S.), discussed the question at some length, referring to the fact that in former conventions of the A. F. of L. he and other delegates had introduced resolutions favoring the initiative and referendum, and they had been defeated. He stated that he favored the minority report, as it would give the Executive Council a year to work out a plan, and if need be they could obtain information from states and countries that had adopted the initiative and referendum and had worked it out successfully.

President Gompers in the chair.

Vice-President Duncan discussed the question at length, referred to the fact that the organization of which he was a member had not had a Convention for thirty-one years, but that all matters had been settled by the initiative and referendum. He spoke at length of the suc-

cess of that method of electing officers and adopting laws.

Delegate Tobin (J. F.), discussed the question at some length, referred to the fact that the Boot and Shoe Workers had at one time adopted the method of conducting their elections by referendum vote, had found it unsatisfactory and returned to the system of electing in the conventions.

Delegate Johannsen spoke briefly, and suggested that the discussion being carried on was not proper while the motion to adopt the minority report was pending. He spoke in favor of the adoption of the minority report.

On motion debate was closed.

Delegate Lynch (J. M.)—The minority report makes a declaration and it provides for an investigation. We may be in favor of the latter portion and not of the introduction. I suggest that it may be divided.

President Gompers—The sense of the minority report admits of a division. Secretary Morrison will read the first paragraph.

Delegate Lewis (T. L.)—I arise to a point of order on the division. The motion adopted was to close debate on the minority report as a whole.

President Gompers—The point is not

well taken. When attention has been called to the fact that there are two distinct propositions in a subject and a delegate raises that question, it is the duty of the chairman to direct a division if the sense of the matter will admit.

Secretary Morrison read the first paragraph of Delegate Walker's minority report, which was adopted.

Secretary Morrison also read the second section of the minority report, which was adopted.

The minority report as a whole was then adopted.

Vice-President Duncan stated that the Committee on Resolutions had a great amount of matter referred to it and that most of the time had been taken up in hearings. He stated that the members of the committee did not wish to work during the sessions of the convention, and some of them had to appear before other committees. He stated that, inasmuch as the morning session had been held until nearly 2 o'clock, that an adjournment be taken till 9:30 Tuesday morning.

At 1:45 p. m., on motion of Vice-President Duncan, the rules were suspended and the Convention adjourned to reconvene at 9:30 a. m., Tuesday, November 21st.

## Eighth Day--Tuesday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Tuesday, November 21st, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Pfell, Roach, Coakley, Price, Gaviak, Kelly (William E.), Anderson (W. H.), Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Schnelder (John), Hobbs, Wendt, Davis, Wangberg, Fuller, Winchenback, Ford, Belt, Welsh (Thomas E.), Creamer, Donnelly, Lebowitz, Schaub.

During the report of the Committee on Organization during the session Monday afternoon Resolution No. 54 was reported on, but through an error omitted from the proceedings. The resolution and the report of the committee are as follows:

**Resolution No. 54**—By Delegates M. M. Donoghue and E. R. Torrey, of the Montana State Federation of Labor:

**WHEREAS**, At the eighteenth annual convention of the Montana Federation of Labor, the following resolution was presented and adopted:

**BE IT RESOLVED**, That the Montana Federation of Labor do request the American Federation of Labor to allow the salary of an organizer to work in the Western District of the State of Montana for a period of four months for the purpose of organizing the Lumber industry of this section of the state or such other organizations as may need this assistance, the name of the organizer to be suggested by the President of the Montana Federation of Labor.

(Signed)

J. B. EGAN,

TED FREY,

JOHN CLARKIN,

**WHEREAS**, We believe that it would be of great benefit to the Western District of the State of Montana if such an organizer were allowed; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the delegates to this convention, that the request contained in the above resolutions be granted.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council. On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

### Report of Committee on Laws.

Delegate Pierce, Secretary of the committee reported as follows:

**Resolution No. 99**—By Delegate Max Zuckerman, of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America:

**WHEREAS**, The interests of labor are

more effectively protected and advanced by a closer affiliation and co-operation of the different organizations of a given industry; and

**WHEREAS**, With this object in view the American Federation of Labor adopted the Trades Department form of organization of the separate industries; and

**WHEREAS**, Such form of organization by the American Federation of Labor has proven to be a success and should therefore be encouraged and extended; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor should, as soon as practicable, call to a conference the representatives of the organizations comprising the wearing apparel industries for the purpose of the formation of a Wearing Apparel Trades Department.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Nestor moved as a substitute that the entire matter be referred to the Executive Council for consideration as to the need of such a department, and that the various organizations that would be affected be communicated with to find out whether or not they wanted such a department. (Seconded.)

Delegate Nestor discussed the question at some length, stating that she did not think it would be necessary to call delegates from the various trades into such a conference until there was some necessity of such a department. She stated that inasmuch as all the trades engaged in the manufacture of wearing apparel were already affiliated with the Label Department it would be merely an extra expense to have a department of the wearing apparel trades established.

Treasurer Lennon stated that the resolution referred the matter to the Executive Council, with the request that such a conference be called as soon as practicable, and that the Council would certainly not consider a conference practicable or advisable if any considerable portion of the people interested in such organization declared themselves opposed

to the forming of such a department.

Delegate Biggs spoke briefly in favor of the proposition to form a department of wearing apparel workers. He stated that the fact that there were no very well defined lines of jurisdiction between these trades made it advisable that they form a department.

The substitute offered by Delegate Nestor was carried.

The Secretary of the committee reported that the committee had considered the following three resolutions together, and had made one report to cover all of them:

**Resolution No. 100—By Delegates J. P. Holland, Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity, and Maurice De Young, Central Labor Union of Brooklyn, N. Y.:**

Amend Article XI, Section 2, first line which reads: "It shall be the duty of, etc., by striking out the words "duty of and substituting therefor the word "mandatory," so that Article XI, Section 2, shall read as follows:

"It shall be mandatory upon all National and International Unions affiliated to instruct their local unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instruction shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction."

**Resolution No. 142—By Delegate John M. Dowd, of the New York State Federation of Labor:**

WHEREAS, The amendment offered at the last Convention of the A. F. of L., to the American Federation of Labor constituted by the delegate from New York State Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Said amendment does not make it mandatory on locals to affiliate with State Federations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Section 2, of Article XI, be amended to read as follows: "It shall be mandatory on all National and International Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. to instruct their Local Unions to join Chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments and State Federations where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given to all Trade and Federal Unions under the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor.

**Resolution No. 152—By Delegate Maurice De Young, of the Central Labor Union, of Brooklyn, N. Y.:**

To amend Article XI, Section 2, first line, erase the words "it shall be the duty" and substitute the words "it shall be mandatory on all national and international unions," also erase the words on line seven "similar instruction shall be given by the" and insert

"mandatory upon all locals chartered by the American Federation of Labor." So that this article and section shall read as amended as follows: "It shall be mandatory upon all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to make it mandatory upon their local unions to join the chartered central labor bodies, departments and state federations in their vicinity where such exist. It shall be mandatory upon all locals chartered by the American Federation of Labor to affiliate with all trade and central labor unions in their respective districts."

The committee reported unfavorably on the three resolutions.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 106—By Delegate Daniel J. Tobin, of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America:**

WHEREAS, The matter of sending fraternal delegates has now become an established and an important custom; and,

WHEREAS, We consider the work done in exchanging fraternal delegates with the British Trades Union Congress is of the utmost benefit to the trades unionists of both countries; and

WHEREAS, The amount of expense now given to the delegates, in our opinion, is not sufficient to cover his actual expenses; and

WHEREAS, The labor leaders in our country are not receiving fabulous salaries, and many times those who are fortunate enough to be honored by being elected as a fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress, have very little money of their own; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention increase the amount which is now paid from \$400.00 and transportation to \$700.00 and transportation.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, with the recommendation that the subject matter be given favorable consideration, and that the appropriation for fraternal delegates be made fully ample to cover all expenses.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Kugler, in discussing the question, stated that he would like to have some explanation as to the amount of time necessary for a delegate to spend in attending a convention as a fraternal delegate. He stated that if the recommendation to raise the amount from \$100 to \$700 was adopted this year it might be found that next year it would

be necessary to raise the amount to \$1,000.

Treasurer Lennon, for the committee, stated that the matter was referred to the Executive Council in order that that body might make an investigation to ascertain what the real expenses of sending fraternal delegates to the congresses of other countries might be. He stated that the members of the committee were not familiar with the matter and could not to fix the amount intelligently.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 153—By Delegate Maurice De Young, of the Central Labor Union, of Brooklyn, N. Y.:

Amend Article XI, by adding the following to Section 7:

"Central bodies shall have the right and power to discipline any affiliated union if such union acts contrary to a majority decision of such central body, after having received a fair and impartial trial, upon written charges presented by other affiliated union or unions, and their action or determination has been found to be detrimental to such other union or unions and injurious to the general labor movement. Discipline to mean either by a fine or suspension from such central body.

The committee reported unfavorably on the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 154—By Delegate Maurice De Young, of the Central Labor Union, of Brooklyn, N. Y.:

Amend Article XI, Section 3, fourth line, erase the words "they may" and substitute the words "and it shall be made mandatory to organize, etc." so that this Article and Section shall read as amended as follows:

"Art. XI, Sec. 3. Where there are one or more local unions in any city belonging to any national or international union affiliated with this Federation, it shall be mandatory to organize a Trades Assembly or Central Labor Union or shall join such body if already in existence."

The committee reported unfavorably on the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

At a previous session Resolution No. 41 had been referred back to the committee for further consideration. The resolution and the report of the committee are as follows:

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate A. W. Smith of the South Chicago Trades Assembly:

**Amendment to Constitution.**

Article XIV.—Miscellaneous.

Add after twenty-first (21st) line:

"No employer shall be eligible to membership in a Federal Labor Union."

The committee offered the following as a substitute for the proposition:

"Employers who are working for wages, may, upon regular ballot, be admitted to membership in federal labor or local unions, directly affiliated with the A. F. of L., subject to the approval of the president of the A. F. of L. Such members shall not attend meetings of the union or have a vote in controlling the affairs of the unions; they must comply with the scale of wages and rules adopted by the union of which they are members."

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Treasurer Lennon—That completes the report of the committee as far as we have matters in our hands.

JOHN B. LENNON,

Chairman.

DANIEL J. TOBIN.

JOHN H. WALKER.

JAMES J. HANNAHAN

JACOB TAZELAR.

TIMOTHY HEALY.

JOHN MANGAN.

A. ROSENBERG.

JOHN ROACH.

M. W. KELLEHER.

T. J. O'DONNELL.

EDWARD MENGE.

JOHN J. BARRY.

JOHN DOWD.

W. S. PIERCE Secretary.

Committee on Laws.

Delegate McDonald (D.) obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution, and presented the following:

Resolution No. 173—Presented by Delegates Duncan McDonald, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, United Mine Workers.

WHEREAS, There is an organization known as the Provincial Workmen's Association in existence in certain portions of Canada, said organization claiming jurisdiction over the coal miners employed in the coal mines of Nova Scotia and purporting to represent them in negotiating wage contracts for them in that territory, and

WHEREAS, The men employed in and around the mines in Nova Scotia by a large majority some years ago decided to become a part of the United Mine Workers of America, and repudiated the organization known as the Provincial Workmen's Association, its officers and agents; and



WHEREAS, This so-called organization through its officers have since joined hands with the employers in their efforts to destroy and disrupt the United Mine Workers of America in that section, and have assisted in furnishing scabs and strike breakers working under the protection of the detectives and thugs employed by the coal companies, thereby proving themselves traitors to the best interests of the workers; and

WHEREAS, This so-called organization through its officers is again attempting to represent the Mine Workers in formulating a scale of wages on a basis satisfactory to the coal companies and upon which no worker can hope to exist and live, as a worker should live; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention condemn the actions of the men in charge of this outlaw organization as a menace to a civilized community, and a band of traitors who are being paid for their dirty, nefarious work, and who by their action are helping to retard the work of the bona fide trades-unionists and who by co-operating with the thugs and detectives of the employers, are placing themselves on a plane lower than that of the meanest scab or strike breaker.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

#### • Report of Committee on Labels.

Delegates Hayes (Max S.), Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 5.—By Suspender Makers' Union No. 9560:

WHEREAS, The Harris Suspender Company of 138 West Fourteenth Street, New York City, in an effort to reach the working class, is using on its suspenders a buckle marked "union made;" this is done in order to deceive the public, their suspenders being a product of non-union employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That these resolutions be presented to the Atlanta Convention and that such action be taken as will acquaint union men of the deception practiced by the Harris Suspender Company, in order to properly protect the members of Suspender Makers' Union No. 9560 and further promote the sale of such suspenders as bear the Label of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates be informed that no suspenders be considered union made unless bearing the above Label.

The committee reported favorably on the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 35.—By Delegates A. McAndrew and E. Lewis Evans, of the Tobacco Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, A large number of the trades and crafts affiliated with the

American Federation of Labor have a union label of their own, its use being that of affording a mark of distinction to the purchaser to be used as a guide to the purchasing of union made products; and

WHEREAS, The union label on union-made products and the demand for goods bearing said label is one of the most potent if not the most powerful weapons within the hands of members of organized labor, for the betterment of the condition of the wage earners of the land; and

WHEREAS, It becomes the duty of each and every union man to use his purchasing power to advance the interests of fair products by purchasing such products as bear the union label only; and

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' International Union has a Blue Union Label which it advertises as a mark of distinction between the union and non-union brands of tobacco, cigarettes and snuff; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That inasmuch as there is an abundance of union labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes, of all grades and classes on the market in all parts of the country, we consider it the consistent duty of all union men to purchase only such brands of tobacco, snuff and cigarettes as do bear the union label; be it further

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates representing the International, State, Central and Federated Unions, in convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Atlanta, November, 1911, will use our utmost endeavor in creating a greater demand for the brands of tobacco, snuff and cigarettes which bear the Blue Label of the Tobacco Workers' International Union; be it further

RESOLVED, That we earnestly request the members of our respective local unions to carefully observe when making purchases of tobacco, snuff or cigarettes, that the purchases made have attached thereto the Blue Label of the Tobacco Workers' International Union, as none is genuine union-made unless the label is there to be seen.

The committee reported favorably on the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 82.—By Delegate C. F. Russi, Jr., San Antonio Trades Council:

WHEREAS, The labels of the American Federation of Labor will not stick to bags containing flour on account of the gritty substance which is used in the making of bags; and

WHEREAS, The labels will fall from flour bags and be used on non-union flour by merchants to defraud union men who demand the label on flour; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor issue to locals having label contracts with flour

mills, a rubber stamp, same to be sold to the locals using same at actual cost.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Russi, who explained in detail the reasons why it was not practicable to paste labels on the bags, and why a rubber stamp would be preferable.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate D. G. Biggs, of the Journeymen Tailors:

WHEREAS, The Fourth Annual Convention of the Trades Label Department directed its Executive Board to devise and establish an official Label Button for those Label sections which desire to use one in their work; and

WHEREAS, The Label Department has been, and now is, doing efficient and commendable work along its special line of advocating the manufacture and sale of union-made goods; and

WHEREAS, There is not a more laudable effort in the trades union movement than the encouragement of union men to spend their union wages with union people, and for union-made commodities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-First Convention of the A. F. of L. recommend to all its delegates that they take up this subject of Label propaganda with their constituents upon their return home; that they urge a greater measure of enthusiasm, energy and work in behalf of the product of union-made goods; that they advocate the formation of Label sections in those cities which have not already established them, that when the official button is placed at their disposal that they will encourage their brothers to wear them, and that they will make any and all good, just and meritorious efforts to impress on the minds of the careless or thoughtless that it is their duty to spend their union-made wages for union-made products; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it is the sense and desire of this Convention that every Federal Union, Central Body, National and International Union should give the highest and heartiest support and encouragement to the Label Department and the various label sections to the end that they become the potent factors their possibilities portend.

The committee reported favorably on the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed by Delegate Biggs, who spoke of the benefit the establishment of a label trades department had been to the members of organizations connected with it. He stated

that prior to the time of the formation of the department the agitation for the label would be successful in certain localities for a time, but interest would die out and the demand for union label goods would decrease. He stated that through the department the agitation would in time become general.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 103 be amended by striking from the second "Whereas" the words "proof of same as it distinguishes," and inserting "means of distinguishing," the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 103—By Chris. Kerker and Henry Koch, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America:

WHEREAS, The Label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America represents bread and other bakery confectionery goods made under fair and sanitary conditions, honest wages, living hours, and by union men; and

WHEREAS, The Label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America is the only means of distinguishing union from non-union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, re-endorse the Label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America; and be it further

RESOLVED, That every member of each affiliated union be, and is, hereby, requested to ask for the union label on all products he or she may purchase, thereby showing or proving his or her loyalty to the cause of unionism in a substantial manner.

The committee reported favorably on the resolution as amended.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate Martin Cole, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The charter of the International Cereal Mill Workers was called in by the American Federation of Labor last March, thereby necessitating application to the A. F. of L., by the cereal mill workers in order to maintain an organization; and

WHEREAS, The present sticker Label of the A. F. of L. is wholly impracticable for use on the sacks and bags used by the cereal mill workers in shipment of their product, by reason of its failure to stick on account of the many times it is handled before reaching its destination; and

WHEREAS, The label is the only guarantee to show that the product was manufactured by organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does hereby instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to devise some other means by which the label can be placed upon the articles manufactured by the cereal mill workers.

The committee reported favorably on the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 127 be amended by adding to the last paragraph the words "in common with any other brands of collars and cuffs that bear the union label," the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 127—By United Garment Workers of America Delegation:

WHEREAS, There is but one firm in the United States that manufactures union-made collars and cuffs; and

WHEREAS, Retail merchants who sell this class of merchandise refuse to show the Bell Brand Collars and Cuffs, but do show and sell collars and cuffs of firms that are, and always have been unfair to organized labor, for instance, Cluett Peabody Company, make the Arrow Brand Collar; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor instruct the organizers to give special attention to union-made collars and cuffs, when addressing meetings, and urge upon the individual trade unionists, whom they may meet, to purchase Bell Brand Collars and Cuffs, in common with other brands of collars and cuffs that bear the union label.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 131—By Delegates Matt Comerford, John Glass, J. L. McNamara and James G. Hannahan:

WHEREAS, It has been generally known that there has existed the International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill employees; and

WHEREAS, A resolution was presented at the St. Louis Convention of the American Federation of Labor calling for an investigation into the affairs of said Flour and Cereal Mill Employees' International Union; and

WHEREAS, Same was referred to the Executive Council for investigation and they found later that same justified the annulling of said charter granted by the American Federation of Labor, and further recommending that all Local Unions of Flour and Cereal Mill Employees form

Federal Unions under the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, Said International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employees had a Union Label that was printed on the package and the bag of the union mills that were strictly unionized and in many localities said Label was well established; and

WHEREAS, In the disbanding of said Flour and Cereal Mill Employees' Union, and in the forming of Federal Unions of the A. F. of L., that in the adoption of the A. F. of L. Label, which is of the sticker variety, that it is impossible to use the same on the sack or bag of flour; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to provide or designate some factory or factories or offices whereby the printing of the Label of the American Federation of Labor that it may be done on the carton or bag or sack, for the use of Local Unions of the Flour and Cereal Mill Employees, or such other organizations as in the judgment of the executive officers may deem proper, that the label or emblem of fair paid labor may be placed on the products of all strictly union mills and factories.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 141—By Delegate Andrew J. Gallagher, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The question of the establishment of a general union label for all trades affiliated with this Federation has been up for discussion and action by Conventions of the A. F. of L. for about twenty years; and

WHEREAS, All that has been submitted to Conventions is a resolution or amendment to law, containing no comprehensive workable plan that would protect those trades which, in furthering a demand for the individual label, have expended much money and have devoted themselves to generous advertising; and

WHEREAS, It is within possibility that a plan might be worked out whereby an equitable apportionment or expense involved, and an intelligent direction of advertising of said labels, taking from no one organization the benefits achieved, nor lessening the demand for any individual label, but on the contrary assisting in a greater demand for a label, general in design, and greatly improving the sale of articles which are union-made, at the same time such label being an evidence to members of organized labor that any product which they may be called upon to handle is union-made in all parts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor is empowered to appoint a commission of three, who shall be familiar with label agitation and its cost, which commission shall stand directed to make a thorough study on the feasibility of the establishment of

a general union label, and report, if possible, to the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., and if not at the next convention or such succeeding Convention to which they may succeed our next; and, be it further

**RESOLVED,** That all label trades are requested to co-operate with such commission by furnishing ideas, data, cost and such other information as may be desired, and the Executive Council is permitted discretion in the allowance of such necessary expense as this commission may necessarily incur.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council to take such action as deemed advisable.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 157—By Delegates Andrew C. Hughes and Frank A. Scoby, of the Coopers' International Union:**

**WHEREAS,** A firm engaged in the manufacture of beer cooperage known as the Frank Denk Cooperage Company, doing business in the city of Pittsburgh, has, by duplicity, solicited the patronage of emptying brewers in that section of the country; and

**WHEREAS,** The official stamp of the Coopers' International Union has been substituted by a bogus one, which is a close resemblance to the label of the Coopers' International Union; and

**WHEREAS,** The American Federation of Labor has placed its official endorsement on all packages bearing the label of the Coopers' International Union; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That we, the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, do hereby solicit the aid of and caution all members of organized labor, and especially the members of the United Brewery Workers of America, to see to it, that, in the patronizing or handling of cooperage in that locality, the official label be sought for by the organized trades in America and Canada.

The committee reported favorably on the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Hughes (A. C.), discussed the question briefly. He stated that acting in conjunction with the Denk Cooperage Company of Pittsburgh were some former members of the Coopers' International Union; that they had left the International some time ago and established a local union of the I. W. W. in Omaha, Nebraska, and later had migrated to Pittsburgh. He stated that they used a label somewhat similar to that of the Coopers' International Union for the purpose of deceiving those not well acquainted

with the labels. He stated that if members of the Brewery Workers' Union would co-operate with the Coopers the matter could be adjusted.

Delegate Kugler stated that the Brewery Workers had a stipulation in all their contracts providing that union-made cooperage would be used.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

The committee on labels recommended that Resolution 163 be referred to the committee on adjustment. No objection being offered, the resolution was so referred.

**Resolution No. 165—By Delegate Maurice De Young of the Brooklyn Central Labor Union:**

**WHEREAS,** The labor movement of this country recognizes the many benefits accruing from the use of the union label; and

**WHEREAS,** Many of our members fail to demand the union label on all articles they purchase; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That this 31st annual convention instructs its Executive Council to designate a day to be known hereafter as union label day and that all unions affiliated, be requested to make some demonstration on said day for the benefit of the union label.

The committee reported as follows: Your committee recommends that members of organized labor make every day upon which purchases are made a label day; and further recommends the reference of the above resolution to the Executive Council to consider the practicability of establishing a general label day.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate DeYoung discussed the question at some length, and urged upon the members of all organizations the importance of supporting all union labels. He stated that the members of many organizations worked for the establishment of their own labels, but when purchasing goods forgot the labels of other organizations. He spoke of the small number of employees engaged in manufacturing union collars, and stated that if all the members of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor would support them there would be twenty-five hundred girls employed in the manufacture of such collars instead of twenty-five as at present.

Delegate Lavin discussed the question

briefly. He discussed his experience while serving on the Label Committee of the Central Union of Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, and vicinity, where the population was composed largely of laboring people, and deplored the fact that there was such a small demand for union label goods.

Delegate Gallagher (J. J.) discussed the question briefly, and stated that it was sometimes difficult to find collars and similar articles with the union label in some cities. He stated that the central bodies ought to adopt some plan of informing people who wished to purchase such articles where they could be found.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Secretary Hayes—That is the conclusion of our final report of the Label Committee.

JOHN F. TOBIN, Chairman,  
MAX S. HAYES, Secretary,  
JERE L. SULLIVAN,  
LOUIS KEMPER,  
A. M. SWARTZ,  
MAX ZUCKERMAN,  
HARRY MEYER,  
J. MAHLON BARNES,  
CHRIS KERKER,  
J. J. HANDLEY,  
EDWARD JOHNSON,  
E. J. BRAIS,  
A. M'ANDREW,  
ED. ANDERSON.

#### Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The committee desires to refer Resolution No. 110 to the Committee on Organization.

No objection being offered, the resolution was so referred.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 77 be referred to the Committee on President's Report. No objection being offered, the resolution was so referred.

The committee recommended that Resolutions No. 15 and 107 be referred to the Committee on Organization. No objection being offered, the resolutions were so referred.

Vice-President Perham in the chair.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended that Resolution No. 6 be amended by inserting in line 3, of the third "Whereas," after the word "character," the words "in our belief," the amended resolution to read as follows:

Resolution No. 6—By International Association of Machinists delegation:

WHEREAS, The ex-President of the United States (Theodore Roosevelt) issued an executive order known as "Executive Order No. 212 1-2" in which he very emphatically forbade any Government employee or any association of Government employees from interviewing or petitioning directly or indirectly any member of Congress or any committee of Congress, for legislation, appropriations or a redress of grievances, without first obtaining the consent, or with the knowledge of the heads of the Department; and

WHEREAS, His successor, Honorable William Howard Taft, President of the United States, not only reaffirmed the aforesaid executive order, but extended it under "Executive Order No. 1143," to apply to all Bureaus, Division Chiefs, and other officials in the Government Departments, ordering them, together with the aforesaid employees under the Roosevelt "gag order" not to exercise their inherent and fundamental rights while in the employ of the United States Government, infractions of these orders being sufficient to permit heads of Departments to suddenly and summarily discharge federal employees under the sweeping charge of "insubordination;" and

WHEREAS, Executive orders of this character in our belief are clearly beyond the constitutional powers of any official in our Government, and should not be tamely accepted by the employees of the Government under any circumstances; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. are hereby instructed to use every honorable means to have adopted into law the bills now pending in Congress known as the Lloyd and LaFollette Bills, which have been introduced for the purpose of obtaining legislation that will guarantee to federal employees the freedom of petition and speech, and the freedom of organization.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate Groce Lawrence, of the Illinois State Federation:

WHEREAS, Lodge No. 195 of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America, located at Kewanee, Illinois, has been on a strike at the plant of the Kewanee Boiler Company, manufacturers of heating and power boilers, at Kewanee, Illinois, since June 1, 1910; and

WHEREAS, The terms submitted and the position taken by the said Lodge No. 195 have been sanctioned by the Executive Council of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders; and

WHEREAS, The said Kewanee Boiler Company refuses to come to any reason-

able agreement with said Lodge No. 195, and continues to be unfair to said members of said Lodge and are seeking by their conduct to destroy and disrupt said Lodge No. 195, and are seeking to make this plant of the Kewanee Boiler Company an open shop; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor, that members of all crafts be urged to use every lawful means to compel the said Kewanee Boiler Company to recognize said Lodge No. 195, and to come to some fair terms with the members thereof; and we urge upon all men, who favor fair play, to encourage and uphold the members of said Lodge No. 195 in this continued and strenuous struggle for reasonable working conditions.

Secretary Frey—This resolution, which applies to the Boilermakers, was introduced by a delegate not representing that organization but representing the Illinois State Federation of Labor. Your committee called the attention of the officers of the Boiler Makers' Union to the resolution and they were favorable to the purpose of the resolution. After conferring with these International officers of the craft your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate McDonald (D.), stated that Delegate Lawrence, from the Illinois State Federation of Labor, had been called from the convention by the illness of a member of his family, and in his absence desired to state that the resolution had been presented to the Illinois State Federation of Labor and by them referred to the convention of the American Federation of Labor. He spoke at length in favor of the resolution, and urged that members of organized labor refuse to handle the boilers referred to until the company would agree to treat with its employees.

Vice-President Duncan, Chairman of the Committee—The committee through its Secretary reported the matter as it did in order to bring home to delegates of central bodies and state federations that when they present matters directly affecting a local of an international organization they should, before submitting it, have the approval of that international. We mention this so there will be no conflict between state bodies and central bodies and the locals of internationals.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Secretary Frey reported that Resolutions No. 10, No. 18 and No. 126 had been considered together and covered by one report. The resolutions are as follows:

**Resolution No. 10**—By Delegate Groce Lawrence, of the Illinois State Federation:

**WHEREAS**, The Labor Unionists of this country are engaged in a bitter fight for better conditions and have banded themselves into labor unions for that purpose; and

**WHEREAS**, The employing class have also banded themselves into organizations for the purpose of fighting our every effort to better our conditions, and have also organized a body known as the Civic Federation, ostensibly for the purpose of averting strife between the workers and the employers but really for the purpose of blinding the workers as to their true condition; and

**WHEREAS**, At least one labor organization has decreed that none of its members can belong to the Civic Federation and others have called upon their members to resign from it; and

**WHEREAS**, There are other bodies known as Citizens Alliance, Chamber of Commerce and other kindred bodies of the same stamp; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this Convention do condemn the Civic Federation, Citizens Alliance, Chamber of Commerce, and all kindred bodies as hostile to the interests of organized labor and call upon all members of organized labor to sever their connection with such bodies.

**Resolution No. 18**—By Delegate Duncan McDonald, of the United Mine Workers:

**WHEREAS**, The conflict between the employing class and the working class is constantly becoming more intense, and each succeeding year we see a greater number of strikes and industrial disturbances, demonstrating the fact that the conflict of interests is constantly becoming more keen; and

**WHEREAS**, In this great conflict that is to be seen on every hand the employing class is constantly becoming more brutal in their treatment of the workers, as is evidenced by the desperate attempts to throttle organized labor, by the use of the injunction, the black-list and the more recent method of kidnaping the officers of labor organizations; and

**WHEREAS**, The National Civic Federation which is largely composed of and financed by employers of labor, many of whom are the most bitter enemies of organized labor; and

**WHEREAS**, This institution, known as the Civic Federation, is built on the false assumption of "identity of interests," which is an economic falsehood; and

**WHEREAS**, There is a growing tendency in practically all labor organizations to view with suspicion and distrust the acts of any labor representative who

is in any way connected with the Civic Federation; and

WHEREAS, The United Mine Workers, numerically the largest organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, at their last annual convention, held in Columbus, Ohio, passed resolutions condemning the Civic Federation and prohibiting any member of their organization from joining or retaining membership in the same, and instructed their delegates to this convention to endeavor to have similar action taken; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention, recognizing the continual conflict between the two economic forces in society, respectfully request all officers and members of the great American Labor Movement who are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to at once sever their connection with the Civic Federation.

Resolution No. 126—By Delegates T. L. Lewis and E. S. McCullough, of the United Mine Workers of America, and Joseph Smith, of the Michigan State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There is an organization known to the country as the National Civic Federation, organized for the alleged purpose of harmonizing the interests of capital and labor; and

WHEREAS, We believe that institutions and organizations, like individuals, should be judged, not by their declared intentions, but by their actual work done in behalf of humanity; and

WHEREAS, A number of the members of the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation and a number of those who contribute to the financial support are enemies of the labor movement and are working to destroy the labor unions of the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the representatives of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, express our unqualified disapproval of any member or officer of the labor unions of this country holding membership in the National Civic Federation.

Delegate Frey, for the committee on resolutions, read the following report on Resolutions 10, 18 and 126:

Your committee in connection with the consideration of these resolutions has endeavored to secure such information relative to the National Civic Federation as could be presented by the delegates introducing them, and in addition such information as could be given by those who as trade-unionists have held membership in that body, or who have in any manner noted the influence of the National Civic Federation upon the safety and progress of the trade-union movement and the principles for which it stands.

In addition your committee has examined its official records for the purpose of discovering the aims and objects of the National Civic Federation and of assuring itself as to whether there existed any variations between the principles of that organization as laid down in its organic laws and the rules it has adopted, and in its practice.

Your committee finds that the National Civic Federation was organized in part for the purpose of furthering the adjustment of disputes between employers and their employees through the methods of friendly conference, conciliation or arbitration, when mutually acceptable, and the consummation of joint contracts and agreements covering the terms of employment. In addition, to bring together representative men from all groups for the public discussion of the questions affecting the relations between employers and organized workmen. This organization, we find, at the time of its inception, set the official seal of its approval upon the recognition of trade unions by employers, and as endorsing the consummation of formal agreements covering the terms of employment between employers and organized workmen.

Your committee has had no information placed before it which would indicate that the National Civic Federation has at any time departed from its policy as above outlined, but evidence has been presented which demonstrates that it has extended its original program by creating departments whose entire work has been to give a wider-spread influence in favor of the peaceful adjustment of all questions arising between employers and organized workmen.

In evidence of this fact your committee quotes from the official announcement of the National Civic Federation creating the department of conciliation, as follows:

**"Declaration of the Purpose of the Conciliation Department.**

"The scope and province of this department shall be to do what may seem best to promote industrial peace and prosperity; to be helpful in establishing rightful relations between employers and workers; by its good offices to endeavor to obviate and prevent strikes and

lockouts, and to aid in renewing industrial relations where a rupture has occurred.

"That at all times representatives of employers and workers, organized or unorganized, should confer for the adjustment of differences or disputes before an acute stage is reached, and thus avoid or minimize the number of strikes or lockouts.

"That mutual agreements as to conditions under which labor shall be performed should be encouraged, and that when agreements are made, the terms thereof should be faithfully adhered to, both in letter and spirit, by both parties.

"This department, either as a whole or through a sub-committee by it appointed, shall, when requested by both parties to a dispute, act as a forum to adjust and decide upon questions at issue between workers and their employers, provided in its opinion the subject is one of sufficient importance.

"This department will not consider abstract industrial problems.

"This department assumes no powers of arbitration unless such powers be conferred by both parties to a dispute."

We have carefully examined such records as were available, to learn whether the National Civic Federation has officially or unofficially committed itself to the assumption that the interests of capital and labor are identical and we have failed to find any evidence that this question has ever been passed upon; we have found, however, in the public statements of the officers of this organization, who were not members of trade unions, and in its official publications, expressions of the conviction that in the profits arising from production, the interests of the employer and the workman were not identical, as both endeavored to secure to themselves as large a share of the value of products as possible.

From its attitude and official expressions of opinion the National Civic Federation seems to have committed itself to the belief that the primary purpose of trade unions is to secure a larger share of the actual value arising from production, through collective action, than would be possible for their members to acquire through their efforts as individuals, and that the employers frequently associate themselves together

that they might be in a better position to retain the largest possible portion of the profits.

Your committee has had no evidence presented to it which would indicate that the influence of the National Civic Federation has ever been unfriendly to organized labor or that it has been detrimental either when negotiations were in progress between employers and trade unions or when industrial controversies had led to strikes and lockouts. Officers of national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have appeared before your committee and testified that on numerous occasions interviews and conferences were secured with employers who had previously refused to meet any representatives of their organizations, through the kindly offices of the National Civic Federation, and that as a result of these interviews and conferences and the friendly influence of that body, satisfactory adjustments of controversies were effected.

Your committee is aware of criticisms which have been directed against the National Civic Federation by some members of organized labor, but none of these compare with the vindictive and vicious attacks which have been made against it by every association of employers in America which is organized for the purpose of opposing and antagonizing our trade unions and the principles they are contending for.

The bitter hostility of the anti-trade union associations has evidently been directed towards the National Civic Federation because that body has emphatically declared its conviction that trade unions are essential to the workmen's welfare, and that as indispensable organizations they should be given full recognition and encouragement.

It appears to your committee that the criticisms which have been made by members of labor organizations are directed more towards certain individuals holding membership in the National Civic Federation than against that body itself.

It is not to be expected that in an association composed of representatives of trade unions, employers and the general public that every member will be equally



acceptable to all of the others because of his views and personal attitude; men differ in their view-point, and these differences become more apparent when representatives of such groups as organized workmen and employers meet upon a common footing to discuss problems affecting both directly. But are we to hold that we shall not meet and discuss the grave problems which affect the wage earners' standard of civilization with an association whose membership may include some whose vision has not yet been sufficiently broadened?

These individual members of the National Civic Federation, against whom criticism has been directed, are in many instances active members of the church, of fraternal and of other civic organizations, contributing to their support. Their attitude toward many questions may fail to meet with the approval of their associates, but is this sufficient reason why any member should withdraw his affiliation from such organization or organizations, or that recommendations should be made by this convention that members of organized labor should withdraw from any of them?

Since the formation of the National Civic Federation there has been in its membership a number of trade-unionists, among these being men who have deservedly earned our full confidence, and who for years have been selected by organized labor in this and their own organization as among the most trusted and capable officers and members. These representative men have had the fullest opportunity of becoming familiar with the policies and the influence of that body upon the welfare and progress of our trade union movement, and we are convinced that if any of them had discovered that the National Civic Federation was in any manner inimical to the welfare of our movement that they would have been the first to sound a note of warning.

Your committee therefore recommends non-concurrence with the resolutions.

Vice-President Duncan moved the adoption of the report of the committee. The motion was seconded by several of the delegates.

Delegate McDonald (D.)—I want to say, Mr. Chairman, in discussing the

matter that I hope reference to individuals will not be made and that discussion will be entirely upon the principles involved in this case. I want to say, in the first place, that some of those trade union representatives connected with the Civic Federation have been neighbors and friends of mine all my life. I introduced this resolution upon instructions from our International Convention. I have the records of the convention here and also the motion that was adopted. I also have the records of two conventions of the National Civic Federation, and a list of some of the members and officers of that organization. The resolution that was adopted by the convention of the United Mine Workers was a substitute for several resolutions bearing on the subject that had been introduced. The original resolutions were so drastic in their character, and directed especially at one individual, as I considered it, that I requested a member of our organization to introduce a substitute. The resolutions, in my opinion, were directed more especially at our former International President, John Mitchell, who at that time was being tried in the courts of this country on the contempt charge with which many of you are familiar. Knowing that some action was going to be taken by the Convention one of my associates and myself got this substitute introduced to head off the other resolutions. The substitute is as follows:

"The National Civic Federation, an organization launched and financed by and composed chiefly of men whose antagonism to organized labor is well known, has as its alleged purpose the harmonizing of the interests of capital and labor, a position which is economically unsound. It is well known that every achievement labor has made has not been as a grant from the employing class, but has been fought for and in altogether too many instances paid for at the price of life by our comrades of the working class army.

"The spirit of revolt against economic oppression has manifested itself in a degree that threatened the forts of capitalism, and to chloroform the labor movement into a more submissive mood, the National Civic Federation was conceived.

"We need not look for favors from the Belmonts, Carnegies, Tafts, etc., who are

the moving spirits of the Civic Federation; their records as enemies of the interests of labor cannot be disputed.

"In the light of these facts we, the United Mine Workers of America, in annual convention assembled, condemn the National Civic Federation as an auxiliary to the capitalistic class in the exploitation of the workers, and as an agency to further fasten the fetters of wage bondage on the limbs of labor."

Those of us who were opposed to the proposition in the form it was presented favored this as a substitute. Our convention, after discussing the matter very thoroughly, adopted the substitute and later passed a motion instructing the delegates to this convention of the American Federation of Labor to endeavor to have similar action taken here. For that reason I presented the resolution, and every delegate from the United Mine Workers is instructed to vote for it.

I have here a copy of the proceedings of the tenth annual meeting of the Civic Federation, held in New York December 22nd and 23rd, 1909. In looking over the list of officers and members I find several who are directors and controllers in the United States Steel Corporation. And if there was ever an organization of capital that was fostered in this or any other country that has been more brutal in its treatment of the workers employed in its institutions, it has never come to my knowledge. We have had occasion to enter into several struggles against auxiliaries of the United States Steel Corporation, and they have resorted to the vilest and most brutal methods ever recorded in the annals of industrial history. They have not only refused to deal with organized labor, but they have refused to permit a union man in or around their institution; and yet these men, directors of this concern, controllers of this concern, meet with representatives of labor to ameliorate the conditions of the toilers. I want to ask you if that is consistent? If the National Civic Federation is a good proposition and these men who are referred to were consistent in their position, instead of going to New York to try to ameliorate the conditions of the toilers they would go to their own institutions and there ameliorate the conditions of the employes by at least recog-

nizing their right to join a labor organization.

I find among the members of the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation Andrew Carnegie. I noticed a statement in the Peoria, Illinois, Journal, a few days ago with reference to the United States Steel Corporation being dissolved. Perhaps you have noticed that it is being dissolved! The article stated that Andrew Carnegie was drawing annually \$13,750,000 from his investments in the United States Steel Corporation. Andrew Carnegie may be sincere as a member of the Civic Federation, but as a controlling factor in the steel industry he has been one of the worst enemies organized labor has ever gone up against.

I have had occasion to take part in two of the greatest strikes our organization has ever faced, and in both of those controversies the forces on the other side were the representatives of the United States Steel Corporation. If they would change that term from "Steel" to "Steal" it would apply properly to the manner in which they got their property in some places. When our men were driven from the company shacks where they were required to live, and put on land bought by the United Mine Workers, while the tents were being shaken by the cold winter blasts, tents in which women suffered and children were born, Andrew Carnegie and some of those fellows were giving a Civic Federation dinner in New York.

I want to repeat that I am not directing my remarks at any individual connected with the labor movement. If men had to put up with these conditions, if little children had to go about in December and January barefoot, while the wind was blowing through those tents, and Andrew Carnegie and those other Shylocks had been sincere they would have ameliorated conditions there instead of at a Civic Federation dinner in New York. Here is a photograph of a dinner, a banquet, or something of the kind, in the Civic Federation. It is a very nice affair, but I want to say I voice the sentiment of every member of our organization who has been up against the guns of the Steel Company in their fights, when I say if there is anything that will arouse class hatred and feeling against the Civic Federation

It is to look on that beautiful picture and then think of the time when the United States Steel Corporation had our tents cut down in Alabama during a strike two or three years ago.

So far as the Manufacturers' Association refusing to join the Civic Federation is concerned, I am not responsible for that, but I would rather have a man come out in the open and fight me and say he was going to fight me than to clothe himself in a white robe and pose as a friend of labor, then stab us in the back at every opportunity when we attempted to organize. I care not whether it is a labor organization, a church organization or a fraternal organization—and I belong to several—that institution will be governed largely by the feelings that permeate the individuals who constitute it.

I will not take up much more of your time, but if this matter is gone into I propose to show what these men have done to crucify organized labor at every jump in the road. The men who constitute the National Civic Federation may be friends of labor, but my experience in our organization has demonstrated to my satisfaction that they are the most bitter, heartless enemies organized labor has ever had. Some people may take the position that I am sore because I did not have a chance to take part in the National Civic Federation dinner. When I was a member of our International Executive Board I was asked to attend one of those meetings and dinners. I said I did not want to go because I did not think I would enjoy it, that I knew too much of the conditions in the places where those men got their money.

If this National Civic Federation is a good thing, why is it financed almost entirely by the enemies of labor? These men I have referred to are the ones who are putting up the money to run the Civic Federation, and at the same time they are taking it out of the life blood of our people at home. Whenever these men whose names are listed as members of the National Civic Federation will demonstrate their real interest in the workers' will demonstrate their real interest by helping to improve the conditions where their blood-stained dollars come from, then I will lend my endorsement to the cause by permitting them to organize,

National Civic Federation, but not until that time.

I notice in the list another gentleman, Mr. Kruttschnitt, of the Union-Pacific System, where the shopmen and machinists have been on strike. D. R. Francis is from St. Louis. The St. Louis boys will tell you of his actions. There are a number of others in the list who have been the worst enemies the workers have ever had.

So far as our organization is concerned, never to my knowledge has the National Civic Federation done them one iota of good; and I think if you will consult the rank and file of the organization, especially those who have gone through the terrible fights where the United States Steel Corporation has practically annihilated our organization they will agree with me in my expression of opinion so far as those gentlemen are concerned. In the State from which I come, where the United States Steel Company got possession of certain mines we know to our own satisfaction, President Walker, myself and every other official of that District, that right at this very moment there are detectives at work in the local unions trying to destroy the effectiveness of our organization, with the full knowledge and consent of the directors of this United States Steel Company.

I want to repeat that I do not want it understood that my remarks are directed against any individual. I am willing to grant that labor representatives in the Civic Federation are there for a good purpose, but I will refuse to associate with, or so far as my influence is concerned, permit men to represent me and take part with those fellows in their so-called uplift work, until they can show that their skirts are clear.

Delegate Furuseth.—Suppose Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Kruttschnitt should subscribe to the statement or to the principles of the common ownership of all the means of production, distribution and exchange, would they be refused admission to the Socialist Labor party?

Delegate McDonald (D.)—I can understand the drift and intent of the question. When the gentleman will ask a civil question in a civil way I will answer it or any other question if I can.

Vice President Hayes—I am a member

of the National Civic Federation. I am there as an individual, not as a representative of my trade. It is a voluntary organization. No one induced me to join it; I did so of my own accord and in doing so I exercised the same privilege that I did in joining a trade union. It was my lawful right as a man and a citizen, and if there is any power in organized labor or in this convention that will deprive me of these rights, I have never known it before, have never believed it, and it will take a far more powerful argument than the one I have just heard to convince me that my rights as a man and as a citizen can be restricted by this body or any other.

In everything that pertains to labor, to industry, to the American Federation of Labor or to my trade union, I will obey absolutely; but, remember, that I have rights as a man with which this convention has no right to interfere. When I was a boy an employer said to me "If you join a labor union you will not be allowed to work here." I joined the labor union, and I no longer worked for him. That employer tried to do with me, what the resolution just read by the delegate from the Mine Workers aims to do, that is, to curtail my rights as a citizen.

The statement made by the speaker has no direct bearing at all upon the Civic Federation. We know the attitude of capital towards labor; the cruelty and inhumanity of it existed before the Civic Federation was ever instituted, and it will continue for years to come, or until organized labor and its principles are better understood and embraced by the whole mass of people. And that day will not be hastened by refusing to hold intercourse with Andrew Carnegie, Belmont or the other men who wield such powerful influence over the industrial interests of this country. It has always been my belief that where prejudice against organized labor is most formidable that is just where we ought to be, and whenever possible explain the objects of our unions, and give our reasons for the faith that is in us. We were not brought into this movement to be put in a nursery or to join some select school of economics, where we would hear nothing but that which appealed to our own prejudices and views.

What has Andrew Carnegie to do with

this question? Every year I meet manufacturers in conference who in the past did everything in their power to crush our union. They tried to starve men into submission, have broken up homes and scattered families. Why did they do this? Because they were dominated by prejudice—they did not understand the practical value and benefits accruing to industry as the result of trade unions; but in the course of events their plants were unionized and they came into our wage conferences. They have now learned to respect the rights of labor and to respect its representatives. We have gained probably more increases in wages and reduction in the hours of work by meeting employers who were at one time as bitter against organized labor as Andrew Carnegie and Belmont are alleged to be, than in any other way. And herein lies one of the purposes of the Civic Federation. We want to learn the views of our enemies, to be able to answer them, and we want them to know our views. No man living is invulnerable to truth, and no man living is invulnerable to facts. Nothing will obstruct the truth so much as prejudice.

I heard President Gompers, Vice-President Duncan and Vice-President Mitchell meet the very men referred to here, —Andrew Carnegie, Belmont and others, and they put the cause and objects of organized labor so thoroughly and impartially before them, that they made friends for our cause. I was glad to see them sitting together in the same hall, with other representatives of trade unions who are here now. I believed then that the occasion afforded us an opportunity to aid in bridging the chasm that exists between the workmen and their employers.

If Andrew Carnegie and the other capitalists have not yet embraced our faith or belief, or unionized their mills, can anybody say that this will not yet be done? The Glass Bottle Blowers Association has been in existence over seventy years, and still we have non-union factories, and we have a few employers who imagine they could sleep more soundly if there were no trades unions on earth; but even so, union conditions govern the industry.

The statement is made here that the

National Civic Federation has never done any good.

Delegate McDonald (D.)—I said so far as our organization was concerned.

Vice-President Hayes—How do we know? Has the National Civic Federation or any other institution that exists fulfilled its mission in this world? Has that institution or any other reached the point of culmination in the course of its existence? Has it? On the other hand, did the organization you represent, or any other body of men, appoint representatives to investigate the National Civic Federation? Or, did it pass its own verdict, bring it here and say "This settles it!"

I say from my own experience with the National Civic Federation that it has done good. I know where it has done good. But that is not the point. Whether it has done good in the past does not really matter. It is committed to things for which we stand. It is committed to trade agreements and appointed and employed one of the foremost labor men in this country to encourage the trade agreement system in the different industries. You know the action which his organization took in regard to John Mitchell.

I cannot approve the action against him, for I believe that his work would have widened our opportunity to spread the gospel of trade unionism. We must teach—we must educate the antagonistic employer, the enemies of organized labor, upon the justice of our cause, and we stand in our own light when we obstruct any avenue that offers us opportunities in this direction.

All this talk about chloroforming the representatives of organized labor, blinding them—why, one would think we were still in knickerbockers! If we are so easily chloroformed and blinded we would like to learn something here from the opponents of the National Civic Federation. We are here to learn. Chloroformed! Blinded! There is not a particle of truth in that statement. Take our record for the past twenty-five or thirty years in conferences with the employers, and tell me if we have ever cringed before or bent the knee to employers of labor? Chloroformed! Blinded! Bywords, catchwords, gotten up to appeal to prejudice. When you say that to us we want you to come forward with the evidence. You cannot do it!

A resolution was introduced in the last convention of our organization, ordering me to quit the National Civic Federation—to move out—that I was one of those who had been chloroformed. It would require a whole lot of chloroform to befog my mind into such a condition as to make me think like the man who brought that resolution into our convention. The resolution was overwhelmingly defeated. Chloroformed! Blinded! If this is the case, why do our fellow workmen select us to represent, protect and defend their interests in conference with manufacturers?

If the argument holds that we should leave the National Civic Federation, what about our religious affiliations and our political affiliations? Here again comes in the question of our rights as men and as citizens. The main contention of organized labor from the beginning has been that working men have the right to join any organization that is lawful and peaceful. When we have gone before the public in support of our cause, we base our argument on that fact. Now suppose this convention should pass the resolutions offered against the National Civic Federation, would it not be a restriction upon our liberties? If you should say that we cannot join the National Civic Federation because there are employers in that body who are antagonistic to organized labor, you would recognize that there is reason and logic in the argument of the employer, who says to his employes "You cannot join this trade union! Look who is at the head of it! Its representatives hold views which if put into execution would interfere with my interests; would interfere with my right to run my business as I see fit," and all that kind of claptrap. I fear there are some here who believe that by being members of the National Civic Federation we in some way compromise our trades unionism. I deny that.

I really believe this whole matter is out of order here. If the National Civic Federation is inimical to the interests of organized labor, I surely know enough to leave it and to come here and tell you why I had done so. If there is anything wrong with that body it ought to be exposed; but when you start to expose a thing, and you are addressing intelligent men, a mere statement is not sufficient;

you must come forward with evidence and facts. The mere mention of Andrew Carnegie and other capitalists does not in this case prove anything. To base an argument on the dissipations of wealth, its banquets, its finances, its attitude toward labor is not the question at all. I believe that the mission and the object of organized labor is to make for brotherhood, more love for one another, more charity towards all people. To talk of more democracy and more liberal conditions of employment, and at the same time foment feeling between classes seems to me like a contradiction. It is something I cannot understand. Prejudice should be the farthest thing from our minds in this convention. If we do not believe in class differences and prejudices, let us try to abolish them ourselves. I am in favor absolutely of the report of the committee.

Delegate Lewis (T. L.).—Mr. Chairman, I want to make it clear first that the matter before this convention should not be clouded with other issues, and passion and prejudice should not be aroused by an attempt to make it appear that this is a proposition emanating from Socialists. I am not a member of the Socialist Party, and I am opposed to the report of the committee. I agree with Vice-President Hayes that he has a right to belong to anything he sees fit. He can retain his membership in the National Civic Federation if he desires as an individual and a citizen; he can join the Manufacturers' Association in a like capacity if he believes that it is a good thing; but as a wage earner, as a tax payer to the labor movement, as a member of the labor unions of this country and as a member of an affiliated International Union I have a right to give expression to my opinion as to whether it is good or bad for the labor movement and union men and women for our official staff to belong to the National Civic Federation.

I do not believe in attempting in any way to appeal to men's prejudices; but the Miners' Union in this country has in the last eleven years spent ten million dollars in defense of our right to organize and to secure what we believe is our right and a fair share of the results of our labor. That money has been spent for strikes alone, not counting the other cost to our membership. I am not going

to discuss Andrew Carnegie, because he spends very little of his time in this country, only long enough to come over here and donate for charitable purposes some of the money I believe he is illegally taking from the wage earners of the United States.

Let me call your attention, Mr. Chairman, to something else. In the year 1908 we had a strike in the State of Alabama, a strike for our right to organize and to improve the working conditions of our people in that State. That year our fight was not against the independent coal operators of that state, our real fight was against the United States Steel Corporation, because that is the largest mining interest in that state and dictated the policy of the mine owners of Alabama. We find, according to this record of the National Civic Federation, that Mr. Henry Phipps is a member of the Executive Committee on behalf of the employers, and he is recorded here in this same volume as being a director of the United States Steel Corporation, address New York City. I cannot understand how under those circumstances that gentleman can be in harmony with the trade agreement idea or with the purposes of organized labor, when on the other hand he sits in the councils of the Board of Directors of the United States Steel Corporation to outline a policy to crush the Miners' organization in Alabama, and that was done with the assistance of the Governor of that State.

Those of you who know anything about the conflict in Alabama that year know that by orders of the Governor the tents we had furnished and erected on grounds we had leased were cut down by the soldiers of that state, working in conjunction with the policy of the United States Steel Corporation. I do not understand where the consistency of these men lies if they are in favor of union labor on the one hand, sitting in a meeting in New York with members of the National Civic Federation, and on the other hand go out and crush organized labor.

We find here another gentleman who is a member of the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation from Cleveland, Ohio, Mr. Mather. Is there anybody in this hall who will attempt to defend his record as applied to organized labor on the docks of the Great Lakes? I

want to find out why it is that they have crushed organized labor everywhere along the docks.

Here is another member of the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation of Labor on behalf of the employers, Mr. Vanderlip, of New York. What is his position? He is President of the National City Bank. What is the National City Bank? It is the center that practically controls all the industries and the transportation system of the United States. Does anybody believe for a minute that Mr. Vanderlip's sympathies are with organized labor? I want to have, as stated by Vice-President Hayes, detailed, specific statements from men of the Civic Federation to show where those men have gone out and thrown the weight of their influence on the side of the working men in the contests that have taken place. I judge men, not by their association for a day or two, I judge men by what they actually do. And it may be interesting for this convention to know that when the United States Steel Corporation had issued its mandate that the Amalgamated Association had to be exterminated from every iron, steel and tin mill in this country, at the same time, according to the very best and most reliable information I have, they were contributing two thousand dollars a year to the support of the National Civic Federation. I do not see the consistency in the position of men who take the stand that the National Civic Federation has done good for the labor movement and is determined to continue to do good.

What is the first declaration in 1900 of the National Civic Federation? It states here, "First, that employers and wage earners should enter into annual or semi-annual agreements or contracts. Why did they change that next year? There is a clear-cut declaration which was a part of their purpose in 1900. In 1901 that language was changed. It was too plain. Then we find, "the scope and province of this Department shall be to do what may seem best to promote the industrial peace and prosperity." Who are going to be the judges as to what may seem best?

This Executive Committee is composed of men representing the public, composed of men representing employers of labor who have been always antagonistic, and

composed of representatives of labor unions. There are three elements. If you will look over their names and investigate their records you will find the representatives of labor, to begin with, are handicapped by a vote of two to one, if even they were to vote on a question.

This continues, "To be helpful in establishing rightful relations between employers and workers." What are "rightful relations?" Who is to be the judge of what rightful relations are? The employers of labor? Retired capitalists representing the public, or we as the wage earners? I say we are better able to determine what the rightful relations are than the other fellows who are employing us.

It continues, "By its good offices to endeavor to obviate and prevent strikes and lockouts, and to aid in renewing the industrial relations where a rupture has occurred." Quite a difference in the opening declaration of 1901 and the opening declaration of 1900! They say things but they don't do things—that is the criticism we have. And what is true of Alabama is true of the coke regions of Pennsylvania; it is true of the Norfolk and Western Field of West Virginia; it is true of every section where the United States Steel Corporation controls, except where we are able by our own strength to compel them to recognize our right to organize and make contracts.

I am opposed, not to the individual belonging to the Civic Federation if he wants to; that is his business; but I am opposed to officials of the American Federation of Labor continuing their membership in the National Civic Federation. You would not be wanted there if you did not have an official title behind your name. They do not allow the men in the ranks to come to their meetings, take part in their discussions and ventilate their grievances. Not at all. There isn't anything at all in this volume that shows they discuss the industrial conditions; in fact, they declare it is not their purpose to handle abstract industrial propositions. What are we interested in if not in the questions that directly concern our surroundings, our earning power and the conditions of employment where we are working? And it is not fair to discuss these questions except from the standpoint of what those men have act-

ually done. They have had ten years experience. Time to do something, and I want to know what they have done so far as establishing trade agreements between the organizations is concerned.

Brother McDonald has stated that we are instructed on this proposition. That is true, and in order that there may be no misunderstanding I want to inform this delegation that this question was brought to the attention of our convention one year ago last January through correspondence received by the President of the organization, but the matter was deferred or no action taken until January of this year. If you want to find out how intensely our people feel on this question, go out among the miners of the country who have contributed these millions in defense of their organization. You would be convinced.

I hope that this convention will keep in mind that our officials, the members of the Executive Council, while we have no right to dictate to them what they do in their individual or their citizenship capacity, we have a right to say to them how they shall represent our interests in defending our rights as wage workers and union men.

Vice-President Mitchell—As one delegate to the American Federation of Labor who is under instructions to vote in favor of a resolution carrying into effect the purposes of the resolution adopted by the Miners' convention, and as a man who perhaps more than any other man in this convention has been affected by the action of the Miners' convention, I want to have a few words to say.

First, let me ask that you be patient with me if I pursue my argument beyond the time determined by the rules of the convention.

I helped to organize the National Civic Federation. I helped to write its laws. The President of the American Federation of Labor, some other representatives of labor and myself wrote the declarations declaring for the trade agreement. For eight of the ten long years I was President of the United Mine Workers of America I was also a member of the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation; and I make the statement now that no organization in the history of America ever grew so fast or secured so many advantages in the same

period of time as while I was President of the Miners' Union and a member of the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation. Indeed, I make the statement, and I defy contradiction, that the United Mine Workers of America, with its average increase of twenty-seven thousand members a year during that period, has not grown one member since the day I left official position; and all this progress and achievement were made while I was supposed to be suffering under the effects of chloroform administered by the National Civic Federation.

It is said we spent \$10,000,000 in strike benefits. Yes, we did. I presume those figures are correct, but I assume we would have spent the \$10,000,000 if the Civic Federation had never been dreamed of. But there is another statement that must go along with the declaration that we spent \$10,000,000 in strike benefits. The statement must be made that we gained \$500,000,000 in increased wages. It was a fine investment, an investment that the miners of the United States would be glad to make over again!

Now, I am a member of a great many organizations, and some of them count among their members and officers many of the same men who are officers, members or directors of the National Civic Federation. If you will be patient I will read the names of a few of the various organizations with which I am now and have been for many years connected: National Conference of Charities and Corrections; National Women's Trade Union League; Committee of One Hundred on National Health; The National Child Labor Committee; Child Conference for Research and Welfare; Commission to Inquire into the Question of Employers' Liability and into the Causes and Effects of Unemployment in the State of New York; American Association for Labor Legislation; Equal Franchise Society; Foundation for the Promotion of Industrial Peace; The Civic Forum; The People's Institute, New York City; Citizens' Recreation Committee; Society for the Promotion of Social and Industrial Peace; American Peace Society; National Conservation Commission; The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Society; Lecturer in the Course in Pastoral Functions, Yale Divinity School, Yale University; American Red Cross Society; National Society



for Promotion of Industrial Education; National Committee on Prison Labor; North American Civic League for Immigrants; Committee on Safety of the City of New York; Travelers Aid Society of New York.

Those I have selected from among a large number in which I am a member or director, and upon the executive committees of most of those associations are to be found the names of men who are on the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation; and who is there who would say I should withdraw my name and my influence from the splendid work those various associations have undertaken to do?

I said that for eight years of the ten years I was President of the United Mine Workers of America I was also a member of the National Civic Federation. The miners of the United States were well aware of my connection with the National Civic Federation. It was a matter of common knowledge. It had been brought to their attention on more than one occasion. Did they object? Not an objection of any moment was ever heard from the miners to my connection with the National Civic Federation. As a matter of fact, it was not until after I left the presidency of the United Mine Workers that a movement was started, not to take me out of the National Civic Federation, but to drive me out of the United Mine Workers of America. The movement did succeed, I am free to confess, in imposing upon me some hardships, in placing me in the position of either having to give up my employment, give up an association I regarded as honorable and helpful, or give up membership in the Union, the Union I have done so much to build, the Union that, unconsciously and perhaps incorrectly, I had learned to regard largely as a child of my own creation. However, to the disappointment of those who thought I would regard lightly my membership in that union, I gave up my position in order that I might continue to pay dues to the Union.

But, let me call attention to the fact that even after I left the Presidency of the United Mine Workers of America I had not lost the confidence of the miners. Indeed, at the very convention that amended the constitution and adopted

these resolutions there was a report made of the ballots cast in the election of officers. Now you would naturally imagine that if representation in the National Civic Federation affected the standing of members of the Union, the members of the Miners' Union would have expressed their opposition when they had an opportunity of casting their votes. But what did they do? In keeping with their usual custom they gave to me the highest vote cast for any candidate for election as delegate to the convention of the American Federation of Labor. In that recorded vote 113,285 votes were cast for me, which is over 27,000 more votes than were secured by the next highest candidate, and 59,924 more than were received by the candidate elected as delegate to this convention, who had the lowest number of votes. Is that not an evidence of the confidence of the miners? Can it be construed by any flight of imagination as an indication that the miners had lost confidence in me because I was an officer of the National Civic Federation?

The National Civic Federation of which I was a member, I am no longer connected with, and I presume I never shall be again. It would not have required the amendment to our constitution to have me give up my membership in the National Civic Federation. The resolution would have done it just as well, because I would not have continued my membership in the National Civic Federation after a resolution had been passed by my organization denouncing it as unfair to organized labor.

I can truthfully say that, so far as my knowledge of the National Civic Federation goes, never by one act has it placed itself in opposition to the ideals of organized labor. It is very well to point out the names of men who do not stand well and who perhaps deservedly stand badly in the estimation of the organized workmen; but I say that common justice demands that we shall give to those employers of labor who have been in constant agreement with their workmen, who year after year make contracts with the representatives of organized labor, credit for what they have done. And among that group of men who are classed as employers there are many who have been continually in agreement with their organized workmen.

Mr. Carnegie! I am not here to defend Mr. Carnegie. God forbid that I should ever say one word in defense of a man who has struck a blow at organized labor. Yet Mr. Carnegie would tell you, if he were here, that he was not responsible for the riot at Homestead. I do not know as to the truth of his statements, but I only know he says himself that during his ownership of the Carnegie Mills he always had contracts with the Amalgamated Association, but during his absence in Europe Mr. Frick, perhaps the blackest and most relentless enemy of organized labor on this continent, took advantage of his absence and sought to scab the Homestead Mills. I don't know whether Mr. Carnegie tells the truth or not, I only know that that is what he says.

Mr. Carnegie may be a controlling factor in the United States Steel Corporation. However, my information is that he is a bondholder. And while I am not an expert in the management of corporations, my information is that bondholders are not directors and have nothing to say as to ing his absence in Europe Mr. Phipps, was a member and an officer of the National Civic Federation. But let me say, there is something that has not been said, and that is that following the Alabama strike Mr. Phipps was required to resign his membership in the National Civic Federation; and Mr. Elliot, of Harvard University, another one of those who lost no opportunity to assail the ideals of organized labor, was also required to give up his membership on the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation. There is much to be said in order that the truth may be known and in order that the delegates to the Convention may cast their votes in accordance with the facts.

I am not going to talk on abstract propositions. I am not going even to suggest for the credit of the National Civic Federation those numerous settlements made by organized labor as a result of conferences secured by the representatives of the National Civic Federation, but I want to refer to a few specific instances in which I myself participated. It is true they did not involve millions of men, but they do indicate the real purpose of that organization. While I was chairman of the Trade Agreement Department, in the employ of the National Civic Federation, a dispute arose on

the street car lines of the Scranton Street Railway Company. I was selected, as chairman of the Trade Agreement Department, as umpire in that dispute. The decision was absolutely in favor of the men. Shortly thereafter I was called on to arbitrate a dispute between the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and the Printing Pressmen's International Union, and the decision was unequivocally in favor of the Union. In fact, it was so much in their favor that the Publishers took an appeal, as they had a right to do under the terms of their contract, and my decision was reversed by one of the Supreme Court judges of the State of New York. That perhaps suggests to my mind that instead of being an impartial arbitrator my prejudice in favor of the Union had carried me beyond the safety line. Again, a dispute arose between the Tobacco Workers and the cigar manufacturers of Boston. Mr. Gompers represented the workers, a manufacturer represented the employers, and I refereed the dispute. That decision was written by Mr. Gompers. The manufacturer saw him write it, and the workmen are employed now, with my concurrence, under the terms of the agreement written by Mr. Gompers.

Now, just one other instance, before I speak of how the resolution was passed by the Miners' Convention. The last legislature in the State of New York enacted a comprehensive factory law, a law drawn by a commission of which I was a member, and which had on it also some of the same men who are on the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation. The bill appealed to the organized workmen of New York, and they gave it their support. It was passed and sent to the Governor. The Governor, in accordance with his prejudice or perhaps in accordance with his policy of financial retrenchment, decided to veto the bill. An appeal was made to one of the great financiers of New York, a member of the National Civic Federation, the much-denounced August Belmont. August Belmont went to the Governor and asked him to sign that law, and the Governor signed it. That was not an evidence of hostility; that was regarded by those who knew of it as an evidence of friendship. I have here a letter written by a member of the Legislature who introduced the bill, extending his thanks to the National Civic Federation because of August Belmont's action.

How does this resolution come here? How

does this resolution come here? Is it the expression of a majority of the delegates duly elected at the last annual Convention of the United Mine Workers of America? I say to you, and I am prepared to prove, that it is not. I say that a sufficient number of men voted for the resolution amending the constitution who were never elected by local Unions of the United Mine Workers of America, to secure its adoption. I say that I suspected when the action was taken, and I now know, that a large number of delegates, about fifty from one district alone—a large number of men, not delegates elected by local Unions—sat in that Convention with credentials fraudulently furnished to them and cast the votes that sent the resolution to this convention denouncing the National Civic Federation.

And, gentlemen, it is through action of that kind that I am compelled to sit here and cast my vote in opposition to the Committee's report. Some may say, "Why yield to these mandates?" Because I am a Union man. For the same reason that I said when they passed the resolution amending the Constitution, "My Union, May she ever be right, but right or wrong, my Union."

Let me first absolve, for fear misunderstanding may arise, my friend Duncan McDonald from any knowledge of the circumstances which I have just related; but I shall not soon forget, because of the sting in my heart, as long as God gives me life, I shall remember the circumstances surrounding me at the time this action was taken. Was I asked to come to the Convention to say a word in my own defense? No. No, those who conspired for this act waited until my hands were tied behind my back, waited until the government had figuratively placed its clutches on me, waited until I was seated in the Supreme Court room of the United States listening to the enemies of labor denouncing my associates and myself because of our advocacy of the cause of organized labor. And as we sat there, tied hand and foot, that was the day and that was the time that this resolution was passed.

Gentlemen, let no man misunderstand the purpose of this statement. It is not done to censure the members of my Union, because I am proud to say there are no better men, no more generous men, no more just men than comprise the membership of the United Mine Workers of America. I owe

much to them, and I should be the last one on earth to cast aspersions upon them, and I would not advert to the subject surrounding the passage of this resolution were it not that I now have the full knowledge that the resolution was passed with the votes of men who had no right to seats as delegates in the Miners' Convention.

I would like, in order that there may be no misunderstanding as to what I have said, that a record of at least that part of my address dealing with the packing of the Miners' Convention shall be furnished, either in the daily minutes or directly to the delegates from the Miners' Union; because there is much I could say in connection with it; there is much I expect to say. I believe that in passing upon this, gentlemen, it should be passed upon without regard to the personalities of the labor men who sit as executive officers of the National Civic Federation. It should be passed on with the unbiased purpose of what will be for the greatest good of the men of labor. We should have, of course, due regard for that principle of organized labor that gives to its members, that guarantees and conserves to its members the widest possible civil, religious and social liberty.

Delegate McDonald (D).—I desire to ask the last speaker a question, with his permission. Delegate Mitchell made the statement that he had proof now that there were delegates seated in the last annual Convention of the United Mine Workers who had no right to be seated. If that is correct, I will ask him if he will furnish it to our next Convention when it meets?

Vice-President Mitchell.—I shall be delighted to furnish the evidence on which my statements are made.

Delegate McDonald (D).—I believe Brother Mitchell made it plain, and I want to make it more emphatic, that if there was any packing in that Convention—and while I suspected it at that time, I knew nothing about it, so far as proof is concerned—if he furnishes that evidence I believe he knows me well enough to be assured that I will go as far in having it cleared up as any delegate in that Convention. When the motion was made instructing the delegates to bring the resolution to this Convention, if they were all bought and paid for, about four-fifths of our delegates must have been bought and paid for.

At 12:40 the Convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2:20 p. m. of the same day.

## Eighth Day—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 2:20 p. m., Tuesday, November 21st, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees:** Pfell, Coakley, Dold, Gaviak, Ryan (Ed. H.), Kelly (William E.), Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Schneider, Hobbs, Davis (Wm. A.), Wangberg, Welsh (Edward F.), Fuller, Winchenback, Ford, Belt, Welsh (Thomas E.), Creamer, Donnelly, Cornette, Lebowitz, Schaub.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

"New Orleans, La., Nov. 20, 1911.

"Hon. Samuel Gompers,  
President American Federation of Labor,  
Atlanta, Ga.

"My Dear Mr. Gompers:

"Urgent business of the Farmers' Union compels me to absent myself from further attendance upon the sessions of the Federation of Labor, a fact which I regret keenly. I have watched with interest and profit the growth of your splendid organization and appreciate to the farthest the mission it is accomplishing. I sincerely trust your sessions will be fruitful in good results and abundantly productive of good to the great cause in which you are enlisted. With best wishes, I am

"Very truly yours,

"C. S. BARRETT."

President Gompers—The question before the house is the recommendation of the Committee on Resolutions, and the substitute for the resolutions on the National Civic Federation. Are you ready for the question?

Delegate Abell—Is it the sense of the resolutions to restrict the action of the individual, or to restrict the action of the official, or to restrict the action collectively of the persons who hold positions both as officials and as individuals? What position does the chair understand the resolution to take?

President Gompers—That is an abstract proposition. The resolutions are before the house. The recommendation of the committee is before the house, and until it is finally adopted it is not within the province of the chair to place an interpretation on it. He cannot place an interpretation on an unadopted resolution. I think it is only fair that the entire

subject shall again be read. There will then be no misunderstanding.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, read Resolutions Nos. 10, 18 and 126, and the report of the committee.

Delegate Abell—The resolution presents the idea of the condemnation of the existence of the National Civic Federation. Then it takes up the question of the control of the individual or the official. The resolution does not state specifically the action desired in that respect. In the preamble of our constitution of the A. F. of L., we allow the individual his personal liberty in every respect. As an official we control that liberty. I cannot see where in the resolution is consistent in that respect, as long as it does not specifically state whether the ruling is asked in regard to our officials as officials of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate McCullough (E. S.)—Mr. Chairman, being a representative from the United Mine Workers, and one who attached his name to that resolution, I feel like expressing my views on the matter in a brief way. So far as the National Civic Federation is concerned it differs only in form with many other methods that have been used during the past ages to deal with the problem of capital and labor. From the beginning of time, or so far as we have any recollection or knowledge of the struggle of humanity, we find various means and divers ways employed to deal with these conflicting interests. We have as one militant force on the economic field the Manufacturers' Association, which employs the method of extermination. We have the other, the Civic Federation, that employs the more enlightened and up-to-date method of mutual assimilation. Each has its own way of dealing with this great problem of the wage-worker and the employer of labor; but so far as their methods have been employed in the past and so far as their methods will be employed in the future, in my opinion, it all depends upon

the economic strength of the wage-working class of this country as to what they will secure on the economic field. Just in proportion to the wage-workers' strength on the economic field will these chloroforming agencies be employed.

That word "chloroforming" has been resurrected and brought in use here and much comment has been made upon it. Whether or not the men who sit in that august body are being hypnotized or chloroformed, the wage-workers of this country do not propose to have the hypodermic run into them and the anesthetic administered by any one on that board. The wage-workers of this country are beginning to realize that if they gain anything on the economic field or the political field they must be united, and by their united political and economic power receive from the employers of labor that which rightfully belongs to them.

Take the history of every strike and every settlement that has been made in this country and you will find that the employer of labor never was willing to go into the halls of peace and fight it out there until he had been licked to a standstill on the economic field, or had measured the strength and power of organized labor on the economic field. They will only arbitrate, they will only grant to us those things our power allows us to take. Some of the speakers have claimed the right to join any society they choose. I believe the men who work and toil should have a voice in the affairs of this organization and that they should express their approval or disapproval of the methods of organization. I grant that any representative of labor has a right to belong to any organization he believes in, just so long as that organization is not opposed to or comes in contact with the principles of the wage-working class of this country. I believe the rank and file, the men who pay to this organization to keep up the officers who are the servants of the men who make this great organization, have the right to say: "You shall not belong to this organization." We have right in our individual capacity or as citizens of this country to belong to what we want to; but when we represent the men who toil, the men who struggle, the men who battle for their bread and butter in this world, they are the ones to tell us wheth-

er or not we should belong to such organizations as they deem inimical to their interests.

I don't know of any representative who belongs to the Civic Federation who ever came to their organization and asked for privilege to belong to it. They took the initiative. We have no criticism to offer as to the character of the labor representatives who sit in that council. We are not bringing any charges or any impeachment in any way against the integrity or the honesty of these men. What we claim is that the policy is wrong and that nothing can be secured from, by and through the methods of such men as represent the employers of labor, and the retired capitalists who represent the public. Their very lives have grown in an atmosphere hostile to the best interests of the wage-workers of the country. These men have no sympathy with us. They do not understand our wants and our rights. They have been raised in a world different from ours. They do not know the smell of powder smoke, they know nothing of toil in the mine, the mill or the factory, and they are not in sympathy with the wage-working class.

What does it mean to submit to them our proposition? I know that it has been said that peace hath her victories no less than war, but I want to say to you that when you take the history of the labor movement, you will have to admit we were more often defeated in the halls of peace than on the economic battlefield. We have lost when these men of keen mind have passed upon our claims in the halls of peace. And many a grand and glorious victory won on the economic battlefield has been lost in the halls of peace. Gentlemen, we will only secure that which we are strong enough to take. And I don't know that anything given to us would be worth the having. I have been in these conflicts all my life. I have met in these conferences for many years. I have listened to discussions and everything we have gained has been based upon the measurement of our strength and power. When we were weak no attention was given us. If we are strong enough to take they are willing to arbitrate and compromise.

So far as the United Mine Workers' Convention is concerned it was not a personal question. It may have been to some. No doubt it was. But in the

great majority our Convention unanimously repudiated the Civic Federation. When it came to a division on the amendment to our constitution, many men believed it was casting reflection upon ex-President Mitchell and voted against the constitutional amendment. They said, as Mr. Mitchell has said here, that it was unnecessary, that all our Convention would have had to do would have been to express its displeasure of the Civic Federation and he would have resigned at once. Our people have confidence in Mr. Mitchell, as he said. His election as a delegate here has shown that it was not a personal question at all, because his personal friends voted to repudiate the National Civic Federation. It was not a question at all of Mr. Mitchell, it was a question of the growing sentiment of the coal miners, the men who worked at the pick, who believed the Civic Federation was but a chloroforming agency.

If we are going into diplomatic relations, if we are going to settle our differences in the halls of peace, then why assess our members to secure money to send organizers out to strengthen our forces on the economic field? Why don't those great friends of labor come to our rescue with their power to settle those questions? But, as has been said by a great many, "God save us from our friends," and when it comes to labor dealing with these great economic questions we can apply that to the men who claim to be friends to the labor movement and sit in that council. Their money is wrung from the blood and sweat of the workers. Let them make reparation, let them go back and take care of the widow and orphan whose husband and father they have killed. Then we as a militant force on the economic field will welcome them into the realms of peace legislation with the wage workers of this country. But so long as they are giving \$2,000 a year to the cause of peace and spending millions in crushing labor, gentlemen, we don't believe in their sincerity.

There is a difference between the Manufacturers' Association and the National Civic Federation. We know where the manufacturers are. They are hostile, bitter and antagonistic to human interests and the wage-workers. We know them. The others we do not. They come

in the guise<sup>o</sup> of sheep, but many of them are wolves in sheep's clothing. No doubt there are men on that board who are there honestly and truly for the benefit of the wage-working class; but as one member of the working class I want to say to you that I have no faith in these great employers of labor giving anything to the wage-working class only a sufficient amount to keep them quiet and from rising in their might and strength and power and shaking off the shackles that have bound them for so many years.

That is my private opinion, publicly expressed. There is nothing personal in this. When we are organized strong enough, when our men have come together in sufficient force and power to make themselves felt on the economic field, they are always willing to give to us that which belongs to us, but until we do there will be nothing but deferred hopes and blasted ambitions from what they intend to give us through the halls of peace.

Vice-President O'Connell—I had hoped during this discussion that if there was any evidence to be had it would be brought out. The resolution is of a denunciatory character, in the broad way it stamps with disapproval the National Civic Federation. It is to be expected that those who introduced the resolution would give us something that would warrant us in voting in support of their resolution, some evidence of the unfair character and makeup of the National Civic Federation.

I am not now a member of the National Civic Federation, although I was for a number of years. I was one of the early members of the National Civic Federation, when it was known only as a local organization in the city of Chicago, before it moved to New York and became of a national character. I know something of its early history and its associations. I know something of the benefit it has been to me and to the trade in the organization I represent. I have attended its conferences and I have attended some of its dinners, not all of them.

If you propose to denounce a man or men in an association and declare them unfair, there should be some evidence to substantiate that sort of thing. The broad assertion that the National Civic Federation is inimical to the best inter-

ests of labor and that it is fostered and maintained and financed by the enemies of labor, is not shown here. The mere fact that there may be one or two or a dozen men associated with that body whose past records may show unfriendliness towards labor, unfairness towards labor, does not indicate by any means that the institution or the association is unfair in any way. The mere fact that Mr. Carnegie is associated in some way with the National Civic Federation, and according to one of the gentlemen who has addressed us today, is a bad man, a bad actor, does not prove to me that the National Civic Federation in itself or its makeup is a bad thing.

If a preacher falls from grace, as he does sometimes, it is no indication that we should tear the churches down. If a union man becomes intoxicated it is no evidence that the union is drunk. And because Mr. Carnegie and other men whose names have been mentioned, and some whose names have not been mentioned, are associated with the National Civic Federation, is no evidence at all to me that the principle and purposes for which the National Civic Federation was organized, and so far as I know stands, are not good things.

Some few years ago the men of my trade in the part of the country where our Convention is now being held, the southeast territory, were involved in a great railroad strike. All the way from Washington to New Orleans the roads were tied up. They fought for months. No adjustment of the strike could be brought about. Conferences were finally broken off. We fought and spent out money. Thorough the good offices of the National Civic Federation President, then Mr. Seth Low, a conference was arranged for with the Southern Railroad Company representatives in the city of New York. I went to New York, taking with me a delegation of our own men from the system. Through the good offices of the Civic Federation an adjustment of that strike was brought about, and today it is a union system all the way through. There is not one non-union machinist employed on that railway system, not one non-union man in the mechanical department.

There have been other conferences brought about through the officers of

that organization. They have brought us in conference with our employers throughout the country with whom we had fallen out.

A bank was spoken of this morning as the institution that finances the corporations of this country. Settlements in this part of the country were gone about and the men are in full contract and agreement with the railways. Is there any evidence there of unfairness? Is there any evidence of being chloroformed? The hours have been shortened, the wages increased and their working conditions have been improved. Only this last year we met in joint conference and a joint agreement between all our organizations was brought about in one conference in the city of Washington, settling all this territory in the very short period of a couple of weeks.

This thing of denouncing men and denouncing associations is most popular with some men. It is very easy to throw mud, and if you throw it continually some of it is bound to stick some place; and it is the habit and becoming the custom for some men in the labor movement and for some alleged newspapers in the labor movement, to continually throw mud and hammer men and denounce men and misrepresent men and poison the minds of the members of the organizations against their officers with no evidence of wrong, with no evidence of weakness on their part at all; but simply to destroy them because they may not agree with them on some economic matters, because they may not believe with them on political matters.

I do not think I disgraced myself or my organization by sitting down in a hotel and eating dinner in a room as big as this hall, where there were millionaires and paupers—I include myself in the latter class—any more than if I would sit down to dinner with Mr. Carnegie at a church fair. I have the same right to sit at a church luncheon or at a banquet or anywhere else I think I can be of service to the men I represent in the labor movement.

This organization, the American Federation of Labor, may have the power to pass resolutions here declaring the officers cannot belong to the National Civic Federation or any other association. They may have the power to say they shall not belong—whether they have

the right or not is another question. You have the power to say the President of the American Federation shall wear a wooden leg if you want to. You have the power, if you desire, to say that he must be red-headed, but whether you have a right to do those things or not is another question. If you are going to curtail the liberties, the rights and the possibilities of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and from the American Federation of Labor, of course, will go back to the International Unions the atmosphere created here, naturally they will follow in your footsteps.

If the power and influence of the leaders of the labor movement are going to be curtailed here at the whim of some few men who come here to denounce us, they should at least give some reasons for doing it. I know of nothing in all my associations in the National Civic Federation where we did not see that our interests were taken care of, rather than leave these things alone to be taken care of by the enemies themselves. We have discussed the labor question with the men on the other side in the National Civic Federation, and I think I may safely say that the men who have been on the Executive Board of the National Civic Federation from the labor organizations have been fully able to take care of their side.

Yes, go ahead; Pass your resolutions! Denounce right and left! Come back next time and denounce somebody else or some other association! It is easy to pass resolutions, but they mean nothing. Some of them are not worth the paper they are written on. They only furnish an opportunity to give vent to somebody's feelings! I believe the National Civic Federation or something of the kind—I don't care what you call it, a rose by any other name would be just as sweet, it would be a rose just the same—has possibilities and opportunities of extending our opportunities and our benefits. There are opportunities there of meeting men you cannot meet elsewhere, and trying to inject into their make-up some knowledge of what the labor movement stands for.

I am not afraid to trust my interests in the hands of the leaders in the labor movement. I prefer to have them do it rather than to have some shyster lawyer,

or mushroom organization, or seceding organization do it. I want the leaders to do it. Make your leaders responsible, authorize them, hold them responsible. If you don't do that you have no right to criticize. They are breaking no rule, they are breaking no law, they are breaking no resolution that has been passed. But be careful that you do not overstep the bounds of propriety in this matter and do something that may pull down on your own heads the house you have erected. There is danger ahead. Today you say your officers cannot belong to the National Civic Federation. Next time you may say they have got to be Catholics or Protestants. Then the next time you will say they have got to be democrats or socialists. And the next time you may come back and say something else, and after while you will have rebellion in your ranks. The wisest policy is to move along lines of least resistance, and the least resistance in this case would be for the men who introduced those resolutions to investigate and then come back and show us something wrong in the Civic Federation besides mentioning a number of men's names.

I believe the report of the committee is correct at this time. No evidence has been shown that the National Civic Federation is anything except what it stands for. The fact that there are in its ranks some men who may be unalterably opposed to organized labor means nothing. Until something is shown other than has been shown by the authors of the resolution, I am going to maintain the position I have taken, and support the report of the committee.

Delegate Wilson (W. B.)—Like a number of those who have preceded me I represent the United Mine Workers of America and consequently am instructed to support resolutions of a character represented in these three. And yet I doubt whether the instruction goes sufficiently far to authorize me to vote for either one of the resolutions. It will be observed that each one of them not only deals with the officers of this organization, but with the membership as well. I believe that this organization has a perfect power within itself to determine what the qualifications of its officers shall be. The fundamental right to define it along the lines here expressed



is another proposition. But I positively deny that this organization has any right to determine the qualifications for membership in the United Mine Workers of America or any other affiliated organization. If we have the right to define the qualifications for membership in the United Mine Workers, then we have the same right to remove disqualifications. If we have a right to say to the membership of that organization, "You must not belong to the National Civic Federation," then we have the same right to say to that organization, "You must repeal that portion of your law which prohibits your membership from belonging to the National Civic Federation," and I do not believe my instructions carry me far enough to take that ground. Nevertheless I will give to my organization the benefit of the doubt, and when this question comes to an issue will vote in opposition to the report of the committee.

In discussing this question I will endeavor to be as impersonal as it is possible for me to be under the circumstances, where the sole issue presented to the Convention is the personnel of a portion of the National Civic Federation. The National Civic Federation has two very definite and distinct purposes. One of them is to provide a forum where the viewpoints of all men representing various lines of ideas may be presented to the world; and the other purpose is to foster, as far as possible, collective bargaining. Both of these purposes, in my judgment, should be taken advantage of by the American Federation of Labor and every organization affiliated with it. It may be the benefits derived therefrom will not be great; it may be that the influences there exerted may not redound to the benefit of all our industrial organizations; but it must be admitted by those who have observed the workings of the Civic Federation that at least some good has come from it and that no harm has come.

There have been statements made on the floor of this Convention that if any man demonstrated that the Civic Federation had at any time been of benefit to the labor movement it would not be condemned. Other statements have simply alleged that certain individuals who are associated and connected with the

Civic Federation are also directors of large industrial institutions where the conditions of workers are deplorable. And there has not been a statement made upon the floor of this Convention relative to the condition of the workers in the plants mentioned that has been overdrawn. I have seen those conditions myself; I have been in some of those fights that have been mentioned, and I know that the picture of the horrible conditions of the workers in the plants of the United States Steel Corporation have not been overdrawn. I know that similar conditions exist in the plants of other corporations, and I have noticed in the past where the owners of the plants have been grinding down to the very lowest possible standard of existence those toilers who produce their wealth. And yet when those conditions existed we have gone out, using every means within our power, to seek a conference with those individuals so that we might enter into trade agreements with them and better the conditions of those who were toiling under those circumstances. And if it is an advantage, and I assert it is, to have those trade agreements, then every movement that tends to bring about those trade agreements should be fostered. It is no argument to say that those men are responsible for those horrible conditions. Every man who is a representative of an international trade organization on this floor knows that men who have any part of the control of those corporations where those conditions prevail should not be avoided, we should get as near to him as possible in order to change those conditions.

The National Civic Federation has given an opportunity of that kind. It is true that those opportunities are limited; but just in so far as they give us any opportunity whatever we ought to avail ourselves of it. I believe that the trade union movement is, or ought to be, aggressive, it ought to utilize every opportunity that presents itself. Anything that tends to move us to a higher standard of living and a higher plane of civilization should be taken advantage of. We cannot afford to refuse to accept any of those opportunities that present themselves. They are too few.

Yes, it is true the conditions exist in

Alabama that have been cited; it is true that conditions of that kind exist in the coke regions of Pennsylvania; it is true that those conditions exist in the steel plants of the country; it is true those conditions exist in many other industries; and it is also true that we will not solve the problem and change those conditions until by some method we are brought into touch with the employers of labor and an opportunity is given us to enter into contractual relations, thereby changing existing conditions.

So while I shall vote against this report of the committee, personally, individually, I heartily concur in it and say to you here and now that if you believe your officials are not trustworthy, that they cannot be trusted to present your viewpoint to the enemy wherever they get the opportunity, then, instead of passing a resolution of that character, the proper thing for you to do is to turn those officials out that you cannot trust and place others in there that you can trust, and make the issue clean-cut, square, open and above board.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.).—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I have listened with a great deal of interest to the debate on the question now before the house, and I am frank to admit that from statements that have been made by some of the delegates on the floor I am more firmly convinced than I ever have been before that the National Civic Federation is an economic absurdity. And I want to discuss this question, not from the point of view of any of the resolutions adopted by international organizations or now before this Convention, or aimed at any individual. I have the highest regard for John Mitchell as a union man and a citizen. I can say the same thing for Sam Gompers and other men who are connected with the National Civic Federation. I have a right, however, to disagree with them respecting principles and policies. I will not even admit, although in the Miners' organization there may be factional differences, individual likes and dislikes, that John Mitchell himself built up the United Mine Workers, because I know there are many efficient officials and many of the rank and file who made great sacrifices during the past decade or more in organizing that body, in the

same manner that men in all our international unions have struggled night and day to build up their organizations.

Let it be understood that this is not a fight in which the personalities of delegates are involved. The question is: Is the Civic Federation as at present constituted a benefit to the working people of this country? Neither am I discussing these questions from the point of view that I might be accused of envy in not being a member of the National Civic Federation, for I was given an invitation to join that body by one of its promoters, the late Senator Hanna. I told him no, that the Civic Federation could not change the economic evolution that is going on in this and every other civilized country under the sun, despite the fact that some of the individuals may be more or less in sympathy with our labor movement whose interests are allied on the other side. I believed that then and I am more firmly convinced of it now.

Why was the Civic Federation organized? Fifty years ago when the industries of this country were only being developed, when the tools with which the working class toiled were in a primitive state, there were no class alignments such as we observe under the phenomenal expansion of modern capitalism. Fifty years ago the employer usually was acquainted with or worked with his employees, and it was an easy matter to adjust differences that may have occurred in workshop, factory or mine. But under the inventive genius of our age the primitive tools of production that our grandfathers used become obsolete and were thrown upon the junk heap, to be supplemented by labor saving devices which gradually assimilated capital about them, until it was an impossibility for an individual worker, or a co-partnership of workers, or a company, or even a corporation such as existed immediately preceding the Civil War to own and operate profitably these new machines with which we produce and distribute wealth.

The result was that the companies, co-partnerships and gradually the corporations were merged after the great political campaign of 1896. After the polls were closed and the results were known corporations were merged into trusts and combinations so rapidly that

It was an impossibility for the most careful student of modern economics to follow them. Now with the rapid concentration of capital there arose a new problem that was discussed among the leaders of American finance—the captains of industry, if you please. And they said to themselves, “The people of this country oppose trustification of industry and the abolition of competition. Something must be done, something must be placed on foot to divert the attention of the masses of the people, and particularly the working men who are under the domination of the trusts.” From 1896 to 1900, in the space of four years, there were more than five hundred great trusts and combinations of capital organized. These trusts, according to the very best obtainable data today, control more than two-thirds of the manufacturing capital in America. As these trusts were formed and broke down and drove out of existence independent concerns their monopoly became more pronounced and a great outcry went abroad in the land. Anti-trust agitation was started, and some of the political demagogues came out and made promises to the American people—and I refer to demagogues who stood for the presidency down to the constable of your village—that if elected to power they would see that this burden that was heaped upon the people of America in the shape of over-capitalization of these trusts would be materially lightened, either through federal regulation or “busting” the trusts. Up to date I don’t believe any of us were compelled to duck our heads to keep from being hit by flying pieces of trusts! It is true several of the trusts were smashed by a Supreme Court decision. The Standard Oil combination, the Tobacco Trust were smashed, but I have not yet heard that John D. Rockefeller has been compelled to knock at the door of the infirmary in Cleveland to ask for a hand-out, or that the Tobacco Trust magnates have distributed their trust stocks among their employees who produce the wealth for them.

So they said, “In view of the intensified struggle between the two elements in wealth production, the owners of labor power and the owners of capital, that is inevitable we will prepare for the future.” And they did. They organized

the National Civic Federation with the distinct purpose in view of attempting to appease the demands of the workers for more of the wealth they knew they were producing; but while wealth, by some subtle method known only to capitalism was extorted from the miner, the worker in the factory, the shop, on the farm, and piled up for a comparatively few individuals. These five hundred trusts were organized. If I am not mistaken, in previous Conventions, particularly in Detroit and in Kansas City, we discussed this thing, and I know there are delegates on this floor right now who ridiculed the idea of American industry becoming centralized and monopolized in our own life time. And yet today the leading capitalist newspapers, The New York Sun, The Cleveland Leader and other publications have printed the statement that John D. Rockefeller controls more than five billion dollars of capital, that J. P. Morgan, through his interests, controls more than eight billions of capital. Then we have the Carnegies, the Goulds, the Vanderbilts and various other of the new American nobility, who likewise control billions of this capital.

And as the power of these combinations has increased just so much more of a bludgeon was placed in the control of J. P. Morgan—who is the walking delegate of American capitalism—to be used against the working class when they make a demand for better conditions. In this short period of half a century the wealth production of the workers of this country has increased enormously. In 1850 and 1852, when the first figures were collected in the matter of the production of wealth, the workers received about 80 per cent, but steadily the ratio has gone towards zero, until today it is estimated that the worker receives only about 17 per cent. Today the worker, as has been demonstrated by statistical information, produces more than the worker in any other civilized country in the world, and in proportion to the amount produced receives less.

So we are going ahead producing wealth at an accelerated pace, but we are not producing fast enough, and they are springing a new scheme to compel the workers to speed up the machine in the shape of “efficiency” methods. They

intend to wipe out waste on every hand. That is all right, I have no objection, but they are driving the machinery and compelling you to produce more and still more wealth, under the excuse that we must go into competition with Germany and Great Britain in the markets of the world to dispose of the two billion surplus wealth we cannot consume. We are going to consume it in foreign countries instead of here at home.

Now I want to refer, in order to illustrate this point as clearly as possible, to an article that appeared a little more than two years ago in the New York Press, one of the largest daily newspapers in the United States, in discussing the centralization of capital. The New York Press, being owned by a great corporation, is not in the habit of posing as a labor sheet, Socialistic or otherwise. In discussing the enormous income of one individual the New York Press said that John D. Rockefeller's income is now computed at \$2.06 a second, \$123.00 a minute, \$7,420.00 an hour, \$178,000 a day, \$1,246,000 a week, and \$65,000,000 a year. In order to show what this means the New York Press goes on to say that if the daily income were paid to Rockefeller in twenty dollar gold pieces they would number a little more than 8,900. These piled one on top of the other would reach to the height of a six-story building. I judge this is an average four story building to the roof. Put two more stories on, pile up \$20 gold pieces from the sidewalk to the roof, and you have the income of John D. Rockefeller for twenty-four hours, that is absorbed from the toll and sweat of the working class of this nation. Placed on the scales the daily income would amount to 741 2-3 pounds, or more than five times the weight of the richest man in the world. Of course he invests the greater part of that \$65,000,000 a year in new stocks and bonds and securities, and he has acquired control of about forty trusts, among which is a large share of the ownership of United States steel. In company with J. P. Morgan Mr. Rockefeller is substantially in control of the huge steel trust. It stands to reason, it is perfectly logical, that J. P. Morgan, through George W. Perkins and through H. C. Frick and other distinguished gentlemen, is satisfied and per-

haps willing to chip in quite liberally for the purpose of paying the running expenses of an organization that has been formed and the purpose of which is to divert attention, to chloroform, to hypnotize the working people of this country to the abject conditions that exist.

Reference has already been made to the terrible battles that have been forced upon the workers in many of the trades. The miners have felt the power of the Steel Trust, the coal miners in some of the districts, the metal miners up in the Lake Superior region, the men on the docks down on Lake Erie and up around Duluth. And some of the railway men, I am informed, have been victimized by the United States Steel Corporation during the last two years. We know what happened to the tin plate workers. Don't you suppose that Morgan is keen enough to understand that if he can destroy these organizations it will enhance his privileges, his profits and increase his wealth?

I might go on and refer to Belmont's attack on the street railway employes, or to the three years' struggle of the sailors on the great lakes, and they are still compelled to fight the Pittsburg Steamship Company, one of the creatures of the United States Steel Corporation. The Harriman system at the present time is controlled by Krutchnitt and others of those sanctimonious plutocrats in the Civic Federation, where they dine once a year with our brothers, where they go and say, "We really ought to do something for the poor working man!" And when they get through with their champagne drunk they hand it to the working man! How long is this centralizing system to go on? If two-thirds of the capital of the country is centralized in a dozen years, how many more years will it be until the little one-third remaining is absorbed by J. P. Morgan and Company? When that is absorbed we can crown the Honorable J. Pierpont as the monarch of American industry!

We are confronting a very grave crisis. Don't forget that when you men came into this world the most of you had opportunity still to acquire a livelihood. Many had opportunities to possibly secure a chance to go into business and become independent, whereas today the entire middle class, even the retailers and

wholesalers in practically all lines of business have simply become the clerks of the monopolized system of American industry. If the trades have been or are being revolutionized by the introduction of labor-saving machinery, if centralized capital has acquired control of that machinery, what future confronts your boy and your little girl that you have brought into the world! Those are things that come home to you if you are thoughtful citizens, and you and you alone must solve the problem. And for that reason I am opposed, upon the ground merely of the principle of the thing, to being affiliated directly or indirectly with such an institution as the National Civic Federation, which is simply attempting to obscure the lines of demarcation between the working class on the one side and capitalism on the other.

Delegate Lynch (J. M.)—I am a member of the National Civic Federation and have been for ten years. I don't believe that if the National Civic Federation would dissolve Rockefeller would lose all his money. When I went into the National Civic Federation the International Typographical Union had 35,000 members. Now it has 55,000 members, and they are earning millions of dollars more than they did ten years ago, and that despite the chloroform that has been administered to the organization on account of my affiliation with the National Civic Federation. I think my colleague has indicated the spot the chloroform has found.

The National Association of Manufacturers is also opposed to the National Civic Federation, and the National Manufacturers' Association, in declining to send representatives to a conference called by the Civic Federation, expressed its opinion of the organization Delegate Hayes is affiliated with by this paragraph:

"In this connection, I will express the hope that the day is not far distant when the National Civic Federation will clear its literature of the union label and will stand squarely before the public committed absolutely to the interests of all the people, and freed forever from any alliance with the labor trust and from any affiliation with labor union demagogues."

So that by his opposition to the Civic Federation my colleague is in distinguished company.

Delegate Hayes referred to the plutocrats who dine once a year with our

brothers, and also referred to a "champagne drunk." I have attended these dinners. I don't know whether it was because of my capacity or not, but I never came away from them drunk with champagne, and I never saw any other labor leader or official who came away drunk with champagne. I want to say to the delegates that the officers of the labor organizations who are associated in the Civic Federation meet the captains of industry on the forum of the Civic Federation and render a good account of labor's interests.

Now the proposition before the house is not so much opposition to the Civic Federation as it is opposition to the gulleless labor leaders associating with certain men who belong to the Civic Federation. If that is good doctrine as applied to the National Civic Federation it is good doctrine as applied to other associations. If it is good as applied to the Civic Federation, it is good as applied to the Newspaper Publishers' Association. Ten years ago when we made a contract with the Newspaper Publishers' Association, Otis was a member and he opposed any relations with the International Typographical Union. Since then we have increased wages in ninety-five per cent of the cities where we have gone to arbitrate with the newspaper publishers, and Otis is still a member of the Newspaper Publishers' Association. Reasoning the same way as the delegates who have spoken of Carnegie and others, there can be but one conclusion, and that is that the officers of the International Typographical Union, when they took up the negotiations with the Newspaper Publishers' Association made a mistake, that they have made a mistake in continuing their relations with the Newspaper Publishers' Association despite the increase made in wages. Their argument is fallacious, to start with, founded on false reasoning and not worthy of consideration.

From what I know of the National Civic Federation through my association with it, and what I know of my brother officers of other organizations who are members of the Civic Federation, and from what I know from being on the ground—not from what I surmise and not what suits my particular theory—I am going to support the report of the committee.

Vice-President Mitchell—I would like to ask Delegate Lynch if the eight-hour strike of the Butterick Company was brought to a successful end through the good offices of the National Civic Federation?

Delegate Lynch—The negotiations were opened through Mr. John Mitchell, who was then chairman of the Trade Agreement Department. We had tried for four years to open negotiations, but were unable to do so until it was done through the influence of Mr. Mitchell, then chairman of that department.

Delegate Walker (J. H.)—I want to make clear one phase of the discussion this morning that may lead to some confusion in the minds of the delegates, or that may leave a false impression.

The amendment to the Constitution of the United Mine Workers of America which prohibits our membership from belonging to the National Civic Federation was adopted by a roll call vote. There were something like 443 votes in the affirmative and 378 in the negative, or a majority of 165 in favor of amending the constitution. As those who are familiar with our law know, each delegate can cast five votes. A delegate has a vote for each 100 members and an additional vote for each hundred or majority fraction his local union represents. If there were fifty-four delegates from one state under the pay of some outside influence and they cast their votes on this roll call amending the constitution, then, so far as that amendment is concerned, it is quite possible that if there were no paid delegates from anywhere else the votes that were brought there and paid for by those outside influences were the balance of power that amended our constitution. There were two motions on this subject. The original resolution contained a condemnation of the National Civic Federation, and also a provision to amend the constitution to prohibit our membership from belonging to that organization. I knew, although I could not prove it, that while a great many of our members—and I was one and am yet—were not favorable to the Civic Federation as at present constituted, were willing to condemn it—and I don't usually do that without giving the worst enemy I have a hearing—I did know that the condemnation of the Civic Federation on the part of those who were re-

sponsible for raising the money that was paid to bring the delegates there to do that dirty work were in there for the sole purpose of destroying John Mitchell, if it were possible to do it, and the condemnation of the Civic Federation was the kite on which that tail was hung.

I took the matter up with some of the men responsible for the introduction of the resolution and they agreed to modify it. And it was modified so that it would not affect the membership of any one so far as our constitution is concerned. However, I knew in my own heart that John Mitchell would not remain in the National Civic Federation after unfavorable action in our own Convention; but I wanted to give him the right of his own volition to pursue the course he believed best, rather than apparently put it in the light of using a club on him. Those men agreed with me and the resolution was changed. It was adopted, and, in so far as we were concerned, we thought that ended it. But men are not going to pay \$10,000 to corrupt an organization for a certain specific purpose and then drop it as long as there is a hope of their accomplishing their purpose, so they again renewed their efforts and a roll call was had on that matter, with the vote as stated to you from our official records.

I am one of those also who do not believe in attacking either men or institutions for what they say they are going to do. I also would rather judge from what they actually do. I want to say to you that when the United Mine Workers of Illinois were in the midst of one of the bitterest troubles they ever went through—and I was their President at that time—when 25,000 of our members had won out in the struggle, had a contract signed up carrying with it an increase in wages, better conditions that meant more in money than their wages amounted to, that meant saving the lives of men and the health of our members, John Mitchell, Chairman of the Trade Agreement Department of the National Civic Federation, voted and helped us win that struggle, and the man in our organization I consider the biggest Judas since Judas himself lived, lined up with the Coal Operators' Association, went behind doors in secret and stabbed those men in the back, trying to make them lose out in the fight, give up what they had won and take the

life out of our movement. I say, "Yes, I would like to judge men by what they do rather than by what they say."

I want to point out things I do not like to do about the present status of this question. I venture to say there is not an official of the labor movement who is connected with the National Civic Federation who, if he could honestly believe that this question was acted on there and because of that action brought here, because of the honest belief of the best part of the actual workers that it was the best thing to do, and that there was no personal animus in the matter, no personal prejudice or desire on the part of some one to grind an axe of his own, I venture the assertion that if, so far as the United Mine Workers are concerned, they did not believe there was a tool of the coal operators who was using it as a method of getting campaign propaganda for himself to get control of our organization, there would not be much opposition or ill feeling of any description connected with their attitude in this matter.

In less than ten years a certain man, who started in as a labor reporter and acted as a go-between in the different conferences in a portion of the country where our industry is located, working for ten-times millionaires, made men, originally good, traitors to our organization in our international convention through that same influence, and that the people originally responsible for this thing being here had paid representatives at that gentleman's service, and the prospects were that if they were successful there might be some more millionaires, that being the real object they had in mind. If these things were not true, gentlemen, this matter under consideration would not have taken up much time, either with the men on the one side or the other.

I don't like, because of my convictions, to have to get in with a bunch of that kind, because it is not safe for them or for me. For the first time in our history a candidate for office in our organization has been able to make a campaign tour which has only been equalled by President Taft. Presumably he has been paying the expenses out of the wages he has made digging coal—and I doubt whether he has dug enough coal to cook your breakfast on a gasoline stove! These are the things at the bottom of this proposition. And

this is what I had in mind in our own organization—and there isn't a bit of danger of that bunch ever getting control of the organization again. I want to point out that in every instance where the paid hirelings of the organizations that were trying to disrupt the labor movement had been uncovered they have been gentlemen who pursued those tactics to get control of the organizations to disrupt them and serve the men and earn the money they have been paid from the other side. In the Western Federation, in the eastern organization, wherever one of those snakes has been uncovered, that is the kind of tactics he has been using. They pick out some phase of the questions under consideration that they can use for the time being without detriment to the people who are paying them their Judas pieces of silver, try to destroy the men that cannot be used or bought and get themselves into power. They generally select an issue that they can appeal to men on, and in which they can use men innocently who are acting from honest convictions. I have honest convictions in opposition to the Civic Federation as at present constituted, but they are not using me innocently, and I am going to see to it that everybody else I can inform on the subject knows that they are not using me that way.

I believe that it will be for the best interests of the labor movement if we have an open forum that will enable able men from the different organizations in time of trouble to meet the men on the other side face to face and make our position clear and plain to the entire world. I believe such a thing as that would be beneficial, I believe an institution of that kind could be arranged for in such a way that we could get the most good possible from it, and at the same time protect every interest of the workers. I believe ultimately such a thing will be done. And I know, gentlemen, that the men representing the labor movement in the Civic Federation, at least in so far as one of them is concerned, one who has been an official of our organization, who gave up \$8,000 a year so that he could belong to the Coal Miners' Union, is not going there to betray our interests. I honestly believe that he and others went there because they could take advantage of this institution and the opportunity it

gave them to derive benefit for the rank and file of the organizations they were members of. I believe that some of the employers who are in there have absolutely the motives ascribed to them by Delegate Hayes. I believe a majority of the employers are in there in the hope of being able to get something out of us they could not get any other way. I doubt very much that the men who are supposed to represent the public, the men who are supposed to be disinterested, impartial humanitarians, would or could get a vote from the labor unions declaring them to be such if they had a chance to pass judgment on them.

If we were engaged in a great labor struggle and the other side said, "Here, we are willing to refer this thing to the National Civic Federation as at present constituted," we could not very well refuse, and it would be absolutely suicide to not refuse. The employers who are known to be opposed to organized labor would have as much voting strength as the men who are representing organized labor. Among the fellows who represent the public at the present time, so far as I am capable of judging, there is not one of them who would vote for us under any circumstances if he could avoid it. Here we would be in a position of refusing to refer a dispute to an organization comprised of practically all the officials of the labor movement in our country. That would put us in an ugly light before the public; and if we did not refuse and let it go there they would have a majority and control the settlement of it.

I believe some day we will be able to evolve a plan along the same line we do business with the coal operators, where every man on each side will have the same voting strength. They cannot commit us to anything unless we agree to the proposition. If it can be instituted along those lines and an open forum made of it for the discussion of all our troubles as workers, I think it would be a good influence and something beneficial to us. And if the employers' associations of this country want to take up that kind of a proposition and come here to the Federation and offer to organize along those lines, then we could take it back to our unions and find out whether or not they were willing to

have an open forum here, then come back and organize in such a way that what good could come from it we would get, and we would be absolutely protected from any harm.

In passing judgment on this matter I am going to vote in accordance with the instructions of my Convention, notwithstanding that I know one of the henchmen of this hireling Judas, who served as a strike breaker in Maryland, served as a guard, served as a solicitor for scabs and testified in court—perjuring himself to send our men to jail—worked for the passage of that resolution. I will stand for what the majority of my organization says we shall do, because I believe in their hearts they wanted to do what was right, and just as soon as they make a mistake and the facts are called to their attention they will rectify it. That is why I will vote as I shall on this proposition, although, as I said, if it were coming up here without any axe to grind on the part of any one, without any paid hirelings working under cover for position in the movement to betray it if there is advantage to themselves in doing so, if it came here purely as an honest measure, I would vote in opposition to our members or officers belonging to the Civic Federation at the present time, as it is at present constituted, because I feel it cannot do much good except as the individual members of our side that are in it can do good, and possibly at some time it may do real, serious injury if it is continued as it is at the present time.

Delegate McDonald (D.)—In view of the fact that I introduced a resolution on this matter, and in order to get this matter clearly before the Convention, I would like to have Delegate Walker state if his remarks had any reference to me.

Delegate Walker—In reply to that question I want to say that I voted with Brother McDonald on the question when it carried with it a condemnation of the Civic Federation. I do not believe there is a truer, cleaner trade unionist in the country than Brother McDonald, and I want to say in reference to the Alabama coal miners' strike that if John Mitchell or Duncan McDonald had been President of the miners' organization the Steel Trust would not have prevented us from winning it.



Delegate Mahon—I want to speak on a phase of this question about which a great deal has been said throughout the country, the subway strike, but before touching on that I want to touch on my own reason for being a member of the National Civic Federation. I cannot date my membership back to the early formation of the Civic Federation, for it had been in existence some time when I became a member. My first connection with that organization, or my first dealing with it, was at a time when our men in San Francisco first organized and went on strike. I received a telegram through President Gompers inviting me to come at once to New York in connection with our San Francisco strike. I reached New York on Sunday, met John Mitchell at the hotel and he introduced me to Senator Hanna. Senator Hanna informed me that the representatives of the San Francisco Company had been reached and desired me to come on and meet with them.

The strike at San Francisco had come on very suddenly, as the delegates from that portion of the country will remember. I telegraphed to San Francisco for copies of our agreement, and on Sunday morning, according to the arrangements made by the Senator at that meeting, the treasurer of our organization and myself met with the President of the San Francisco Railway Company. We went into a side room of the Civic Federation and discussed our agreement, only the three of us being present, for some time. We went over the entire agreement, and we succeeded in chloroforming Mr. Calhoun and getting him to agree to the demands of our men on the Coast. Word was telegraphed from both sides and the officers signed up their agreement. The result was that our organization in San Francisco was established. Later on that organization, striking for the eight-hour day, was lost, but with that the Civic Federation had nothing to do.

I was then invited to become a member of the Civic Federation. I laid the matter before the executive committee of my organization and was instructed by them to take part in the National Civic Federation. From that time on I have been a member, not a very active one, for I have not been able to attend

many of its meetings. I understood before I joined that it was an organization bringing together men from all walks of life, capitalists and representatives of labor, men of the different schools of thought and economics, for the purpose of discussing these questions. I understood before I became a member that it was not the mission of the National Civic Federation to attempt to solve the labor question or establish harmony between the great forces; but that its mission was to bring together the men of different schools of thought and from different institutions and have them discuss the differences that existed between them. So far as labor and capital is concerned, I was told at the first meeting, "Our mission is to bring you men together. When we have brought you together our mission is fulfilled."

Next came on the organization of New York. Herman Robinson, the organizer in New York, organized that city as far as the elevated roads were concerned. In the spring of 1903 we brought together the organization. Our men immediately made demands for increased wages and improved conditions. In a short time they had come to a deadlock because of the demands for the hours of labor and a strike was voted on. I hastened to New York. Belmont was not then a member of the National Civic Federation. I could not get in touch with any one. I went to the office of the Civic Federation. Mr. John K. Commons was then in charge. We got in touch with a gentleman I had known as an employer, a man for whom I had worked many years ago. The first time I ever met him I was chairman of a strike committee. He said on account of the fact that his daughter was to be married that day he could not do much, so we started out to find some one else. Through Mr. Cook we secured a man who wanted to bring about a conference, and he did bring it about. That conference between our committee and the company resulted in a very satisfactory settlement, establishing a raise of wages to our men, and a day's work that should not exceed nine hours and thirty minutes.

That agreement was put in force and the benefit of it went to the members of our organization. I was introduced

to Mr. Belmont and he said to me after our conference that it was his first meeting with any representatives of labor. He said he had never before consented to meet them, that he hired the best men to transact and direct his business and he had always left it in their hands; but he believed that he had made a mistake, and he assured me that at any time in the future there was trouble between our organization and his Company the door of his office was open and he would be pleased to hear our side of it.

Before the opening of the subway they had on the elevated system in New York an organization of locomotive engineers. They ran the engines in the days when the locomotive engines were used. They had continued their organization. There were about 250 or 300 of those men. We did not interfere with them. They said they had their benefits in their Brotherhood. We knew that was true and that they could not join our organization. We did not wish to deprive them of their benefits and left them in their organization. The firemen who had fired those engines had something like 99 members in two small organizations. Prior to the opening of the subway these two organizations made demands on the Company. They went to our organization and got the co-operation of our men. Their chief, Mr. Stone, came on. They made their demands, but could do nothing. I went on to New York again and through the influence of officers of the Civic Federation we again got in touch with the company. I was able through their influence to work out a settlement in the subway.

That was in the fall of 1904, I believe. We agreed in the subway upon a contract for two years. I wanted our men to remain out of that. Our men insisted that that be part of the subway contract, and they signed it. The contract in the subway was made for two years, dating from August 1905. The next spring when the subway strike, of which so much is said, took place, our organization on the elevated made demands, outlined a new agreement, sent it to our office and had it approved. It was sent back and given to the Company. An arrangement was made that prior to the

expiration of the agreement conferences would be held and the agreement discussed. In the meantime the engineers for some reason, I know not what, and the firemen, became dissatisfied and again got into conference with our men. They decided that they would present an ultimatum to the Company repudiating the two years' contract that was made the fall before in the subway. They decided to go to the Company and lay down an ultimatum at two o'clock in the afternoon and give the Company until eleven o'clock that night to sign. They were not to notify the International officers, we were to know nothing about it, but the Secretary secretly wired me. I did not know he was simply doing it as an individual. I went on to New York and met the secretary at noon with the vice-president of our organization. He notified me that he was going down town to meet the balance of the committee and they were going to deliver this ultimatum, which he read for me. I protested and told him it was ridiculous, that the position they were taking was contrary to all the laws of our organization. I appealed to him and to the vice-president to go down and protest to the committee. They went down, but the committees met and presented the ultimatum. If it was not agreed to by eleven o'clock that night they would enter into a strike. They said they knew it was contrary to our laws and contrary to the Brotherhood laws, but that they expected the strike would be won before we could protest.

I got in communication with Mr. Moffett, then editor of the Bricklayers' journal, with Mr. Healy and other men. We found that everything had been prearranged, that no meetings would be held. The strike took place. The ultimatum had been delivered contrary to all the laws of the Brotherhood of Firemen, the Brotherhood of Engineers and our International organization. Mr. Gompers came on to assist us. Mr. Mitchell was already there, and Mr. Thomas I. Kidd, in no way interested in the Civic Federation, came to us. We tried to get those men to see the mistake they were making. Mr. Hurley wanted to annul the charter of the engineers. We pleaded with him not to do so. He said if the Companies wanted to make any

proposition to let them come to us. After that position was taken I issued a statement. I have it here, but I am not going to read it, I have said too much, I know, already.

The strike was already lost. The Company had a ship load of men ready to go to work on the New Haven and Hartford. When the strike took place they put them in the subway and on the elevated. The strike was lost the second day. Brother Mitchell and I went through the subway on the second day and inspected the whole situation. The truth is the men had disregarded every law of our organization. We simply made a statement to the public and let them go. We repudiated their action. Mr. Belmont had been assured when the representatives of the Engineers called on him a few days before, when he wanted to know their position, saying he wanted the matter settled as he was going away, that nothing would be done until he returned. He said, on the other hand, that the Amalgamated had put in their contract and he knew their policy would be to discuss them and work them out. He left New York feeling that the whole situation was one that would be dealt with according to the laws of the organization. I will not criticize Belmont for the action he took in that strike; it is the position I would have taken, or that any other man would have taken under similar circumstances.

Mr. Belmont came into the Civic Federation. I was one who, after getting acquainted with him, persuaded him to come in, and we were able to settle many grievances that came up. I went to him on other railroad affairs and got him to assist us. I say this in behalf of the subway strike that the delegates may know that some of the stories that have been circulated around the country are absolutely false. The Civic Federation in these matters has given us assistance. When our men in New Orleans were about to be locked out, after our formation, and the new syndicate of which Mr. Fairchilds was the head took the road, they had already taken into New Orleans over two hundred men under cover. The Union notified me of the situation. I went to New York and to Mr. Easley to get in touch with that syndicate. After lots of hard work he

succeeded in getting a conference with Mr. Fairchilds. We had our conference. He informed me that the whole matter was referred to Mr. Miller, of Miller and Hornblower, attorneys, who were going to handle the situation. There was a banquet that evening at the Civic Federation—where we were going down to get more chloroform! We got Mr. Miller there. Archbishop Ireland and others discussed questions. At the close of the meeting Senator Hanna brought Mr. Miller and myself together. He said, "You and Mr. Mahon settle it. Make a contract with the Amalgamated Association and they will carry it out."

Mr. Miller and I agreed to meet in New Orleans, and there with our committee of the organization we would work out a contract. They dismissed their strike breakers. Mr. Commons, who sits here with me, accompanied me, and we worked out a contract. Today these men are members of our Association and their wages have been raised from 13-1-3 cents an hour to 23-1-2 cents an hour.

When we formed our organization in Chicago we were opposed by the most powerful railroad companies in America. We had 130 men discharged. The rest of the men were timed, we could not rally them. Brother Kidd had started out in the beginning with a secret system of organizing. Nobody knew how many members we had—and if they had known, God pity us! We kept our fight on and I went to see Senator Hanna, who was then President of the Civic Federation. I told him the greatest strike in the history of Chicago was about to take place. He pleaded with me not to strike the men but to try to get a settlement. I said, "That is up to you men of influence." He got in touch with Mr. Franklin McVeagh, who was also a member of the Civic Federation. I went East with letters of introduction and presented the story. He said to present the same story to the Company. I went to the eastern men interested financially, while Franklin McVeagh worked the other end. We succeeded in working out an agreement that recognized the Association. Our men got 16 and 17 cents an hour, and today in Chicago we have 13,000 members with a maximum pay of 23

cents an hour, and 30 cents an hour commencing in August.

Now, these are some of the benefits we have been able to secure by meeting with these gentlemen from time to time. I meet and eat with them, yes, and I will meet with them and eat with them as long as I can ease up a situation like that at New Orleans.

I do not think the labor men ever believed the Civic Federation was going to settle the great economic question at all. I agree with those who say it cannot do so. It will not do so, in my opinion. I have never heard it discussed that labor and capital were identical and that we were brothers. If you had listened to the discussions you would have changed your opinions. I told the Civic Federation on many occasions just what I thought without regard as to who was present. If you doubt that, gentlemen, get copies of my speech at Mrs. Potter Palmer's house in Chicago. I did not compromise, I did not surrender one iota of my independence when I joined the Civic Federation. I went there to meet with these men and argue with them and secure all I could out of them, without any guarantee of giving them anything in return.

Delegate McCullough (T. W.)—In all the discussion we have had on this question the main issue at point has been lost sight of. Personally, I am very glad the discussion has taken the wide range it has, for if it has had any effect whatever it must have been to convince the members of the Convention that the movers of the resolution under consideration have given little or no inquiry into the topic, they have not investigated the merits of the case before they have presented their proposition.

For the sake of argument, or rather to avoid argument, I am going to admit the truth of a great many extravagant statements that have been made on the floor of this Convention, even to the pathetic picture of poor old John Rockefeller tottering up to the gates of heaven dragging his 721 pounds of dally gold behind him. That is not the question. The question is, "Shall we keep in touch with our employers?" We are called into existence to represent the workers of America, to have their interests in our charge and to take up the matters in

contention from time to time with the employers. There is not a minute we are not in contact with the employers on one question or another concerning our employment. The Civic Federation has opened an avenue where employer and employe can meet on ground that is as nearly neutral as any that has yet been suggested. The question that is being presented to this Convention is squarely and simply, "Shall we close that avenue of opportunity?"

I am not going to waste any of the time of the Convention in detailing the benefits that have or may accrue from that organization. I think it is apparent to every thinking man that there are advantages that can be gained in no other way from having an avenue through which we can at any reasonable time get access and assistance in coming in touch with the employers who would otherwise bar the door against us. And it is absurd to put this organization or any of the affiliated bodies that make up this organization, in the position of saying to the world at large that we are afraid of the representatives of organized capital, that we fear to meet them in the Civic Federation or in any other forum to which we may be admitted for the purpose of debating our questions of difference. It appears to me the question that is involved, and the question we are going to vote on, no matter how long this debate continues, is whether we are by our own action going to close a door that is now open to us and through which it is not improbable we will gain some benefits, and through which it is not at all probable any harm can come, because if the employers could have struck us through the National Civic Federation they would have done so long ago.

\*Delegate Healy (T.)—I hope this debate will not close before I have a chance to say a word on the question. I have been a member of the National Civic Federation for a number of years, and I have been a member because it has helped me to better the conditions of the men I represent. If the men who attack that institution would look into the work it is doing and post themselves in regard to it before making such attacks, I am sure the time of the

Convention would not be taken up as it has been today. I believe the men who attack the Civic Federation are not sincere, are not honest to the interests of the labor movement of this country. Myself and other men in the Civic Federation, and others who are not in the Civic Federation, are in this Convention to represent the men who sent us here. We don't meet and conspire night after night and make plans to attack the men who built up this movement, the same as the men who are attacking the Civic Federation do, as they have been doing since they have been in this Convention, and as they have done in every other Convention of the American Federation of Labor I have attended. It is not the National Civic Federation they want to attack, it is the officers of the American Federation of Labor, and that is well known.

I have thought, while listening to the discussion here today, that if Mr. Parry, Mr. Post, Mr. Kirby and Mr. Walter Drew were here, how they would applaud some of the orators who have made these talks. Yes, and tonight in the evening papers throughout the country these attacks will be read, and the Manufacturers' Association will certainly gloat over the fact that the National Civic Federation and the men in the labor movement who are connected with it have been attacked. The Manufacturers' Association does not come here, there are those who will do their dirty work here. And they are doing it, and they are gloating over it. Only night before last, in talking to a Socialist on this resolution, he said, "Oh, I know we won't win out this year, but we will next." They won't! They won't win out this year nor next, and God forbid that the day should ever come when gentlemen of that stripe will dictate the policy of the American labor movement.

At a recent banquet of the Manufacturers' Association in New York, Mr. Kirby had this to say, "If it had not been for the Civic Federation the labor organizations could not have maintained their position. The Civic Federation is the greatest asset of the American Federation of Labor. It is incomprehensible that manufacturers should support the Civic Federation, an organization that helps the labor trust to obtain its goal."

What do you think of that, my Socialist friends? You ought to be proud of yourselves! You certainly ought! And I want to say to the trade unionists, especially the new delegates to the Convention: Don't take any of the Socialist chloroform! The National Civic Federation is not in it with the dope the Socialists would administer!

The organization I represent is almost isolated from the labor movement. Our men work in the great office buildings, power plants, hotels and other buildings where there are no unions of any kind. There may be a few firemen and engineers in the basements working twelve hours a day for three hundred and sixty-five days in the year. We are helpless. We must reach the employers, the heads of the firms, if we are going to get anything in those places. We never could and never did reach one of them until we got in the National Civic Federation. They found a way for us to reach them. Mr. Mahon has explained how they can be reached and will be reached. They are not a bad in the National Civic Federation! There may be some bad ones there, the same as we have here.

As a sample of the work the National Civic Federation is doing, I will say they are calling to the attention of the world the large number of men and women who are maimed, crippled and killed throughout this country every year through industrial accidents. I have here a large number of clippings from newspapers telling of explosions of boilers in mines and buildings. It is compiled by Mr. Schramm, a very active member of the National Civic Federation. I might say for Mr. Schramm that only five or six weeks ago in Chicago, in response to a letter we sent him saying that the men in the brewery interests he represents work three hundred and sixty-five days a year, they were given a week's holiday with pay every year. These men never knew what a week's vacation meant, and we have to thank Mr. Schramm of the Civic Federation for this vacation. A few years ago we never knew what it was to get a vacation. That is one of the very things the National Civic Federation is doing, as well as helping us get eight hours where we formerly worked twelve.

Nobody knows the work that has been

done by the Civic Federation, and there are a whole lot of people here who don't care what they have done. I do. I notice here in this pamphlet it says, "With Samuel Gompers and John Mitchell, not only participants but moving spirits in the movement, as well as officers in good standing in the Civic Federation, I cannot reconcile my own mind with what seems to me to be such an extremely inconsistent proposition, nor can I find it in my conscience to wink at the great danger to the best interests of our common country that lies hidden in the endorsement by your organization, of these men and the doctrines they preach and which, insofar as they can, they execute in the name of the Civic Federation, and for which that organization will some day have to recognize its responsibility."

I want to say to President Gompers and Vice-President Mitchell that you will have a whole lot of things to answer for. You are dangerous men! We not only have it from Kirby, but we have it from the Socialists, therefore it must be so!

I don't give any man or any body of men the right to say what organization I must belong to. I belong to the Civic Federation, and until they prove to me that it is not a proper place for me, I will stay there. They have not succeeded in doing that. If they succeed in this they might tell me in the next Convention that I must get out of the Hibernians. The next thing they would come along and tell me what church I should go to. Now, I will go where I like.

My friends, if these resolutions were to go through here, you know as well as I do that the Manufacturers' Association of this country would be giving banquets tomorrow night to celebrate the fact that they had driven President Gompers out of the National Civic Federation. It is too bad that things of this kind should be brought into the American Federation of Labor to give an opportunity to the press of the country to come out with great head-lines, "Gompers Attacked by the Labor Unions!" "Gompers Attacked by the Delegates!" There may be and will be always men willing to attack Gompers or any other man who is here, but I want to tell you, my friends, that the American labor movement is going

to stand by Samuel Gompers and allow him to stay in the Civic Federation until his hair will get gray.

President Gompers—Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: This question before the convention gives me occasion for mingled feelings, one of regret and the other of pleasurable welcome; regret that serious men in the labor movement of America, in the year 1911, should suggest, much less propose, a question and a subject so absolutely foreign to the purposes of the American Federation of Labor. I welcome it in the same way as I regretted and welcomed in the past the introduction of the famous, or otherwise, resolutions of a Socialistic character of a few years ago in which was attempted to commit the American Labor movement to the Socialist political party. My regret is because the time that is taken up with a discussion of this character is to the detriment of the constructive work in which this organization should be engaged. I welcomed it then as now because it gives us the opportunity in a convention of the American Federation of Labor to meet our traducers face to face upon an equality, where we can refute their statements and confound their slanders, and where we can give our younger men in the labor movement of America the ammunition with which to meet the trade union antagonists, regardless of the cloak under which they try to hide.

The fact of the matter is that there isn't anything the American Federation of Labor can do to satisfy the Socialist Party unless we go over, body, boots and breeches, to that party. And then we could do just as we pleased, so long as we "toted" straight as subordinate to them! For years they started their policy of antagonizing the trade union movement from without, and then they decided upon changing their tactics to boring from within. If it were not this question of the Civic Federation it would be something else. Let this convention adopt the resolutions introduced upon this subject and there will be another question arise, no matter what it will be—anything to antagonize the trade union movement as a militant, independent, persistent organization of the working people of our country. One would imagine that if those three resolutions were adopted as a whole, or any one of them, they would

placate our friends the Socialists. They haven't any such thing in mind, and we who know them, know that they haven't.

It may be interesting to you to know that two years ago the American Federation of Labor elected me by unanimous vote to accept the invitation extended to me by the British Trades Union Congress, through its Parliamentary Committee to visit that Congress and at the same time elected me to proceed to the International Secretariat, then about to hold its meeting in Paris. There was not a Socialist paper in Europe but which declared that my coming as a representative of the American Federation of Labor was a pretense; that, as a matter of fact, I came there selected by the National Civic Federation, and that I was paid fabulous sums to try to fool the workmen of Europe. Wherever I went that was one of the things I had to meet. The fact that the National Civic Federation had no more to do with it than "the man in the moon" mattered little to them, those statements were sent ahead of me to the Socialist press of Europe, and by American representatives of the Socialist Party.

The difficulties I had in overcoming there were overcome to a considerable extent, or at least I think I helped pave the way to beat down some of the misrepresentations of our movement here and of our men and of myself. But I cared less for what they thought of me than what they thought of the American Federation of Labor. What most concerned me was the attitude of mind towards the American Federation of Labor.

If you have read some of the speeches or some of the editorials and articles in the Socialist press of the United States you may have seen some things that have reflected upon me in so many ways it would be difficult to attempt to describe them. I have here a paper in which is published in parallel columns some statements made by the President of the Employers' Association, Mr. Kirby in his "Square Deal," and also some other papers which I shall name. I shall not take much time in quoting.

"The American Federation of Labor plan is a delusion and a snare and a downright insult to the toiling masses who make this country great." (Social Democratic Herald, 1904.)

"The National Civic Federation is a delusion and a snare, an enemy to public welfare and prejudicial to the interest

of the working classes as fully as is the American Federation of Labor." (Square Deal.)

Is there anything like a similarity of language in those two statements? Don't you detect it? There have been read this afternoon some extracts from utterances of Mr. Kirby. I have had placed on the tables a four-page circular letter reproduction, being an attack on Mr. Mitchell, the National Civic Federation and myself by John Kirby, Jr., President of the National Association of Manufacturers. I will quote this from it. It is a letter under date of December 27, 1909, and is addressed to the Honorable Seth Low, President of the National Civic Federation, in which he says among other things:

"Therefore, with Samuel Gompers and John Mitchell not only participants but moving spirits in the movement, as well as officers in good standing in the Civic Federation, I cannot reconcile my own mind with, what seems to me to be, such an extremely inconsistent proposition, nor can I find it in my conscience to wink at the great danger of the best interests of our common country 'hat lies hidden in the endorsement, by your organization, of these men and the doctrines they preach and which, in so far as they can, they execute in the name of the Civic Federation, and for which that organization will, some day, have to recognize its responsibility."

In declining to have his organization represented at a meeting of the National Civic Federation to consider uniform legislation he quotes telegrams and excerpts from letters of members of the Executive Board of the National Association of Manufacturers in which his letter is endorsed. I will read some of them.

"Under no circumstances should national association confer on any subject with Gompers, Mitchell and Co. subterfuge called Civic Federation."

"Am opposed to appointment of delegates to any convention which includes those whom our courts have decided to be willful and defiant law breakers."

"I approve your action in not appointing Civic Federation delegates but favor uniform laws."

"Most heartily approve your position in not sending delegates to Civic Federation meeting; also your letter to Low in its entirety."

"I absolutely agree with your action in declining to appoint delegates to the National Civic Federation of Gompersism. I most certainly would refuse to attend the meeting if you would see fit to appoint me."

"I would rather see this matter settled as to representation by the combined opinion of yourself, Mr. Emery, Mr. Van-Cleave, Mr. Parry and Mr. Jarvis, I therefore await with much interest your final decision."

"When the Civic Federation will change its methods and stand squarely before the people in the interests of the people, we can co-operate with them, but not so long as their literature carries the union label and their councils are dominated by the selfish interests of the labor trust."

"There ought to be some way to enlighten the innocent or assumed innocent members of the Civic Federation that they are tools of organized labor. Is there not some way in which it can be done?"

If the same subject were before the delegates to this convention for a vote, or before those delegates who favor the resolutions under consideration, would they not use about the same language?

I ask you to consider this matter upon its merits. What is there to it? What is the purpose? Is there any one who seriously believes that the men in the American labor movement, the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the officers of the International Typographical Union, or the Street Railway men, the Firemen and others, are not glad of the opportunity to testify to the work done by the Civic Federation in behalf of their organizations? Is there any one who imagines for a minute that these men, my colleagues on the Executive Council and myself, can be chloroformed or hypnotized by anything an opponent of organized labor may say or do? I venture to say that except as a figure of speech, except as it is intended to prejudice the mind of the uninformed, not one of those who have introduced the resolutions really believes it.

In the meetings of the National Civic Federation, if I may go so far as to say it, not only for others but certainly for myself, I think we have been more radical and persistent in our utterances than we would have been in the meeting rooms of any of our unions. I don't know that I could find language in my vocabulary to more strongly present the claims of labor, the rights of labor, or to portray as best I could the wrongs from which labor suffers than I have in the meetings of the National Civic Federation. I challenge any man here now to point to one utterance of mine in the National Civic Federation that he will challenge as a trades unionist, that he will question as to its accuracy and its insistence.

But there is another phase of it. Ask—no, you need not ask, the statement will be volunteered by Socialists—that "after all your trade union activity, after all

your trades unions are played out institutions, your strikes and boycotts are played out, they are obsolete weapons, what is the use of them? Vote right, and you will vote yourself into glory and salvation!" And how strange it is for those who so insistently claim that trade union activity is futile, and yet charge us with being chloroformed on the industrial field! If the strike and the boycott are obsolete and useless, where is the danger of chloroforming us in our conferences with the employers? For it is those things which we primarily and principally discuss.

The idea upon which that claim of the uselessness of trade union activity, the strike and the boycott, are declared to be obsolete, is this: When trade unions increase wages the Socialists say "employers of labor will put up prices higher than really the wages that you have secured are increased." If such a statement were founded upon facts it would be in the interests of the employing class to concede every demand for an increase in wages which we make. The truth is that frequently prices are increased about the same time, or shortly after, frequently before an increase in wages is secured. I imagined that Socialists no longer believe what LaSalle laid down as the "Iron Law of Wages." That has been disregarded by even as much intelligence as the average Socialist can acquire.

But the fact is this: That decade by decade, or from generation to generation, wages, and the relative purchasing power of wages, are continually increased and expanded. If there be any man who doubts it and wants to know the truth, let him go into the homes of the American working people. Let him compare his own home and his own condition with the home and the condition of his father, if his father was a working man. If there is any one who doubts it, let him compare his own children and the time they are sent to school and kept out of the factory and the workshop with the time that he and his brothers or his father, if they were working people, spent in school.

There is a sort of reason—misnamed a philosophy—upon which all this antagonism is based. It is the idea that the working people must get into a condition of abject poverty and misery and by a cataclysm, called a social revolution,



"come into their own and take charge of society and government." As if an impoverished people ever really made for constructive revolution! The poorer the people the more abject they become. There may be a revolt, like a riot and a flash in the pan, but the constructive, constant work, day by day, hour by hour, and year after year, is the work in which the trades unionist is engaged.

A few months ago a delegate to this convention visited the office of the American Federation of Labor and we had a rather interesting conversation. He asked me a question which I shall relate, and give very briefly the answer I made. He said: "President Gompers, did you ever give this any thought, how it is that there are comparatively such a few of the younger men who are now actively engaged in the work of the trade union movement?" I was astounded, particularly at the source from which it came, because I doubt if ever in my long life I have had an opening like that given me.

I said: "Yes, I have given that consideration. Do you know the reason?" He could not find the reason. I made this answer, substantially: "The reason is, if it exists at all, that if you tell the young working men of this country that all they need do is to vote for your party one day in the year and that it is enough, would not they be foolish to give every day's effort in the hard and bitter struggle of the working people?" If the philosophy urged upon us by our Socialist friends is right, then this American Federation of Labor and its constituent trade unions are a mistake and it is a waste of time to continue them, and they ought to be disbanded.

It is so difficult in a matter of this character to deal with the fundamentals. The Civic Federation! Has it done anything for labor? I want to say here and now that personally I have profited not one dollar by my association with the National Civic Federation. I would lose not one cent if I severed my connection with it. As a rule it is not necessary to use even the good offices of the National Civic Federation for me to obtain an interview with almost any man in America. I seem to have at least sufficient of the respect of the people in all walks of life to secure any personal interview I may want, but my only desire for an opportunity for

a conference is to discuss some concrete proposition in which the men and women of labor are interested.

Has the National Civic Federation done anything? Let me read to you just about ten or eleven lines of the departments which the National Civic Federation has established. The first is on Uniform State Legislation. I suppose that, in view of our knowledge of the difficulties we have by reason of our dual form of government, it is necessary for us to have some associated effort for uniform legislation among the states. Other departments are:

Department of Regulation of Industrial Corporations; Department on Regulation of Interstate and Municipal Societies; Department on Reform in Legal Procedure; Taxation Department; Banking and Currency Department; Department on Pure Food and Drugs; Industrial Conciliation Department; Department on Compensation for Industrial Accidents and their Prevention; Industrial Welfare Department; Public Employees' Welfare Department; Women's Welfare Department. In all of these it has been active.

Replying to one question as to what the Civic Federation declares and does, let me say this: If the National Civic Federation were to meet and have these discussions which they have and adjourn, if these discussions were of an academic character, then there would not be one word of criticism or accusation. It is a fact that the Civic Federation tries to do the things it discusses and agrees upon that causes the criticism.

Answering the thought expressed that the votes in the Civic Federation are as two to one, the representatives of the employers and the representatives of the general public voting one way and the representatives of labor another, my experience is that there is no proposition which goes forth as a declaration from the Civic Federation unless it is by unanimous vote. I suppose it may be true that some proposition which Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Lynch, Mr. Mahon, Mr. Duncan, Mr. Valentine, Mr. Healy, myself and others may have advocated has not been approved. If that be true, this also is true, that there has never yet been a proposition adopted by the National Civic Federation affecting the rights or the interests of labor unless the men of labor approved it. One vote cast

by any of us against it vetoed that proposition.

I shall not attempt to discuss the various propositions in regard to trade disputes, the conferences secured and the adjustments reached. I should prefer that others, when the time may come, if not now, some time in the future, shall tell the story. I want to deal with a few general propositions. At a conference held in Chicago about five or six years ago for the purpose of discussing the legislation affecting the regulation of industrial combinations, the consideration of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and how an amendment might be obtained, I was a member of the Committee on Resolutions. The resolutions recommended that any proposed legislation should include modification of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law excluding from its provisions:

1. "The national and local organizations of labor and their trade agreements with employers relating to wages, hours of labor and conditions of employment."

Does that language sound familiar? Isn't that trade union language? Are these words not contained in resolutions times without number that were passed by conventions of the American Federation of Labor and by our various unions throughout the country?

2. "Associations made up of farmers intended to secure a stable and equitable market for the products of the soil free from fluctuations due to speculation."

3. "Business and industrial agreements, or combinations whose objects are in the public interest as distinguished from combinations determined to be contrary to the public interest."

I have no apologies to make for anything that may have been said in regard to the personnel of any one connected with the National Civic Federation, but I ask you if an association such as that can agree upon such declarations to free the organizations of labor from an unjust position in which they are placed, due to the interpretation placed upon the Sherman Anti-Trust Law by the Supreme Court of the United States, is not that effort worth the making?

The United States Steel Corporation has been mentioned, and I think I ought to say something in connection with it. Do delegates who introduced the resolu-

tions recall any action on the part of the American Federation of Labor upon the Steel Trust question? Do you not know that with the aid of representative labor men called into conference, and having the volunteer assistance of two of the ablest lawyers in America to prepare our brief and charges against the United States Steel Corporation, we presented those charges against that Company to the President of the United States and later laid them before the Department of Justice and before the Governor of Indiana? And that later the whole basis of complaint, and the effort now being made to dissolve that giant corporation, that cruel corporation, were upon the initiative of the American Federation of Labor and its "chloroformed" officers?

As a matter of fact, every man who attends these meetings of the Civic Federation knows—because he is reminded of it at every meeting—that we meet there without surrendering one jot of our judgment or our convictions or our faith in the justice of our cause. When we meet these people we endeavor to drive home the claims of labor. They do not often get this otherwise, and now the proposition is that they shall not get it at all!

I agree with you that the mere cultivation of friendly personal relations between men of means and representatives of working men should be avoided. Living in Washington, where half the population are government employees or government officials, I have often been invited to the social functions of those higher up, sometimes the highest up. Except once, a little more than a year ago, when I could not pursue the course I always had pursued without causing some reflection upon another, I have never attended one of those functions. Personally I have no relations with those people, but as a trades unionist and an officer of the American labor movement it is my duty to defend and protect and advocate the cause of labor wherever and wherever I can.

And I ought to say parenthetically that whenever I am at one of those dinners given by the National Civic Federation one of the things I consistently do is to abstain from eating or drinking. And I do that because I am usually called upon to speak, and I do not care to speak with my make-up full of food. But

suppose we all ate heartily and suppose we all enjoyed it thoroughly? What then? Are our friends the Socialists to take umbrage at that? Reference has been made to the fact that we have eaten dinners, and "glorious dinners," while some of the working men have gone hungry. I think that if that logic were pursued we ought to fast until all of us have gotten enough to eat! I know we are all affected, some more some less, as our sentiment, our humanity, is touched by the misery or the poverty of men; but why should we go to a theatre and hear and see the performers to make us laugh and be merry while there are others in the land who shed tears of hunger and misery? I think it might be not at all remiss if we were consistent as well as sophistical.

But I have something to which I desire to call your attention. With the close of the Socialist International Congress at Copenhagen last year this appears in one of the Socialist organs, Jaures' paper, of France, *L'Humanite*.

"At the conclusion, however, all shook hands and held a great reception. 'In short, it was a congress of compromise which ended in a dance. Mr. Bourdeau thinks there was something droll in the sumptuousness of the supper given by the delegates at the magnificent town hall of Copenhagen. He says the German paper Vorwaerts described 'the Pantagruello sideboard,' on which figured 'hams and scarlet lobsters, and various choice dainties and delicacies which stood among long-necked bottles.' 'We saw nothing of the cabbage soup which Proudhon served out to his guests.' *L'Humanite* (Paris) protests against against such luxury. 'To tell the truth,' cries Mr. Jaures in his paper, after sharing the good things of the Pantagruello sideboard.' 'I was ashamed to indulge in all this fine fare.' The innocent orgy, says this writer, concluded with a dance. To quote his words:

"To the voluptuous measures of Viennese waltzes the couples joined arms and hands; round and round they whirled, and the god cupid was one of the party. The congress ended in delight, for the most celebrated Socialists were to be seen and admired circling in the most frantic of farandoles. A fine comment on Bernstein's dictum, 'congresses are all humbug.'"

Nor do we need to go to Copenhagen to find the representatives of the Socialists dining or lunching with the hated *Bourgeois*. A few weeks ago our famous "swing-around-the-circle" President happened to go to Milwaukee, and

there a luncheon was given by the manufacturers and large business men of the city. At the table occupied by the President of the United States, his military aides, and big business men (surrounded by secret service detectives) were seated the irreconcilable Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee and the redoubtable Socialist Congressman, Victor Berger. And they sat there at that table listening to the President of the United States make an attack upon the trade union position and the labor movement! And they had that as a dessert for their lunch!

During the past few years the columns of the Cigar Makers' Official Journal, the official journal of the organization of which I am a member and have been a member since my fourteenth year, and in which I hold the membership card No. 1—and I have not been a member of my union often, only once—a discussion took place attacking the National Civic Federation and myself. There are only one or two of our men whose names I saw in our Journal who took up the cudgels and defended us. A few months ago an election occurred by the initiative and referendum system. The membership of the International Union throughout the continent of America, including Canada, Cuba, Porto Rico, as well as the United States, nominated and elected officers. On the first ballot there were five candidates for the office of first vice-president. I was elected, having received a majority of all votes cast for the candidates. As one of the five delegates from the International Union to the American Federation of Labor, I was a candidate. There were twenty-four others, twenty-five in all. In spite of all that attack and denunciation, it so happened that I was the only delegate elected on the first ballot. I received a majority over all the other candidates. That was the answer the rank and file, the members of the Cigar Makers' International Union, gave to the attacks upon myself as a member of the Cigar Makers' International Union having any connection with the National Civic Federation.

Oh, yes, I might say, and I think I want to, that the Socialist Party was not at all remiss in its activity in that campaign and that election. Neither was it remiss in its activity in the Machin-

ists' election. So active were they in the election in the Cigar Makers' International Union that a revulsion of feeling was created among some of the local Socialist bodies, and one I know, the Socialist party of Toledo, Ohio, proposed a new law prohibiting the officers of the Socialist party from participating in the internal affairs and elections of international unions.

When Delegate Mitchell this morning read a list of the civic bodies of which he is a member and to which he is giving service, it reminded me that I ought to just tax my memory a bit, and with the assistance of my secretary I wrote this list of the organization to which I belong: National Conference of Charities and Corrections; Committee of One Hundred on National Health; National Child Labor Committee; American Association for Labor Legislation; Roosevelt Foundation for the Promotion of Industrial Peace; The Civic Forum; The People's Institute of New York; The Society for Industrial Peace; The National Conservation Congress; The National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education; The American Academy of Social and Political Science; The National Geographic Society; The New York State Commission to Investigate the Factory Conditions as They Exist in the State; The Society for the Prevention of Tuberculosis; the Lincoln University Endowment Society; Friends of Russian Freedom; Good Roads Congress; The Peace Society of New York; The Washington Peace Society.

Besides, I am a member of the Odd Fellows, an Elk, a Mason—I am not eligible as a member of the Knights of Columbus—but I think you will realize that I am rather a well organized man. I do not refer in this list to my primary membership, the one to which I owe my first loyalty, the Cigar Makers' International Union, my trade union.

Just a few minutes more and I shall be through. I have found that as a matter of experience—and I think nearly every one who has had some experience with the National Civic Federation will testify as to its truth—that there are a number of employers of labor, not very many, who themselves are most difficult to reach when a question arises affecting them. Some of them are most ac-

tive and energetic in helpfulness to secure adjustments for organized labor when the question affects another employer. Only quite recently an incident of that kind occurred.

I want to say to you candidly this: I am going to stick to the trade union movement, no matter what you do. It is dearer to me than any other institution on earth. I owe it so much. The opportunities it has given me, the opportunities to be helpful to others. To have witnessed the gleam of light and life that has come into the homes of our working people where gloom and misery obtained before, is no mean thing to surrender. I suppose there were some who imagined that when the question came up to John Mitchell in the position in which he was placed, the choice of leaving the Civic Federation where he was doing constructive, helpful work and being paid a good salary, so that he could live comfortably and perhaps lay something by for his advancing years, or leaving the union to which he belonged, he would leave his union. Some who have not the broad conception of the deep sympathy and convictions that are in the breasts of some men imagined he would leave the union rather than leave his position. But he didn't.

I will say for myself that I am going to stick. It is true I am sixty-one years old. I think that if I only take a little bit of care of myself I will outlive lots of fellows, and I am not going to let up, I am not going to quit, I am going to stick to the union. It is too late for me to change my whole mind and life, it is too late for me to learn new tricks. The labor movement is ingrained in my very being. The cause of labor, the cause of humanity, the cause of justice, the cause of freedom, have too deep a rooting in my make-up for me to give up this movement in which I see the future hope for liberty and justice and humanity. I want to be of service. I have tried to be of service. I propose to be of service. I think there would be no greater mistake made in the labor movement of our country than to attempt to cripple or limit the service that the men of labor propose and are anxious to give to the cause of organized labor and humanity.

Vice-President Duncan—Mr. President and Brothers: I will not detain you very

long, but on behalf of the committee that gave this subject a great deal of attention, I rise simply say for them that after we had gone into the subject, as we did go into it, the report was the unanimous conviction of the members. One of the first speakers this afternoon made a statement which I feel should be answered, and so far it has slipped the memory of those who have preceded me. One delegate, I think Mr. McDonald, of the Mine Workers—in that I may be wrong, but of the statement I am sure I am correct—said that as far as the coal miners were concerned they knew nothing that the Civic Federation had done for their organization. The same speaker also said that others might have information of what had been performed and they could speak for themselves. If I be wrong as to the delegate on the floor of the Convention, I am certainly not wrong as to the same delegate before our committee.

I desire to say that the first information I got about what the Civic Federation might and could do was a turn it made for the Mine Workers, and my whole concept of its purpose has been predicated since that time upon the act to which I refer. And I do not know, even from the statements made this afternoon by the other organizations, if there is any other organization that has received more of a helping hand than did the mine workers at the time to which I refer.

When the first great coal strike took place in the anthracite region, and John Mitchell and his lieutenants, as the coal barons in that district called them, were endeavoring to do something for the coal miners there, he found it impossible to reach the men whom it was essential to meet to get something in the way of recognition and betterment for the people he represented. As a last effort the suggestion was made that the National Civic Federation might get these people to meet with him. The first effort was unsuccessful. The second effort was successful, and the four great coal barons of the anthracite valley, including Baer, who afterwards claimed partnership with God, were told to meet John Mitchell. And they met him. He got a hearing before them through that influence, and it was primarily because of that hearing that

the success which followed it was attributable.

It is true the anthracite mine workers did not gain a great deal in compensation at that time, but a foundation was laid through the act to which I am referring whereby their organization was built up, their position better understood, people who prior to that time had not been given any hearing whatever were given a hearing by those barons; and the conflict in the second contention was carried to the White House, where John Mitchell and three or four of his colleagues met the President of the United States with the coal barons of the hard coal fields of Pennsylvania, in defending the position of the mine workers of that region. . .

At the conference that was held in the second strike, I was present when Brother Mitchell and his committee met those coal barons, and I have told a story in connection with it several times that I am going to repeat. Among the four coal mine owners and railroad magnates who met us was Mr. Olyphant, of the Delaware and Hudson. When we were ushered into the room where these four men stood awaiting us one or two of them, without a smile, I assure you, very stiffly bowed to us as we said good morning to them; Mr. Olyphant placed himself back of a chair, folded his hands securely at his back for fear he might forget himself and put out his hand to shake the hand of a union man. In the discussion that followed, and all of which was predicated upon this act of the Civic Federation for the Mine Workers, Mr. Olyphant said that in the hard coal valley there was peace and plenty and contentment among the mine workers until John Mitchell's organizers came along and preached the gospel of discontent and got them dissatisfied. He went on to tell what he had done for them.

And in my own rugged way I could not help asking Mr. Olyphant the question if it was true that there had been so much peace in the valley, and it was attributable to him, why was it they had not instituted Olyphant Day in the hard coal field as a holiday instead of Mitchell Day because of the accomplishment of John Mitchell for those people? I asked him if he knew that after the first great conflict there, when John Mitchell vis-

ited the locality after the conferences I have referred to, and which were got by him for the National Civic Federation, that among the many thousands of people who lined both sides of the streets and the road that sturdy men unhitched the horses from the carriage that was carrying him and considered themselves honored by pulling the carriage themselves, while thousands of women with the picture of misery on their faces sat or knelt by the roadside in prayerful attitude and said in seventeen languages, "God bless John Mitchell," as he went by. Some of them reached out their hands, feeling a new impulse would come to them if they could but touch the spokes of the wheels of the carriage as it went by. Not only that, but I asked Mr. Olyphant if he knew that, under the shadow of the big breaker in Scranton, hundreds of breaker boys surrounded John Mitchell, some of whom had been working in the very breaker in whose shadow they stood, and presented him with a silver dollar medal changed to suit the occasion. Upon one side of the silver dollar was the word "From" and a cut of the breaker. Upon the other side was the word "To," and under it the shape of a school house—From breaker to school house.

And I assure you from my knowledge of John Mitchell's magnificent and sympathetic nature there has nothing been given to him in the way of a gift by the coal miners as a whole, or by any of their states or state conventions, whatever the value may have been, that he prizes more highly than the medal he got from the breaker boys in Scranton in commemoration of the act he performed in helping them get an education and preventing them under a certain age from being employed in the breakers.

I am sure that Duncan McDonald has heard of that. Perhaps he forgot it, but I again say, and it is all I am going to say at the present time, because the others who have preceded me have covered the ground thoroughly, that my whole concept of the value of the Civic Federation to organizations so situated is predicated upon the act of the Civic Federation in getting the first hearing for the President of the Mine Workers' organization from the coal barons of Pennsylvania.

Delegate McDonald (D.), asked that a

roll call be had on the motion to adopt the report of the committee. A sufficient number of delegates supporting the demand, Secretary Morrison proceeded with the roll call, which resulted as follows:

**Roll Call on Report of Committee on Resolutions Nos. 10, 18, and 126, in Regard to the National Civic Federation.**

**Ayes**—Kennedy (A. J.), Noschang, Klapetzky, Fischer (Jacob), Anderson (Ed), Franklin, Casey, Weyand, Flynn (Joseph), Sovey, Tobin (J. F.), Baine, Hallinan, Schaffer, Dano, Brewery Workmen's delegation (180 votes), Butterworth, Ryan (F. M.), Butler, Clark, Huber, Duffy (Frank), Macfarlane, Young, Flynn (T. F.), Kelly (W. J.), Swartz, Crozier, Richardson, Tveitmoe, Gengenback, Goellnitz, Gompers, Tracy (T. F.), Smith (J. T.), Conway, Pfell, Christman, Pinson, Hughes, Scoby, McNulty, Collins, Fay, Yount, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Glass, McNamara, Healy, Brennan, Friel, Kinsella, Mangan, Smith, Rickert, Larger, Meyer, Landers, Altman, Hayes (D. A.), Cain, Pierce, Duncan, Bianchi, Russell, Lawlor, Moffitt, Shalvoy, D'Alessandro, Etchinson, D'Andrea, Marshall, Kenehan, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Miller, Pattberg, Williams (John), McSorley, Taggart, Brock, Bryan, Gehring, O'Connor, Kelleher, Cole, Vaccarelli, O'Connell, Fry, Keegan, Lowe, O'Donnell, Gerry, Price, Call, Daly, Rumsey, O'Sullivan (M.), Bobb, Hynes, Walsh (Thos.), Valentine, Frey, Curran, Duffy (P. F.), Murtaugh, Weber, Miller (Owen), Carey (D. A.), Winkler, Painters Delegation (563 votes), Carey (J. T.), Wilson (James), Gernon, Hannah, Sheret, Woll, Donlin, McGivern, Ward, Clark, Alpine, Tracey (Wm.), Murphy, Malley, Nelson, Menge, Berry, Marks, Johnston, Mallin, Perham, Soyster, Miller (J. F.), Gallagher (T. J.), Ryan (M. F.), Nolte, Mahon, Taber, Commons, Lilly, Flynn (Patrick), Furuseth, Barry, Suarez, Peterson, Mitchell (M. W.), Short, Bridwell, Kaefel, Connors, Lennon, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Neer, McLaughlin, Hermann, Golden, Morgan, Williams (T. J.), Carolan, McAndrew, Evans, Curtis, Lynch, Morrison, Stevenson, McCullough (T. W.), Birnes, Cooke, DeVeaux, Mulcahy, Holder, Pfeiffer, O'Brien, Myers, Durnin, Wilkerson, Leary, Dowd, Graney, Snay, Jones (Jerome), Hirsch, Tharp, O'Brien (Wm. H.), Lowell, DeYoung, Ferry, Conner, Hassenplue, Smith (L. W.), Carter, Sontheimer, Haines, Briggs, Scoggin, Quick, Gray, Schneider, Abell, Doherty, Fahey, Agethen, Wendt, Albrecht, Holland, Pace, Taylor, James, Russi, Johannsen, Ingram, Leonard, Smith (A. W.), Noonan, White, Smith (Chas. T.), Morton, Voll, Morris, McAndrews, Bohm, Forehand, Dwyer, Dunne, East, representing 11,851 votes.

**Nays:** Brewery Workmen's delegation

(270 votes), Humphrey, Barnes, Zuckerman, Rosenberg, Dyche, Bloch, Kleinman, Polakoff, Dublinsky, Nestor, Selway, Buckley, Handley, Mitchell (John), Hayes (F. J.), Lewis, Walker, McCullough (E. S.) McDonald (D.), Wilson (W. B.), Moyer, Cannon, Williams (J. C.), Mahoney, Painters Delegation (113 votes), Cartledge, Sultor, Mounts, Gallagher (J. J.), Brals, Biggs, Hayes (Max S.), Mikel, Smith (J.), Donoghue, Ryan (E. H.), Lavin, Smith (T. J.), Henretty, Weber (F. J.), Buckley, Torrey, Hurley, Carroll, Cox, Mead, Schaffer Coleman, Ullrich, Phillippi, Willby, Wright, Engdahl, representing 4,924 votes.

**Not Voting**—Koch, Kerker, Kline, Golden, Flanagan, Gilmore, Wilkinson, Ring, Roach, Coakley, Gaviak, Freel, Hatch,

Gallagher, (A. J.), McKenna, Lawrence, Coffey, Iglesias, Blakey, Kelly (W. E.), Anderson (W. H.), Heck Hardy, Jones (J. R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans, Skemp (Meta), Hobbs, Kennedy (T. G.) Davis, Wangberg, Welsh, Fuller, Alonso, Winchenback, Becerril, Wilson (O. C.), Ford, Belt, Welsh (T. E.), Creamer, Donnelly, Cornette, Lebowitz, Saum, Ham, Manning, Schaub, Crinion, Roberts, Glockling, representing 465 votes.

**President Gompers**—The report of the committee is adopted.

At 7:15 p. m. the Convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9:30 a. m., Wednesday, November 22nd.

## Ninth Day—Wednesday Morning Session

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 a.m., Wednesday, November 22, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Pfeil, Coakley, Gaviak, Sheret, Gallagher (A. J.), Lawrence, Kelly (William E.), Anderson (W. H.), Hurley, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Davis, Wangberg, Fuller, Winchenback, Ford, Belt, Welsh, Creamer, Donnelly, Schaub.

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

"Boston, Mass., Nov. 21, 1911.

"Frank Morrison,

"A. F. of L. Convention, Atlanta, Ga.

"Regular meeting at headquarters of Atlantic Coast Seamen's Union sends fraternal greetings to American Federation of Labor Convention and wishes you success. Also that all members of this organization are not in favor of a transportation department and thirty-five hundred have not as yet spoken. The meeting here resolves that such a move will be detrimental to both the Seamen and the American Federation of Labor and deny the right of fifty-two members in the New York branch to speak for the entire organization.

"W. M. H. FRAZIER, Gen'l. Secy.

"GEORGE CUMMINGS, Chairman."

"Seattle, Washington, Nov. 20, 1911.

"American Federation of Labor Convention,

"Atlanta, Ga.

"Provision trades urge you to visit Seattle on your next annual pilgrimage. Come and behold the beauties of the Queen City of the Pacific northwest, its beautiful lakes, lofty mountains and historic totem poles. If from Missouri we will show you that real western hospitality cannot be surpassed.

"M. S. GOOD, President."

"Seattle, Wash., Nov. 20, 1911.

"A. F. of L. Convention,

"Atlanta, Ga.

"Greetings from the Joint Local Executive Board of United Brewery Workers, Seattle, Washington. Send a cordial invitation to hold the next convention at Seattle, Washington.

"ADOLPH FAUST, Secretary."

"Seattle, Washington, Nov. 20, 1911.

"Frank Morrison,

"A. F. of L. Convention, Atlanta, Ga.

"The United Waiters of this city join with other trades unions, commercial, civic and fraternal bodies in requesting you to meet with us in 1912. Come and admire the beauties of nature; behold our vast resources, partake of our hospitality; carry home a totem of our friendship.

"M. S. GOOD, Secretary."

"Seattle, Washington, Nov. 19, 1911.

"American Federation of Labor Convention,

"Frank Morrison, Secretary,

"Atlanta, Ga.

"Waitresses' Union, Local 240, sends greetings and invites you to hold the 1912 convention in Seattle, Washington. We have got the time; we have got the place and we have got the girls.

"ALICE M. LORD,

"Secretary-Treasurer."

"Rochester, N. Y., Nov. 20, 1911.

"Mr. Frank Morrison,

"Sec'y. A. F. of L. Atlanta, Ga.

"The Rochester Waiters' Alliance, Local 763, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance, respectfully requests your influence to boost for Rochester for your next convention and be assured of a royal welcome.

"Signed,

"THE EXECUTIVE BOARD,

"C. Parry Compere, Chairman."

Delegate Smith (C. T.), obtained unanimous consent for the introduction of resolution No. 173.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Vice-President O'Connell—I move that 10 o'clock Thursday morning be made a special order to hear the report of the Committee on Adjustment. (Seconded and carried.)

Secretary Morrison announced that a complete report of the discussion on the Civic Federation resolutions would be prepared and printed Friday evening, and later would be incorporated in the permanent proceedings.

Delegate Fahey moved that the discussion had in the Convention on the Civic Federation resolutions be also printed in pamphlet form for distribution throughout the country. (Seconded and carried.)

Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 16—By delegation representing White Rats Actors' Union:

WHEREAS, It having been the custom of Booking Agents throughout this country in making contracts for theatrical entertainments to set aside the largest part of the appropriation for their own, we, The White Rats Actors' Union, desiring not alone to protect its own membership from the rapacity of their booking agents, but to also protect the various Organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, do here-



by request that the following circular letter be made a part of the official records of this Convention and be published in the official minutes of this Convention:

**To Organized Labor—Greeting:**

As you are aware that The White Rats Actors' Union and The Associated Actresses of America are part of the American Federation of Labor through direct affiliation, and we have in our membership of over 12,000 Actors and Actresses, all of the best and desirable acts in Vaudeville, we would respectfully ask your consideration of the following resolution adopted by our Organization, which is of material benefit to you and our general membership.

It has been a custom with booking agents to enter into contracts furnishing entertainments for a stated sum of money, thereby giving them the right to pay individual acts an amount of money which would allow the booking agent to deduct for his share in many instances considerable of the appropriation, we would ask that in your business relations with any booking agent there shall be two conditions embodied into the contract.

1st. All acts and members thereof shall produce on the night of the entertainment a paid up card in full benefit of the White Rats Actors' Union or the Associated Actresses of America; failure to do so being sufficient cause for the prevention of said act making its professional appearance.

2d. That the said booking agent shall furnish to the Entertainment Committee a list of the acts engaged to appear on the night of the entertainment, with salaries attached thereto, which salaries shall be paid direct to the acts who shall appear.

You will realize by these two requests that we desire to have none but union acts appear and, secondly, to protect you in such a way that it will be an assured fact that you will receive full value for your appropriation.

With the hope that you will insist in the enforcement of these two provisions in your contract, we are

Fraternally yours,

**WHITE RATS ACTORS' UNION AND  
ASSOCIATED ACTRESSES  
OF AMERICA.**

The committee recommended that the request contained in the "Whereas" of the resolution be granted.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegates Joseph N. Weber, Owen Miller and Joe L. Winkler, of the American Federation of Musicians:

**WHEREAS**, The civilian musicians of the United States of America have, for the last twenty-five years, made every possible effort to secure legislation, which would absolutely prohibit the enlisted musicians in the army and navy of the United States

from entering into the competitive field and, more particularly, the Marine Band of Washington, D. C.; and

**WHEREAS**, In this effort the civilians were supported by the National League of Musicians, which has since merged into the American Federation of Musicians, and the American Federation of Labor, and after twenty-five years of agitation, a bill approved May 11th, 1908, was passed by Congress prohibiting enlisted musicians in either the army or the navy from competing with civilian musicians; and

**WHEREAS**, When this bill was approved and about to be enforced the commander of the marine corps claimed that the bill did not apply to the Marine Band of Washington, D. C. This being a question of law, was referred to the then attorney general of the United States, Charles Bonaparte, who in June, 1908, took the matter under advisement, and did not come to a decision, until the day after the general election in November of that year, and then he made the astounding decision that the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., was not a part of the naval service of the United States. This decision resulted in this band, which was really the objective point of the law, being allowed to continue in this competition with civilian musicians; and

**WHEREAS**, Recognizing the absurdity of such a decision, the A. F. of M., through its proper officials, made an appeal to the President of the United States to have this matter again referred to the law department of the United States with a view of exactly defining the relationship of the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., to the United States Government, which decision was by the President referred to the attorney general, and no word has been heard from it since; and

**WHEREAS**, To forever settle this question, a joint bill was introduced in the House by the Hon. Richard Barthold, of Missouri, and in the Senate by Senator W. J. Stone, of Missouri, which, if passed, will forever settle the question as to any enlisted men in the service of the United States being allowed to compete in any capacity with civilians, to engage in any pursuit, business, or performance in civil life for emolument, hire, or otherwise when the same shall interfere with customary employment and regular engagements of local civilians in their respective arts, trades, or professions; and

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor at every Convention, when this question was brought up, has always heartily endorsed this idea of preventing the competition of civilians with enlisted men; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Atlanta, Ga., heartily endorses this

resolution, and instructs its Legislative Committee to do everything in their power that legitimately can be done, to have this proposed legislation made into law.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 33—By Delegates A. Furuseth and Patrick Flynn, of the Seamen's International Union:**

**WHEREAS**, The seamen of the country are deprived of individual liberty and are compelled to suffer hardships and wrongs far beyond what is inherent in the calling; and

**WHEREAS**, Under treaties with foreign powers, our government imposes the same involuntary servitude upon foreign seamen coming to our ports; and

**WHEREAS**, These laws are destructive to life and property at sea as well as a hindrance to the development of an efficient body of seamen; and

**WHEREAS**, H. R. 11372, introduced by Hon. William B. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, is designed to improve the condition of the seamen and the safety of life and property at sea; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we urge upon Congress the immediate consideration of the bill and its speedy enactment into law.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 36—By Delegate William D. Clark, of the International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union of North America:**

**WHEREAS**, There is now pending in the Senate of the United States a Bill (S. 2564), known as the Smoot Printing Bill, the main purpose of which is to codify, amend and enact printing laws, but which contains at the end of its 110 pages, an eight line section which indirectly repeals a law of Congress enacted for the purpose of safeguarding the people's currency against the dangers of counterfeiting; and

**WHEREAS**, The maximum of safety against the evils of the counterfeiters' art is guaranteed by what is known as the hand-roller process of manufacturing paper securities; and

**WHEREAS**, A cheaply manufactured paper money in the making of which are to be discarded, for the sake of a false economy, the high art features of the engravers' and printers' crafts, which alone render impossible reckless and widespread counterfeiting such as prevailed in the days of the "wild-cat"

currency of the long ago, would entail incalculable losses upon the common people; and as proof, experience teaches that counterfeiters apply their skill principally to producing and putting in circulation the small notes which pass current among farmers, and the working classes in the cities and towns, on the assumption, which is well grounded, that those classes will be the least suspicious and the more easily deceived with well executed counterfeiters; and

**WHEREAS**, It is the highest duty of the Government to throw every possible safeguard about the paper money which it manufactures and puts in circulation among the people to the end that their present implicit confidence in this function of government may not be misplaced or destroyed; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, protests against the repeal of the law of Congress of 1893 which provides that the paper money, bonds and checks of the United States shall be manufactured in the highest style of the art by what is known as the hand-roller process. We do not believe in a cheap country, cheap men, cheap wages, or a currency cheapened to the danger point of encouraging counterfeiting. In this respect the people have implicit confidence in their Government, and our pride and interest alike demand that this confidence shall not be destroyed. The people, in the last analysis, are the Government, and their voice, and not that of the selfish and scheming interests, should prevail in this matter of so vast, far-reaching and vital concern.

**RESOLVED** further, That all bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are hereby requested and urged to make immediate and strong protest against the repeal or modification of the law hereinbefore referred to, such protests to be sent to the Senators and Representatives of the States and Congressional Districts wherein the protesting bodies are located; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That copies hereof be transmitted to the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Treasury, the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives with a request that the same be printed in full in the Congressional Record.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 38—By Delegate L. P. Philippi of the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis:**

**WHEREAS**, One of the most effective means of exploiting the great masses of the people of this country is the over-capitalization of the railroads

by the speculators and pirate-gamblers who are in possession of these important means of transportation; and

**WHEREAS**, This system of wholesale robbery of the people under the cloak of lawful and legitimate business should be checked without delay and for this purpose such legislation should be enacted as would make the over-capitalization of railroads and similar enterprises a crime punishable by law, such punishment to consist of forfeiting the charter or charters of the corporations violating such laws; and

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor considers it the duty of organized labor to protect the people against this system of gambling in watered stock; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By this Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the incoming Executive Council shall without delay inaugurate a campaign against this watered stock gambling in railroad enterprises;

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council is hereby instructed to co-operate with the legislative committees of all the state federations of labor with the view of inaugurating a systematic campaign throughout the land in favor of anti-watered stock legislation both by the several state legislatures and by the United States Congress;

**RESOLVED**, That the state federations affiliated with the A. F. of L. be hereby called upon to render all possible aid and assistance to the Executive Council in its efforts to carry out the object of this resolution.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution, when amended by striking out the word "incoming," preceding the words "Executive Council."

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 44—By Delegates William J. Cooke, Harry DeVeaux and Joseph Birnes, of the White Rats Actors' Union:

**WHEREAS**, It has been reported to the representatives of the White Rats Actors' Union that actors and actresses in different parts of this country have made personal appeals to the various state and local central bodies to assist these individuals in settling local differences between the actor and his employer; and

**WHEREAS**, To prevent the state federation and local city central bodies assisting those who may apply claiming membership in the White Rats Actors' Union and abusing the confidence of these bodies; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That all officials of the American Federation of Labor, state federation and central labor unions shall first communicate with the main office of the White Rats Actors' Union, when application is made for assistance and upon reply, if favorable, may assist in any way that shall tend to satisfactorily settle the difficulty.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed by Delegate Smith (L. W.), who stated that it would be difficult to make such investigation in case a central body wished to render prompt assistance to actors, and cited a case where the Executive Board of the Detroit Central Body had been able to secure the salary for some people who were under contract to give a performance, but the contract was not carried out by the manager.

Delegate DeVeaux stated that it would take but a short time to communicate by telegraph with the office of the organization to ascertain the standing of members.

Delegate Russi discussed the question briefly, and stated that the Central Body in San Antonio had been appealed to on two different occasions, and had rendered assistance to those actors carrying the cards of the Actors' Union.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate John B. Lennon, Journeymen Tailors' Union of America:

**WHEREAS**, The Federal Council Commission on the Church and Social Service are undertaking a nation-wide campaign to secure for all industrial workers one day's rest in seven; and

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor is unqualifiedly on record for the same for many years, and have been efficiently working to that end; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we heartily appreciate the co-operation of the "Commission on the Church and Social Service" to the end of securing the one day's rest in seven, and pledge to the Commission, and to all others who may assist in this work, our hearty and earnest assistance.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution 52 be amended by striking out the word "allow" in the fourth line of the last Whereas and inserting the word "permit," also striking from the end of the same whereas the words "capital combinations by making it a factory worked by slaves with hardly any pay to cover the necessities of life" and inserting "combinations of capital." Also striking out Section 4 of the first Re-

solve, "The radical abolishment of convict labor in public work," and inserting "The abolition of any form of convict labor for private profit, convict labor to be prohibited on public work, with the exception of road-making and the manufacture of articles for penal and eleemosynary institutions;" also striking out the words "six days" in the second Resolved and inserting the words "as soon as possible," the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 52—By Delegates Santiago Iglesias, Rafael Alonzo and Joaquin A. Becerril:

WHEREAS, The policy announced to the people of Porto Rico by the representatives of the American people and the American administration, at the time of the occupation of the island, was to the effect that they had come to our shores for humanity's sake and work out the salvation of the people by giving them protection in their civil and human rights; and

WHEREAS, The Legislative Assembly of Porto Rico has committed itself against the enactment of Labor laws to better the conditions of the workmen, while capital is offered every opportunity to increase its resources and encroaching power to the detriment and injury of the Labor interest, the needs and problems of which are ignored and contemptuously treated; and

WHEREAS, There are at present in Porto Rico two hundred thousand children under fourteen years of age, who are being deprived of an education on account of the fact that the local government has failed to provide a sufficient number of schools and teachers; and

WHEREAS, A large number of said children are now being employed and exploited in factories and other establishments with great risk to their lives; and

WHEREAS, The American people and their administration being well aware of their responsibilities toward Porto Rico, are in duty bound to not permit the prosperity and progress of the island to be at the mercy of combinations of capital; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that a committee be appointed which, jointly with Porto Rican delegation and presided over by the President of the American Federation of Labor, shall call on the President of the United States and transmit to him the following recommendations:

1. That the President of the United States recommend to the Governor of Porto Rico to cause the introduction of bills in the Executive Council of Porto Rico, tending to the enactment of the following acts by the Executive Council and Insular Legislature;

2. That the school appropriation be increased to twice the amount now expended annually.

3. That the salaries of the Porto Rican

school teachers be placed on the same scale as those paid to American teachers.

4. That the eight-hour working day act and the Labor Liability Act of the United States become a law of Porto Rico and enforced by the different heads of the Insular Departments.

5. The abolition of any form of convict labor for private profit, convict labor to be prohibited on public work, with the exception of road making and the manufacture of articles for penal and eleemosynary institutions.

6. An act to protect the agricultural laborer working in sugar and others from the mercilessness of trusts, sugar factories, that is to say,

An act providing for a thorough inspection of factories, shops, apartment buildings and all kinds of establishments for the purpose of improving the now terrible sanitary conditions thereof.

The establishment of a branch of the Labor Bureau in Porto Rico for the benefit of the people of the island; and

The enactment of a law prohibiting the employment of children under the age of fourteen years in factories, work shops and like establishments; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the aforesaid committee shall discharge the duties herein stated before the President of the United States as soon as possible after the adjournment of the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 56—By Delegates T. H. Gerrey and T. J. O'Donnell, International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes:

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor recommend to the Interstate Commerce Commission that where the cost of the operation of a railroad is increased through increased wages being paid to its employes, the railway company which has thus increased its cost of operation, shall be allowed a fair proportion of the increase in their transportation rates.

The committee reported as follows: Believing that it is not advisable for this Convention to pass upon the principle embodied in the resolution, we recommend nonconcurrence.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 60 be amended by striking out the word "we" in the third line of the last Resolved and inserting "the American Federation of Labor." Also striking out the word "our" in the fourth line and inserting "its," the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate Oscar F. Nelson, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks:

WHEREAS, The Post Office Clerks are the only federal civil service employees who have no legalized regulation as to the number of hours that shall constitute a day's work, and are, therefore, often compelled to work an excessive number of hours without extra compensation; and

WHEREAS, Due to that fact, and because the duties of a Post Office Clerk are of an arduous nature, both physically and mentally, tiring and long hours of labor imperils the health of such workers, the National Federation of Post Office Clerks have petitioned the Post Office Department to recommend the enactment of legislation that will provide "that eight hours to be worked within ten consecutive hours shall constitute a day's work for Post Office Clerks"; and

WHEREAS, We believe our Government should be foremost among all employers of labor in maintaining a high standard of working conditions, and equitable treatment of its employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled in Atlanta, Ga., do hereby go on record as indorsing the request of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks that a law be enacted that will provide "that eight hours to be worked within ten consecutive hours shall constitute a day's work for Post Office Clerks;" and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in view of the fact that the Post Office Clerks are prohibited from petitioning Congress, that the American Federation of Labor do hereby instruct its Legislative Committee to strive to have such a measure enacted into law.

The committee recommended concurrence in the amended resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, stated that the committee had taken joint action on Resolutions 64 and 75, and offered a substitute for the two resolutions. The resolutions and the substitute are as follows:

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate A. Johannsen, of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The United States Government has in operation at Mare Island, California, a large and fully equipped navy yard at which the largest of battleships can be built at a fair cost of construction and under good working conditions; and

WHEREAS, Congress at its last session authorized the building of naval ships under the eight-hour work day; and

WHEREAS, There appears to be a movement on foot by various private ship yards not to bid for the construction of these ships under the eight hour law, thereby attempting to force the Govern-

ment to grant these contracts under a longer work day, which is against the interest of all workers, we therefore believe that the Mare Island Navy Yard should be considered; and

WHEREAS, The building of the Panama Exposition will bring a large number of mechanics to the Pacific coast, who at completion of the Exposition buildings will be thrown out of employment, thereby overcrowding the market for labor; and

WHEREAS, The building of this battleship at Mare Island would greatly assist in solving the problem of the unemployed of this coast, and would also be of educational benefit to the many thousands of visitors that will come to the Pacific coast during the life of the fair; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, endorse the plan as set forth and urge our National Senators and Congressmen to use their best efforts to the end that Congress enact legislation for the building of a battleship at Mare Island Navy Yard, which shall be under course of construction during the life of the fair; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates at the Convention urge their respective organizations to write their Congressmen requesting that they lend assistance to this movement.

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate J. W. Holder, of the Florida State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, It is reported in the public press that private shipbuilding companies have refused to bid upon the new battleship authorized at the last session of Congress, because of the application of the eight-hour day law to battleship construction; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That efforts be made by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations to extend the construction of battleships, colliers, etc., in more government navy yards, and that Congress be urged to equip the government navy yards at Boston, Philadelphia, Norfolk and Mare Island for the purpose of doing all of its new work, as well as its repairs, thereby establishing efficiency, economy and absolute independence of all private contractors, who levy tribute upon the nation by excessive bids and who on the other hand, employ labor under the long ten-hour day at low wages and under sweated conditions of employment.

The committee reported as follows: Your committee is strongly opposed to the spirit of militarism and the creation of enormous navies by the nations of the world, and in this attitude it is supported by the unanimous voice of the trade unions of Europe and America. Nevertheless, as the existing unchristian attitude of the nations of the earth is such as to make armament necessary for the present, and as naval vessels will for a time be constructed for the service of

the United States, your committee submits the following as a substitute for the resolution:

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed to use its best efforts to have all naval vessels for the service of the United States constructed in its government navy yards.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Treasurer Lennon—I desire to enter my protest against declaring that armaments are necessary. I do not believe any such thing. I believe when our government sets an example to the world the opposite of that it is more than likely that other nations will fall in line and militarism will disappear from the greatest civilized nations of the world, and their attentions, instead of being directed towards destruction, will be directed towards construction.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, stated that the committee had qualified their reasons for stating that armaments were necessary.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

**Resolution No. 68**—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, M. W. Kelleher and Martin Cole, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

**WHEREAS**, Efforts have been made during the past three years to establish an eight-hour work day on government dredge work; and

**WHEREAS**, We are justly entitled to same, as conditions on this work are such that a shorter work day can be granted, and it would mean a great deal toward the uplifting of humanity and the general welfare of the dredgemen employed on this work; and

**WHEREAS**, Resolutions were adopted at the annual convention of all the dredge workers on the Great Lakes held in Detroit, Mich., on the 14th day of February, 1911, petitioning their honors, the President and the Vice-President of the United States and the Speaker of the House of Representatives to use their efforts in behalf of an eight-hour work day; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That an appeal be made that the Government Engineers make ample estimates on Government dredge work so as to enable the contractors to grant the eight-hour work day. They, the contractors, have advanced the argument repeatedly that the reason they cannot grant the eight-hour work day on government dredge work is because the government engineer's estimates are so low they cannot afford to grant the men a shorter work day; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the delegates of the International Longshoremen's Association to the convention of the American Federation of Labor will introduce resolutions advocating the eight-hour work day on all government dredge work, and instruct that a copy of these resolutions be sent by the Secretary of the Convention to the President of the United States and the Secretary of War; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Secretary of this Convention shall send copies of these resolutions to the President of the United States, Vice-President of the United States, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and the Secretary of War.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 68 be adopted when amended to read:

**Resolution No. 68**—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, M. W. Kelleher and Martin Cole, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

**WHEREAS**, Efforts have been made during the past three years to establish an eight-hour work day on government dredge work; and

**WHEREAS**, We are justly entitled to same, as conditions on this work are such that the eight-hour work day can be granted. It would mean a great deal toward the uplifting of humanity and the general welfare of the dredgemen employed on this work; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That an appeal be made that the Government Engineers make ample estimates on Government dredge work so as to enable the contractors to grant the eight-hour work day. They, the contractors, have advanced the argument repeatedly that the reason they cannot grant the eight-hour work day on government dredge work is because the government engineers' estimates are so low they cannot afford to grant the men a shorter work day; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Secretary of this Convention shall send copies of these resolutions to the President of the United States, Vice-President of the United States, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and the Secretary of War.

On motion the report of the committee was concurred in and the resolution as amended adopted.

**Resolution No. 72**—By Delegates C. P. Fahey, of the Trades and Labor Council, Nashville, Tenn.; T. G. Kennedy, of the Trades and Labor Council, Memphis, Tenn., and T. J. Smith, Tennessee State Federation of Labor:

**WHEREAS**, The first Monday in September has been declared a legal holiday in honor of, and at the request of organized labor; and

**WHEREAS**, It is fast becoming a custom for theatrical managers to take advantage of the holiday for the purpose of giving special matinees; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the delegates of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we request the Executive Council to take the matter up with the different theatrical agencies to the end that no special matinees will be had on Labor Day.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, with instructions to take such steps as will secure the most efficient and satisfactory celebration of Labor Day.

On motion the report of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 73—By Delegates Chas. P. Fahey, Trades and Labor Council, Nashville, Tenn.; T. G. Kennedy, Labor Council, Memphis, Tenn.; T. J. Smith, Tennessee State Federation of Labor; John T. Smith, Cigar Makers International Union; P. J. Doherty, Central Trades Council, Mobile, Ala.; W. E. Bryan, United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods; J. W. Bridwell, Stone Cutters' Association; Chas. W. Wilkerson, Missouri State Federation of Labor; Jerome Jones, Atlanta Federation of Trades; Samuel Kelly, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers; W. A. McKenna, Georgia Federation of Labor; F. A. Martin, Trades and Labor Assembly, Waycross, Ga.; A. McAndrew, E. Lewis Evans, Tobacco Workers International Union; George L. Berry, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union:**

**WHEREAS**, The Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in St. Louis, adopted a resolution, No. 87, endorsing the organization known as the Southern Conference on Woman and Child Labor, whose objects are the procuring of uniform legislation in the southern states in the interest of women and children; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the delegates of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we reaffirm the action taken by the St. Louis convention and recommend to the labor organizations of the South that they send representatives to the next conference which will be at Chattanooga, Tenn., in April, 1912, and that the action of this convention be communicated to all state and central bodies not later than February, 1912, by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 80 be amended by inserting

the word "channels" after the word "river" in line 5, the amended resolution to read:

**Resolution No. 80—By Delegate J. W. Holder, Florida State Federation of Labor:**

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council be authorized to draft suitable eight-hour provisos to be inserted in the several appropriation bills, providing for the construction of river channels, harbors, and an appropriation bill providing for fortification, which includes ordinance and armor, so that in future all such public work done for the United States Government may conform to the eight-hour provision as was enacted by the last Congress in the construction of battle-ships.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 88—By Delegates Jas. M. Lynch and T. W. McCullough, of the International Typographical Union:**

**WHEREAS**, Death is annually taking a toll of human life from the ranks of the industrial workers through the agency of preventable disease and accident that is appalling in its total figures, totals that would shock the world if published in connection with a war or any great disaster, but which are passed over with stolid indifference because they deal mostly with the lives of men, women and children who are engaged in the daily struggle for existence; the economic loss through this cause amounting to sums that are represented by thousands of millions of dollars annually, without reckoning the human anguish, both mental and physical, which accompanies this waste of human life and energy that has challenged the attention of students as no other problem recently presented; and

**WHEREAS**, These victims of greed are multiplying because of the indifference that has made it possible for a contractor to bury his own dead without interference of authorities, or, where an inquiry is held, it is done in the most shamelessly perfunctory manner, or which will permit a gigantic corporation to hide behind impenetrable walls the individual tragedies that happen almost hourly; this condition has again and again been brought to public attention through the protest of the A. F. of L. and its affiliated bodies; and

**WHEREAS**, The efforts of the several International Unions of the jurisdiction, whose membership is peculiarly susceptible to the danger of occupational disease or hazard, have through their own initiative and activity established beyond peradventure that ordinary prudence exercised in the equipment and management of shops will protect the life and limbs of workmen engaged in these hazardous occupations, and has also established that improvement in the sanitary conditions of the work shop which

brings with it a lessening liability to occupational disease, even to the point of eradicating the danger entirely, it having been shown in the case of printers of North America that the shortening of working hours and improvement in shop conditions have lengthened the longevity of the workmen to such an extent that the figures for the last decade show the astonishing change in the average life of the printer nearly nine years, and similar improvement has been noted in other occupations wherein similar care has been exercised in providing proper equipment and surrounding for the workmen; all this establishing beyond dispute or cavil the proposition that human life can be conserved without a lessening of the profits of the industry, and also establishing the truth of the accusation that hundreds of thousands of lives are sacrificed to the greed and avarice of the unscrupulous employer; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor that we give our commendation to all efforts from whatever source that are sincerely put forth to better conditions that surround the employment of the working men and women of the world; that we especially commend the efforts of those International Unions which have so steadfastly struggled to secure for their members the improved conditions of employment that have resulted in the lengthening of the lives of their members; that we give our encouragement to all organizations that are interested and seriously engaged in the work of providing against the occupational disease or hazard of employment by providing such safeguards as will obviate the danger to which the unfortunate members of these crafts are now exposed; that we are in sympathy with the efforts of other bodies who are making investigations to the end that preventable disease may be obliterated; and that the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated bodies will continue to give assistance and support at all times to the furtherance of the cause that has for its object the amelioration of the evils that now destroy so much of human usefulness.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 90.—By Delegates Wm. J. Cooke, Jos. Birnes and Harry DeVeaux, of the White Rats Actors' Union of America:

WHEREAS, At the last convention held in the city of San Francisco, a resolution was introduced by the Actors' National Protective Union instructing the convention and all its affiliated international and national unions, state federations and city central bodies to assist the organized Actors in their efforts to have remedial legislation passed in the different states better protecting the rights and equity of contracts for actors between the actor and his employers; and

WHEREAS, As a result of this action which has been endorsed at many of the succeeding conventions, laws have been passed in the various important state legislatures having for their purpose the proper legislative control over so-called theatrical employment agencies; and

WHEREAS, During the 1910 session of the New York State legislature a measure was passed and signed by the governor, known as Chapter 700 of the consolidated laws, an act to regulate employment agencies, which law was introduced and passed by the White Rats of America; and

WHEREAS, In the city of New York, the most important employment centre for the engagement of actors and actresses, the enforcement and operation of this act to regulate theatrical agencies is vested in an official known as the Commissioner of Licenses, who is an appointee of the mayor; and

WHEREAS, The present incumbent is now an organizer of the State Federation of Labor of New York and was for many years the official organizer of the American Federation of Labor for the New York district; and

WHEREAS, There exists a difference of opinion between the White Rats Actors' Union and the said Commissioner of Licenses as to the proper enforcement of the most vital sections of the present law, so much so that conditions are in a more confused and chaotic state than ever before, practically nullifying the most important sections of the law and leaving the actor and actress at the mercy of the theatrical agencies, who should be compelled to live up to the letter of the law, but who are disregarding all attempts at regulation and control by proper local officials, and who are willfully violating each and every provision of the present law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby instructs President Samuel Gompers to call a conference in the city of New York at the earliest time possible after the adjournment of this convention, to which shall be invited a committee of the White Rats Actors' Union, the Commissioner of Licenses of the city of New York and such members of the Executive Council as in his judgment may assist in bringing about a more perfect understanding between the White Rats Actors' Union and those engaged in enforcing the law known as Chapter 700 of the Consolidated Business laws, "an act to regulate employment agencies."

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 94 be amended by inserting the word "voluntary" before the word "financial" in line two of the last Resolve, the resolution to read:

Resolution No. 94.—By Delegates of the



**Boilermakers, Blacksmiths, Machinists, Sheet Metal Workers, Railway Carmen, Pipe Fitters:**

WHEREAS, There has been in progress for the past six weeks on the various roads forming the Harriman system, one of the largest strikes that has ever taken place on any of the railroads of the United States and involves all members of the several mechanical trades which constitute the System Federations on the Harriman lines proper and the Illinois Central railroads; and

WHEREAS, This strike was forced upon the men by the arbitrary acts of the management in discriminating and discharging the men and refusing to do business with the System Federation, notwithstanding the fact that many railroads have been doing business for some time with a Federation of their employees to the mutual advantage of both railroads and men; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, do heartily endorse the action of the men in going on strike in vindication of the right to federate and secure equitable conditions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we pledge them moral and voluntary financial aid and call upon all affiliated organizations to contribute as largely and promptly as it is possible for them to do.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey stated that the Committee on Resolutions had completed its partial report.

#### **Report of Committee on Education.**

Delegate McKenna, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 1—By International Association of Machinists' delegation:

WHEREAS, The 12th Convention of the I. A. of M. held at St. Louis, Mo., 1907, went on record as being in favor of petitioning the U. S. Congress to enact legislation granting compensation to federal employees meeting with accident in the course of their employment; and

WHEREAS, the U. S. Congress in response to the petition so made, did in the year 1908, enact a law during the 60th Congress establishing the humane principle of "Automatic Compensation for Accidents to Government Employees in Hazardous Employment"; and

WHEREAS, This act of Congress, while being correct in principle, is grossly insufficient in its award for death or permanent injury, the sum of only one year's wages being provided for such casualties; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. are

hereby instructed to urge the passage of an amendment to the Government Employees' Compensation Law, so that a minimum of five years' wages shall be allowed in the case of death by accident, and to those meeting with permanent injury, a minimum sum equal to 50 per cent. of the wages, or to provide further that a settlement in full can be made by paying a lump sum equal to seven years' wages.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution, and that the Executive Council use its best efforts to have suitable legislation enacted.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate James M. Lynch, of the International Typographical Union:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse the retirement of Government employees on pension, and directs its executive officers to petition Congress for the passage of a law embodying this reform, and also to appear before the proper committee in Congress in favor of the bill.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee concurs in the sentiment of the resolution, and believes that the purport can be best accomplished by a general old age pension law, as is suggested by Resolution No. 4, of the Massachusetts State branch of the A. F. of L.

Delegate Nelson moved that Resolution No. 57 be read and considered with Resolution No. 2. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Durnin moved that Resolution No. 4 be considered with Resolutions Nos. 2 and 57. (Seconded and carried.)

Secretary McKenna read the following resolutions; with the recommendations of the committee on each:

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate T. J. Durnin, representing Massachusetts State Federation:

WHEREAS, Most working men in our country receive in return for their labor so small a part of what they produce, that it is all expended in merely keeping alive, since the average wage is not more than four hundred (400) dollars a year, it is impossible for three-fourths of the population to save a competency for their old age; the working class of the United States is not better off in the matter of wages than the working class of other countries, but in many other countries the duty of society to the aged is recognized. Old Age Pension Laws have been passed in Germany, Denmark, Italy, Austria, Great Britain, France, Australia, Canada and New Zealand; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Massachusetts State Branch of the American Federation

of Labor, in convention assembled at Haverhill, in 1911, goes on record in favor of a comprehensive national old age pension system, and instructs its delegates to the American Federation of Labor to present its position to the next convention of the A. F. of L. for action.

The committee recommended concurrence in the sentiment expressed in the resolution, and recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

**Resolution No. 57—By Delegate Oscar F. Nelson, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks:**

WHEREAS, Our government is the only one of the recognized civilized nations of the world that does not provide for its civil servants when they reach the age of superannuation after having given the active useful years of their lives in loyal and efficient services to the public; and

WHEREAS, There is now pending before Congress a measure known as H. R. 729, introduced by Congressman Austin, of Tennessee, which provides "that a 15 per cent increase in salary be granted all Federal Civil Service employees and that thereafter deduction shall be made monthly from such salary, to be held in trust by the Government to be paid as annuities when the employee is retired as superannuated or returned to them or their heirs in the event of resignation, dismissal or death before the retirement age is reached;" and

WHEREAS, Such a measure will insure the Government against carrying superannuated employees on the active payroll and will provide against the sad spectacle of faithful employees being dismissed from the service with no provision for old age, and is equitable in that it does not provide for the establishment of a civil pension list for a special class of citizens; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That we, the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled in Atlanta, Ga., do hereby indorse and instruct our legislative committee to endeavor to have H. R. 729 enacted into law.

The committee endorsed the position of the N. F. P. O. in their efforts to better their condition, recommended that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. take such action as is consistent with the policies of the A. F. of L. and that Bill H. R. No. 729 mentioned in the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for careful consideration.

**Delegate Nelson—**The reason I requested that Resolution No. 57 be considered at the same time as No. 2, or at least that both be read before action is taken on either is that the resolution I introduced is in effect a protest against the enactment of a measure that will provide civil pensions for federal civil service em-

ployes. I notice the committee has recommended that the proposition to endorse the specific bill be referred to the Executive Council. I have no objection to the proposition to refer to the Executive Council, but if No. 2 is adopted it places the American Federation of Labor on record as favoring a civil pension for federal civil service employees.

**Delegate Nelson** spoke at some length in opposition to a special pension for federal civil service employees, but stated that he favored a general old age pension law or a measure that would allow the federal civil service employees a sufficient compensation for their work to enable them to lay aside a portion of their salaries, to be retained by the Government for them until it was needed.

On motion of **Delegate Nelson** Resolutions Nos. 2, 4 and 57, with the recommendations of the committee, were referred to the Executive Council.

**Resolution No. 23, by the Central Labor Union of Lancaster, Pa.:**

WHEREAS, The second Sunday in the month of May each year has been set aside as Labor's "Memorial Day" and it has been found, particularly in the Northern states, that suitable flowers for decorating the graves of our departed ones are hard to secure so early in the season, and the further fact that "Mother's Day", which is generally observed in churches and by other religious societies, diverts attention away from our memorial services; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That Labor's Memorial Day be changed from the second to the fourth Sunday of May, and that hereafter the fourth Sunday in the month of May shall each year be observed as Labor's Memorial Day.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 85—By Delegates James M. Lynch and T. W. McCullough, of the International Typographical Union:**

WHEREAS, The officers of the American Federation of Labor have undertaken the dissemination of Labor News and notes through the medium of a Weekly News Letter issued from A. F. of L. headquarters, and distributed to the various labor publications of the country, to friendly newspapers, and to others who are entitled to receive the same, thereby affording a great convenience to all who are interested in the spread of accurate and reliable information concerning the labor movement, not only in America, but of the entire world, in all its ramifications; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That this Convention of

the American Federation of Labor does hereby commend the course pursued by our officers in thus providing a weekly news service which can be depended upon to furnish the latest and most reliable information obtainable; that it has proven to be of much usefulness to the editors and others involved; that its accuracy has been tested and its service established to the point where its value can hardly be estimated; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That our officers be instructed by this Convention to continue this service, increasing its scope and volume as they may deem prudent or expedient, and that the secretaries of all organized bodies be requested to co-operate to the end that the value and usefulness of this service may be enhanced.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 91—By Delegates Wm. J. Cooke, Harry DeVaux and Jos. Birnes, of the White Rats Actors' Union of America:**

**WHEREAS**, The White Rats Actors' Union intend to cover this country with its organizers for the purpose of properly carrying out its methods and policies and in so doing, it will be necessary to have and receive the moral support of all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Atlanta, Ga., request all international and national unions, state federations and local city central bodies to render moral support to any and all traveling representatives of the White Rats Actors' Union and assist in all matters that will materially bring about better trade conditions between the employers of actors and actresses in this country and their employees.

The committee recommended that the word "instruct" in line 3 of the resolution be stricken out and the word "request" inserted, and recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 146—By Delegates Thos. V. O'Connor, Martin Cole, M. W. Kelleher and P. F. A. Vaccarell, of the International Longshoremen's Association:**

**WHEREAS**, The laws passed by the Senate and House of Congress, June 6, 1910, and covered and contained in department circular No. 207, changes the laws under which steamers of 65-foot may be operated; and

**WHEREAS**, This causes a hardship on the licensed tug-men and crews of fishing and pleasure steamers by placing lives in danger by having said steamers operated by incompetent pilots or engineers; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the above law is detrimental to the best interests of life and property, and we ask that this law be changed so that it will not include boats propelled by steam; be it, further

**RESOLVED**, That the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. use all force at their command for the enactment of a statute repealing this vicious law.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Conservation of Natural Resources," the committee reported as follows:

Your committee has noted with a great deal of pleasure and interest that part of the Executive Council's report under the caption "Conservation of Natural Resources," and recommend that this convention go on record as approving the action of the Executive Council, and further recommend that the Conservation Committee of the A. F. of L. be continued during the coming year.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Industrial Education," the committee reported as follows:

Your committee has carefully noted the progress made by the Special Committee on Industrial Education appointed by the A. F. of L., and recommend that the action of the Executive Council be concurred in. We further recommend that the special committee obtain all information possible and make a full report to the A. F. of L. Convention in 1912.

On motion the report of the committee was concurred in.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "A. F. of L. News Letter" the committee reported as follows:

Your committee considers the establishment of the "A. F. of L. News Letter" as one of the many important reforms put into effect by the A. F. of L. Its good results are so manifest that it would be useless to discuss the matter at length, as Resolution No. 85, introduced by James M. Lynch and T. W. McCullough, conveys the ideas of the committee. We recommend that secretaries of local, central, federal and state bodies be urged to give

the A. F. of L. office accurate and prompt information about all matters referred to them, so that the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor will be in a position to give out accurate information from his office to the press. We further recommend that when a report of the unfairness of a firm or business has been received, or when an individual member or officer has been reported as having violated any of our laws, that every effort to assure the reliability and accuracy of such reports be made before publishing them.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

When the report of the committee on the subject of Industrial Education was made President Gompers and Treasurer Lennon spoke of the value of the reports that could be secured from the Government on that subject, and advised all those interested in the matter to secure them.

The committee made a further report in regard to Industrial Education, which was discussed very briefly and referred back to the committee for some slight changes.

#### **Report of Committee on Secretary's Report.**

Delegate Conway, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

We, your committee on the report of Secretary Morrison, beg leave to offer the following for your consideration and action thereon:

That part pertaining to the receipts and expenditures, cash on hand and sureties, has been compared and acted upon favorably by the Auditing Committee, and we, your committee, agree with the findings of the Auditing Committee.

On page 3 of the report under the caption of "One-Cent Assessment" and the "Three-Cent Assessment" we find that there is a balance being carried in these funds and we therefore recommend that the same be transferred to the general fund of the Federation by the Secretary, avoiding a great deal of duplicating in accounts.

Your committee desires to call special attention to that part of the report of the Secretary bearing upon the benefits paid to the members of the international organizations during the past year, which has been forwarded to the Secretary of

the American Federation of Labor. The magnificent amounts dispersed by the international organizations in fraternal benefits are something worthy of great thought, not only in demonstrating clearly to the unorganized as well as to the organized, the wonderful benefits to be procured through affiliation with organized labor. This report proves that the magnificent increase in wage scales—the shortening of the hours of labor is not all that can be gained through affiliation and we would recommend that all organizations paying benefits in the way of sick, death, or funeral, report the amounts during the coming year, more concisely, to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, to be incorporated in future reports by that official. By doing so, there can be no doubt when publicity is given to it that it will aid largely in increasing membership.

#### **The American Federationist.**

We, your committee, recommend that the Executive Council, or those designated by the Council, use greater effort to secure an increased subscription to the American Federationist. We feel positively that were the Federationist brought before the attention of every local affiliated with national or international bodies, greater education would be had in the industrial movement. The magazine is published entirely in the interest of labor and is its official paper, or in other words, it is the official mouthpiece, to convey news of the very best interest to the workers, as well as beneficial for organizing purposes, and in recommending the above for the consideration of the Convention it is done with the purpose of bringing the Federationist more before the public, and having it read by a greater number than at the present time.

Your committee desires at this time to direct particular attention to pages 21 and 22 in which is conveyed information of the greatest value. The plate on page 22 is well worthy of not only the greatest study, but of special action by this Convention. The magnificent clearness with which Secretary Morrison demonstrates the growth of the Federation since the year 1837 to 1911 is so patent that your Committee recommends that the same be printed in a four-page pamphlet for general distribution.

In the handsome increase in member-

ship since 1897 is demonstrated without peradventure of doubt that the solidarity of the American Federation of Labor is of such magnitude that it is impossible for human agency to dissolve it.

In conclusion, your committee takes the liberty of sincerely congratulating Secretary Morrison upon the magnificent report furnished to this, the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. The entire report as compiled by the secretary shows that the greatest care and study were used in bringing about truthful and statistical facts, and the members of your committee feel that they would be lax in their work were they not at this time to compliment and congratulate the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor and his staff upon the magnificent proof to you and to the world, of labor's magnificent growth through affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

Fraternally,

A. B. LOWE, Chairman.

JOHN WILLIAMS.

RICHARD H. CURRAN.

CHAS. T. SMITH.

THOS. L. HUGHES.

H. J. CONWAY, Secy.

E. LEWIS EVANS.

HARRY DeVEAUX.

JAMES R. CROZIER.

THOMAS RUMSEY.

WALTER V. PRICE.

JAMES GERON.

MARTIN LAWLOR.

HUBERT S. MARSHALL.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate DeVeaux moved that an agreement between the American Federation of Musicians, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and the White Rats Actors' Union of America that had been entered into by these organizations be read and made part of the proceedings of the convention.

The motion was seconded and carried, and the following agreement was read:

At a conference called by the President of the American Federation of Labor, which was held in the city of Atlanta, Ga., on the 20th day of November, 1911, by and between Joseph N. Weber, Owen Miller, Joseph F. Winkler and David A. Carey, representing the American Federation of Musicians; John F. Barry, John Suarez, George W. Peterson, representing the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, and William J. Cooke, Harry DeVeaux and Joseph

Birnes, representing the White Rats Actors' Union; it was recognized that it is to the best interests of those employed in and about the theatres, that a closer bond of affiliation and sympathy should exist, thus bringing about more concentrated action when necessary to advance the best interests of the members of the three unions necessary to the production of a theatrical performance, and therefore, it was mutually agreed:

FIRST: That every moral influence shall be exerted by the officials and locals of the American Federation of Musicians and the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees to adjust any differences wherein a member of the White Rats Actors' Union may become involved, provided the White Rats Actors' Union is not in a position or finds it impossible to give to its members the necessary aid or assistance.

SECOND: All requests for moral assistance made by a member of the White Rats Actors' Union to either the American Federation of Musicians or International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, or any of the affiliated locals of either organization, shall be referred by the party to whom the request is made, to the White Rats Actors' Union, for the purpose of passing thereon before action is taken.

THIRD: The White Rats Actors' Union will show to the American Federation of Musicians, the International Theatrical Stage Employees and the members and officers thereof, the same consideration as paragraphs First and Second of this agreement provides for the White Rats Actors' Union and its members.

FOURTH: Either party to this agreement may give same any publicity, it may desire.

FIFTH: Nothing in this agreement shall be so construed as running contrary to the laws, rules and regulations of any organization party thereto, nor shall any proviso contained in this agreement be so construed as to interfere with the charter rights which any organization party thereto enjoys as a member of the American Federation of Labor.

Representing American Federation of Musicians:

JOE N. WEBER.

OWEN MILLER.

JOE F. WINKLER.

DAVID A. CAREY.

Representing International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees:

JOHN J. BARRY.

JOHN SUAREZ.

GEO. W. PETERSON.

Representing White Rats Actors' Union of America:

HARRY DeVEAUX.

WILLIAM J. COOKE.

JOE BIRNES.

President Gompers called for reports from each committee in turn. No committee being ready to report, Vice-President Duncan moved that the rules be suspended and an adjournment taken to

9:30 Thursday morning to allow the committees to complete their reports. (Seconded.)

Delegate Furuseth moved as an amendment that the time for convening be 9 o'clock Thursday morning. The amendment was accepted by the mover of the original motion.

Delegate Carter moved as a substitute that the rules be suspended and that the convention hold a session at 7 o'clock p. m., Wednesday evening. (Seconded.)

Vice-President Duncan objected to the substitute, as it would prevent the completion of the report of some of the committees Wednesday evening.

The substitute offered by Delegate Carter was lost.

The original motion, as amended by Delegate Furuseth, was adopted.

At 12:15 p. m., the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9 a. m., Thursday, November 23rd.

## Tenth Day--Thursday Morning Session

The Convention was called to order at 9 a. m., Thursday, November 23, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Pfaff, Roach (John), Coakley, Sheret, Gavlak, Coffey, Kelly, (William E.), Anderson (W. H.), Hurley, Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Wendt, Davis, Wangberg, Fuller, Ingram, Winchenback, Ford, Belt, Welsh (Thomas E.), Creamer, Donnelly, (J. L.), Saum, Schaub.

Delegate Carey (D. A.), Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

Your Committee has received a telegram from James J. Freil, of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, requesting that Henry S. Bird be substituted in his place as a delegate because of his inability to attend the remaining sessions of the Convention.

Your committee reports further that a request is made that Percy Thomas, of the Commercial Telegraphers, be substituted for L. A. Pinson.

On motion the report of the Committee was adopted.

Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENT'S REPORT.

Delegate Furuseth, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Members of the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

In considering and reporting upon the President's report we have, for convenience, classified the subjects treated under five different heads:

- First: Organization and growth,
- Second: Industrial Activity,
- Third: Litigation,
- Fourth: Political Activity, and
- Fifth: The McNamara Case.

#### Organization and Growth.

It is very gratifying to note the substantial growth of the affiliated organiza-

tions connected with the American Federation of Labor during the past year. It shows an awakened interest in our movement not of that sporadic type that grows up like a mushroom in the night and dies as quickly as it came, but of a substantial nature based upon a greater knowledge of the evolutionary progressive movement in which we are engaged.

To make a showing of this kind, despite the battle which has been waged against us, demonstrates the correctness of our policies. The more those who seek to destroy us antagonize our movement, the more it appeals to the intelligence of those who are led to investigate it through the discussion that has been aroused.

We do not court antagonism, but when it does come, we are satisfied that as our aims and objects are thereby brought into the limelight they will appeal to the sense of justice to all fair minded men.

Adopted unanimously.

#### Pacific Coast Trip.

The educational and organizing benefits derived from the trip of President Gompers across the continent to the Pacific Coast can scarcely be overestimated.

It gave an opportunity to thousands of wage workers and students of economic problems to hear those problems discussed by the authorized spokesman of the organized workers of our country. It gave a better understanding and a clearer view of our aims and purposes not only to our membership and to the unaffiliated workers who listened in great numbers, but also to the student and to the business man who at all times took occasion to hear and pay attention to what was said. It removed from the minds of the people who heard him, many false and absurd notions concerning our aims, our objects and our policies which had been fostered by our enemies to the detriment of the movement. It also gave to the President himself, through immediate contact, a closer acquaintance, not

only with the currents of thought, but with the men of our movement of the Pacific.

We suggest that whenever possible similar trips be undertaken by the President.

Adopted unanimously.

#### American Federationist.

Next to the oral communication such as was exemplified by the speeches during the trip of President Gompers, is the written communication of thought, and as there are varying degrees of ability in presenting a case orally, so there are varying degrees in presenting it in writing. The American Federationist has remained in the forefront in the clearness with which it has presented the historical facts connected with our movement, its present day activities and our hopes of future achievement.

We heartily commend the American Federationist to our members and friends, realizing the advantages that can be obtained in the way of information and education from the contributed articles and editorials contained therein upon every phase of the labor movement. We note with interest the improvement in the magazine during the past year, and the high class of articles contained therein, and recommend that this standard be continued. We also desire to impress upon the members and friends of organized labor the necessity of giving greater support to the magazine by subscribing for the same to a greater degree in the future than has obtained in the past.

Adopted unanimously.

#### The Labor Press.

One of the most effective channels through which trade union propaganda is conducted is the bonafide labor press of our country. Many of the editors of these papers are self-sacrificing enthusiasts in the cause of humanity. We commend the suggestions of President Gompers relative to the labor press to the careful consideration of all who are interested in the trade union movement or the "important social problems of the day."

Adopted unanimously.

#### Organizers.

We would be lacking in a true conception of justice if we did not express our appreciation of the great work of the thousands of voluntary organizers who freely give their time, their intelligence and their energy towards the building up of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated bodies, continually sacrificing their own comfort with no other hope of reward than the satisfaction of having done what they could to promote the welfare of mankind.

What we have said of the self-sacrificing spirit of the voluntary organizer applies equally to the paid organizer who endures the inconvenience of a tramp life away from home most of his time, with no more pay than he could at any time earn at his trade, in order that he may, in this way, contribute his mite towards the advancement of his associates. On that subject we endorse the following language from the President's report:

"In their labors our organizers especially illustrate the zeal, courage and intelligent effort which may always be relied upon on movements intended to promote the common good. There is not one of these organizers but has considered the various methods by which he, or she, might aid their fellow-workers, and has selected organization as the most promising in achievement. Most of them have proceeded with their labors year in and year out, asking no remuneration other than the feeling of having performed a duty. They have been unselfish. They are honored by their co-workers, who know and appreciate them. They deserve the sincere thanks of their delegates here assembled, which I take pleasure in expressing on behalf of the great movement in which we are enlisted."

We need more men, both volunteer and paid, to carry on this work and trust that the time is not far distant when methods will be developed by which more funds will become available for organizing purposes.

Adopted unanimously.

#### Labor Day and Labor Sunday.

We thoroughly agree with President Gompers in the educational value of Labor Day and Labor Sunday, and with him urge the fullest possible celebration of the one and use of the other.

Adopted unanimously.



### Migratory Laborers.

The St. Louis Convention referred the question of the migratory workers to the Executive Council. The Executive Council after more investigation and deliberation, instructed President Gompers to further investigate this matter in the territory from whence the idea had come and which he was then about to visit. We urge upon every delegate, upon all the members of the labor movement, and upon all the students thereof, to read with care what the President has to say upon this subject.

We endorse his recommendations, and in addition, desire to say that in the condition of what is sometimes called the migratory workers, or the casual worker or the hobo, lurks a most serious danger not only to our movement, but the whole of existing society. This condition must be transformed. He must be endowed with courage for the present, with hope for the future and with an affection for his fellow workers, feeling that they are one with him and he with them, that they are willing to give thought, time and money to the consideration and improvement of his condition; that they will, if necessary, halt in their own progress in order to find the ways and means necessary to give to him, in a large measure, that which organized men already have achieved. We realize that the located and stationary worker of today may be the migratory worker of tomorrow, that our interests are, therefore, mutually interdependent, and being such, it is our duty to ourselves and to the migratory workers to assist them to assist themselves.

To that end, we recommend that the Executive Council be authorized to devise methods by which migratory workers can be organized, and to expend such money as in their judgment is necessary to accomplish that purpose.

Adopted unanimously.

### Departments.

The formation of departments is practically a new departure in our methods of organization.

We are pleased to note the progress which has been made by the various departments already organized. We realize that there will be many difficulties met with, many problems to be solved

which require patience, judgment and perseverance in working them out to a proper solution, and we suggest to the organizations affiliated with the various departments, the greatest forbearance with each other in dealing with the problems which must of necessity arise.

Adopted unanimously.

### Canada.

The splendid growth of the International trade union movement in Canada demonstrates that our Canadian brothers realize the importance of unity on industrial questions affecting the workers on both sides of the national boundary which divides us politically. We believe that this growth can be encouraged and the Canadian movement greatly strengthened through the co-operation in international organizations having headquarters in America and local unions in Canada and we urge that all International Unions having local unions in Canada affiliate those local unions with the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress and pay the taxes to the Congress on their Canadian membership direct through the international officer.

Delegate Lowe—I suggest that the Executive Council give this matter all the consideration it can. The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has to deal with a dual organization. I hope the officers of the international organizations having locals in Canada will also give it consideration.

Adopted unanimously.

### Porto Rico.

We are glad to note the healthy condition of the trade union movement in Porto Rico; that they have had strikes during the past year is in itself an indication of progress. Men do not strike unless they are discontented with existing industrial conditions. That they are more dissatisfied with existing political conditions than heretofore is also an indication of progress. We recommend that the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions give all the moral and financial assistance possible to the Porto Ricans in their struggle for better economic conditions.

We further recommend that the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee be instructed to use every hon-

orable means available to secure the passage through Congress of a measure which will give to the Porto Ricans full recognition as citizens of the United States.

Adopted unanimously.

#### Fraternal Delegates.

The exchange of fraternal delegates between Great Britain, Canada and ourselves has been of great educational and organizing value to our movement. It has given us a better knowledge of the problems to be dealt with and the means of dealing with them. We have been able to profit by their experience and we trust they have been able to profit by ours. It is, therefore, in no perfunctory way that we welcome them amongst us.

We feel that greater benefits are yet to be derived from our mutual intercourse, more complete solidarity of the movement throughout the world and ultimately a higher standard of living and civilization for all mankind.

Adopted unanimously.

#### International Secretariat.

That our exchange of fraternal delegates has already led to good results is apparent from the benefits derived through our affiliation with the International Secretariat. For years we had been misrepresented to, and misunderstood by, the European trade unionists to such an extent that we were in a great measure outlawed by them in the consideration of trade union affairs. Our industrial conditions have been seriously injured as a result of that misunderstanding. We are, therefore, rejoiced at the better knowledge of the American labor movement which has been given to the European trade unionists by our delegates to the International Secretariat, and the greater unity of action which must result from the personal contact and better information furnished to them by those delegates.

We hope for the ultimate formation of the International Federation of Labor on the lines previously proposed by this organization.

We recommend a careful reading of the report of the President upon this subject and particularly desire to emphasize the final paragraph, which reads as follows:

"The peoples of all civilized countries

are coming to the realization that in many respects they have a cause in common—that of justice, freedom and humanity. There is no force in society so potent to crystallize that sentiment and the establishment of human brotherhood as the historically developed and developing labor movement of the world."

Unanimously adopted.

Delegate Wilson, Chairman of the Committee—It is apparent that we will be unable to finish the report of the Committee on President's Report by the time for the special order for the Adjustment Committee is reached. I therefore move that the special order for the Adjustment Committee be postponed until after the completion of the report of the Committee on President's report. (Seconded and carried.)

#### INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY.

##### Baldwin Locomotive Strike.

The conditions existing in the Baldwin Locomotive Works prior to the strike are but a fair example of what may be expected where industrial absolutism obtains. It is a demonstration of the patience of the American workmen that they endured the conditions existing there as long as they have and yet the issue proves the necessity for thorough organization, complete preparation and intelligent direction of labor's forces. We desire to quote and endorse the following language from the President's report on the lessons of that strike:

"The lesson that was taught by this action of the wage-workers for a great corporation is the necessity for thorough organization, for a large treasury, and for heeding the advice of officials of experience, who possess a knowledge of the state of trade and employment throughout the country. It is true that on occasions, when practically all the workers of a calling may reasonably be expected to respond to the demands of the more outspoken and venturesome, everything may be risked on a general walk-out and a complete tie-up of an industry. Enthusiasm, public opinion, financial aid from many quarters—these may, in such circumstances, stand in the place of the usual reliance of established trade unions on their financial resources. Successes, and notable ones, have thus been gained: but the international officers and the local union delegates may usually be trusted to foresee the chances for or against victory."

Adopted unanimously.

##### Ladies' Garment Workers' Strike.

The employers in the Ladies' Garment

Workers' trade in Cleveland have been and are the personification of industrial absolutism. They have cared nothing for the welfare of the women and children employed by them, except insofar as they could wring profits out of their labor.

The revolt has come. The struggle has been fierce, as they usually are under such conditions. They have received some assistance. They should have the full moral support of all lovers of freedom and fair play and be given such financial support as our people are able to provide in order that their contest may be brought to a successful issue.

Adopted unanimously.

#### LITIGATION.

##### Post Suit Against A. F. of L.

We note what President Gompers says relative to the Post suit against the A. F. of L., and we are particularly interested in the statement that the suit brought by Post is for the purpose of securing three-fold damages under the Sherman Act.

We recommend that the Executive Council be directed to defend the case in all its stages.

Adopted unanimously.

##### Hatters' Case.

We are pleased at the reversal of the verdict in the Hatters' case by the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals and at getting some clearer definition of what the law is. But while we are pleased at the verdict of the lower court having been reversed we should not lose sight of the fact that the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals has made absolutely plain the necessity for amendment of existing law, so that it will embody the principle that patronage and good-will, if it is property at all, is the property of those who have the patronage and good-will to bestow.

We recommend that the Executive Council be directed to continue to assist the Hatters in the defense of this case.

Adopted unanimously.

##### Injunction—Contempt and Retrial.

Under this heading the President gives a summary of the development of the Puck's Stove and Range Company case. The Supreme Court, in finding that an agreement had been reached between the "Puck's Stove and Range Company"

and the American Federation of Labor, refused to consider the appeal submitted by the A. F. of L. against the issuance of the injunction, as well as the Buck's Stove and Range Company's appeal against the modification thereof and dealt purely with the question of contempt.

The Court reversed the decision of Justice Wright which had been affirmed by the Court of Appeals and sent back the case to the lower court in the following language:

"The judgment of the Court of Appeals is reversed and the case remanded with directions to reverse the judgment of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia and remand the case to that court with direction that the contempt proceedings instituted by the Buck's Stove and Range Company be dismissed, but without prejudice to the power and right of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia to punish by a proper proceeding contempt, if any, committed against it."

Justice Wright immediately called the attorneys for the Buck's Stove and Range Company into court and instructed them to investigate and report whether there be good cause for believing that Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison were guilty of contempt of court. This action was in direct line with his manner and the language used when imposing the original sentence for contempt as well as that of his other actions in this case, and his action since. In the opinion of this committee, the whole proceeding has more of the characteristics of persecution than trial and it is very difficult indeed to understand the conduct of Judge Wright, except upon the theory that he is lacking in the temper and qualifications that should and usually do constitute the judge, and we cannot help but express our deep regret that a man so lacking in judicial temperament should ever have been elevated to the bench.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

President Gompers—I am glad the Committee on President's report has had an opportunity to present this subject to the delegates at this time. About thirty minutes ago a newspaper man informed me that he had received information from his home office at Washington that Mr. Justice Wright was about to render his decision in the Su-

preme Court of the District of Columbia this morning upon the motion to dismiss the charges of contempt against my two colleagues, Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Morrison and myself.

Since I have obtained recognition from you, Mr. Chairman, to address the Convention upon the motion before the house I have been handed two sheets of paper which I have not yet had an opportunity to read; but such as it contains, and without any attempt to read it first I shall, in view of the fact that it has been handed to me in full view of the delegates to this Convention, read it.

President Gompers read the following: Bulletin.

"Washington, Nov. 23.—Judge Daniel Thew Wright, voicing the opinion of the district supreme court, in general terms today overruled motions of Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell and Frank Morrison, officers of the American Federation of Labor, to dismiss contempt proceedings against them on the ground that the application of the statute of limitation, held that contempt of court is not a crime and can therefore not be subject to the statute of limitations.

"He gives the counsel representing the labor leaders three days in which to reach an agreement with the committee previously appointed as to a suitable person to be named commissioner to take testimony as to the alleged.

"There being no faith or merit in any part of the motion it must be overruled." said Justice Wright.

"Of the parts of the labor leaders, motion urging the dismissal of the contempt proceedings, he said that they 'be put aside for they seem at best frivolous and insincere.'

Continuing the opinion says:

"Of the fallacy that alleged contemptners are contending with judges, contemptners cannot too soon unload their minds; for if charges of contempt are true the contest is against the supremacy of the law. The duty and concern of judges is only this: That for and in the name of the people the supremacy of the law should be maintained."

"Opinion read by Wright. Big crowd present."

In discussing the question President Gompers said in part:

The decision of the court is that the motions made by the defendants, Mitchell, Morrison and Gompers, have been dismissed and three days given for our attorneys and the attorneys of the prosecution to determine as to who shall be examiner. The examiner is simply one who has to be present when the testi-

mony is taken. He has no power of any sort. If anything transpires he may report it to the court, but he cannot enforce any ruling; he has no ruling to make. In the report I had the honor to submit to this Convention I referred to our efforts to secure the trial of this case in open court before the judge, rather than have it referred to an examiner, if our motions to dismiss were overruled. During the taking of testimony in the original contempt proceedings a number of questions were put to me which I knew were entirely irrelevant, which were facetious and maliciously put and I at times turned to our counsel and in whispered conversation asked him if I ought to be compelled to answer the questions, and if I might not as well take a chance and refuse to answer and take the consequences. He said that he could not advise me not to answer. I had to answer the questions. Questions put later were of such an outrageous character that I simply on my own initiative declined to answer them. I was asked whether they were incriminating. I refused to answer that. The questions were certified to by the examiner and brought to the attention of the court. The court decided, after an argument of several hours, that I had to answer, no matter what the question was.

No principle for which we were contending was involved in that procedure, and I answered. The proceedings before the commissioner were resumed, and I answered. We were contending for a principle upon which we apprehended the Supreme Court of the United States would in the last analysis decide, the question of our right of self-ownership and the ownership of our patronage; the right to do collectively the things we had the lawful right to do as individuals. We could not get the Supreme Court to decide on that question, because they declared when our case reached there by reason of our having come to an agreement with the company that had theretofore been our antagonist it made the case a moot case and the court declined to decide upon it. Upon the resumption of taking testimony before the commissioner I had to answer the questions. The questions were irrelevant. The answers in reply were all taken in short-

hand and written out. Objections may be made by the attorney for the defense. The objections are stated, but they are in print and the judge, after reading the question and then reading that answer, may upon the objection as recorded rule out both the question and the answer; but what human being is so constituted that he is not in some way or other influenced by the things which he has read?

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

### **The People—The Judiciary—Injunctions Defense.**

Under this caption President Gompers says in part:

To our 1908 Denver Convention, I took occasion to report:

"It is quite evident that it is the purpose of labor's opponents to entangle us in constant litigation before the courts, involving not only our time and attention, but enormous expense for legal counsel, printing, and court fees. The expenditures of time and money have been enormously increased in recent times, since the further abuse of the injunction writ and the Hatters' decision of the Supreme Court, all of which have been taken advantage of by all union haters.

"The contempt proceedings against Messrs. Mitchell, Morrison, and myself have just closed. The Executive Council or I may again be cited for contempt of court because I have undertaken to report the status of the case to this convention; and no one can foretell to what limits the contempt proceedings, injunction cases, and other suits may extend. For one, I am free to say that I shall not recommend the levying of additional assessments or making appeals for voluntary contributions in legal defense of these cases. If it is the intention of those who are hostile to the interests of the toilers of our country to take advantage of the trend of court decisions for the usurpation of the toilers' rights by the injunctions, let them proceed as they will without our assuming to do the impossible—that is, to be represented by competent legal counsel. If the situation is to become so acute, let us personally as best we can, defend our rights before the courts, taking whatever consequences may ensue. For one, I can see no remedy for these outrageous proceedings, unless there shall be a quickening of the conscience of our judges or the relief which the congress of our country can and should afford."

The committee to which this subject was referred made a report, upon which ensued a prolonged discussion and which was finally amended and adopted by the

convention, as follows (the committee quoted part of my report upon the subject, which has already been mentioned herein):

"Bearing this in mind your committee desires to state that whenever the courts issue any injunctions which undertake to regulate our personal relations either with our employer or those from whom we may or may not purchase commodities, such courts are trespassing upon our relations which are personal relations, and with which equity power has no concern; that these injunctions are destructive of our rights as citizens, as well as of popular government, and we therefore declare that we will exercise all the rights and privileges guaranteed us by the Constitution and the laws of our country, and insist that it is our duty to defend ourselves at all hazards, and we recommend that such be our action, taking whatever results may come.

"We further recommend that when cited to show cause why such injunctions should not be issued, we should make no defense which would entail any considerable cost, and we further recommend that when cited for contempt the proper policy is as outlined above. We further desire to warn our fellow unionists that testimony extorted under equity process may be partially used in a damage suit under the Sherman Anti-Trust law.

"However, your committee feel constrained to say that when blanket injunctions are applied for or issued by the courts against the members of unions for no other reason except that they are members of the unions, and these injunctions are applied for or issued solely for the purpose of intimidating the members, we believe that such legal advice and protection as may be necessary should be provided for them by the organizations in interest."

Since that declaration of our 1908 convention the situation has not materially changed, except that events have made it, perhaps, more acute.

The question has therefore arisen in my mind as to whether in the recent past we have pursued the most practical course in the legal defenses we have presented to the courts when unwarrantable injunctions have been issued and we have been cited to show cause why we should not be punished for alleged violation of the injunctions—for contempt of court. Labor's antagonists have sought to entangle us in all forms of litigation involving large expenditures of the hard-earned money of the workers; they have to a considerable extent made impossible much constructive uplift work of our men and of our movement. The conclusion reached in one case has not had its definite determination by which the courts of other or of equal jurisdiction have limited their course. The question of doubt which has arisen in my mind as to the course we have pursued raises the further thought whether at some time

we shall not appear in our own persons and in our own defense without the aid of attorneys; that is, whenever, after due study and consideration of the facts relative to an unwarrantable injunction in a labor dispute, it is decided by the union or unions interested that the members have good grounds for holding and maintaining that their fundamental, constitutional, and inherent rights are invaded by the injunction, and if arrest ensues, those workers who are taken before the courts shall decline to employ the services of counsel, but shall themselves assert their rights under the law and then abide by the consequences—if imprisonment follows, the victim in any case to accept his fate; the members of the union concerned to take care of his family or dependents, and the usual agents of publicity, especially the labor press and the spokesmen for the unions, to appeal the case to public opinion. By such a course any usual terrors of jail imprisonment will be annulled. It is clearly no disgrace to have been convicted under court decrees which the masses of the people know are oppressive and ill-grounded, which form mere flat law which has not been made through elected representatives in the course of legislation, and the general terrorism of which, by recent votings, the citizens of whole states have shown that they oppose.

The suggestion that hereafter we shall decline to employ the services of counsel when unwarrantable injunctions have been issued and we have been cited to show cause why we should not be punished for alleged violation of the injunction, was beyond question the correct line of policy under the conditions existing at the time the Denver Convention was held. Since that time the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison case has materially changed our position in relation to injunction when issued.

For the first time in the history of the Supreme Court it has taken occasion to divide contempt into two elements, one remedial and the other criminal. As long as the practices of the courts caused them to use that form of punishment which the Supreme Court designates as criminal, that is imprisonment for contempt or a fine, going to the court, it would have been good policy to have declined to employ the services of counsel and to have defended our rights personally before the courts, taking whatever consequence might ensue.

But with the suggestion made by the

Supreme Court that punishment for contempt may be remedial in character that is, the court may impose three-fold damages for the benefit of the person or corporation suing out the writ, it becomes clearly apparent that the funds of every labor organization in the country are at the mercy of the courts whenever an injunction is issued, and we might just as well spend these funds in defending them and our members as to allow the courts to take them in the form of damages.

We, therefore, recommend the continuance of the policy of defending our members wherever possible when they are cited to show cause why an injunction should not be issued or why they should not be punished for contempt.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the Committee be adopted.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.)—I move as an amendment to the last paragraph that the words "do not," be inserted before the word "recommend."

Vice-President Duncan declared the amendment not in order, as it was a negative motion, and the same result would be secured by voting down the report of the Committee.

Vice-President Mitchell discussed the question briefly and said in part:

"I am sick of having this matter brought up in Convention after Convention. Justice Wright acts as though he were conspiring with the defense to bring this case to the attention of the public every time a Convention of the American Federation of Labor is being held, not as though it were done for the purpose of embarrassing the defense, but for the purpose of helping them.

"I don't want the American Federation of Labor or any organization affiliated with it to spend any more money in defending me, and I am sure that is the way President Gompers and Secretary Morrison feel about it. And if there is no great principle involved in which the rights of the men of labor are interested, and vitally interested, I think we might as well stop hiring lawyers and allow Justice Wright to have his way.

"I am free to confess I do not want to go to prison. I would give a great deal to remain free, but if there is no escape from the vindictiveness of

this judge, except a term of imprisonment, I wish we could get started to serve the term and have the matter over with. The very prolongation of this litigation is a greater loss to me than would come from serving nine months in jail.

"I do not want to make any declaration as to what my purposes would be in this matter without consultation with my associates so as to determine how far the principles of organized labor are involved in the case now pending; but if the interests of organized labor are not now at stake I would be perfectly satisfied to advise our attorneys to withdraw this case, let us go to trial in whatever way we can and accept the consequences whatever they may be. At any rate, whatever the policy of the American Federation of Labor is going to be in regard to any other man, no matter how humble he may be, then that policy must apply equally to the three defendants in this case. In other words, if all men are not to be defended, then we must not be defended.

"I said a year ago I was anxious to withdraw from the vice-presidency of the American Federation of Labor, that I had retained the vice-presidency with the thought perhaps that if I was compelled to serve a term in prison it might be more helpful to the labor movement if I served as vice-president of the American Federation of Labor than as a private citizen. I had hoped by the time this Convention arrived we would have served the sentences, or, better still, would have been cleared."

In discussing the question Delegate Wilson, Chairman of the Committee, said in part:

"In the portion of the president's report the Committee in dealing with it discussed the question of defense in these cases generally, and not in the Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison case specifically, but including them in the general proposition. I may say from a knowledge of the discussions in the Committee that if we had been dealing with the Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison case specifically we still would have recommended a continuation of the defense; we would have refused, so far as the Committee was concerned, to have allowed the vindictive persecution of Judge Wright to drive us away from the de-

fense of the officials who are accused in his court."

Chairman Wilson discussed the status of the case at some length, and concluded by saying it was the policy of the Committee to continue defending the case in question and similar cases so far as lay in the power of the organization.

The case was discussed briefly by Delegate Woll. After referring to the status of the case Delegate Woll said:

"It means simply that absolute control and dictatorship is possessed by the judge in these contempt proceedings. I fail to see where the state or federal government places the power in any one man to say he may do as he wishes, that if a man commits an offense the rules as applied in civil cases or the rules that hold good in criminal cases do not hold good. I think we should be more than ever determined to proceed and question the right of this court to say whether the safeguards of citizens and the safeguards of our constitutions are to be swept aside by a contempt procedure. If we are to have a dictatorship let us have that made clear."

Delegate Lavin discussed the question at some length, and referred to the fact that in the Boston Convention of the American Federation of Labor he had introduced a resolution from the Central Labor Union of Wilkesbarre, Penn., calling upon the American Federation of Labor to declare that the time had come when court injunctions were to be ignored and men, regardless of the court's orders, were to continue to exercise their constitutional rights. Delegate Lavin stated that the Convention at that time refused to adopt the resolution, but he stated that he considered the time had arrived for President Gompers, Vice-President Mitchell and Secretary Morrison to issue a statement and public declaration that the time had arrived for men to exercise their constitutional rights, regardless of court's orders, surrender to the decision of the court and go to jail. Delegate Lavin spoke at length on the question of boycotts.

Delegate Walker (J. H.), in discussing the question, said in part:

"I think perhaps I feel more interested in this particular case than does the ordinary man because of the fact that it was I who made the motion that was adopted by the Convention of the United

Mine Workers for which Brother Mitchell is on trial now. I have not been able to rid myself of the feeling that whatever trouble, expense or humiliation he must undergo as a result of this action in this case, I am as much responsible as he is. In fact, I am really more responsible, because he was chairman of that Convention and president of our organization and could not help entertaining the motion when it was made. He did not vote either way on the proposition. I am not willing that there shall be any suffering, any expense or any humiliation inflicted that I can in any way prevent in connection with this case.

Delegate Walker discussed at length the decisions of the supreme court in cases affecting the rights of labor, and in concluding his discussion said:

"I believe that I can speak for the United Mine Workers' Organization when I say that I believe a majority of the members have as supreme contempt for Judge Wright as Brother Lavin evinced before he closed his speech, and at the same time I believe I can speak for them in saying if there is anything we can do to lessen the consequences to ex-President Mitchell, Brother Gompers and Brother Morrison we want to do it. Outside of that I believe I can speak for them, too, in emphasizing Delegate Woll's statement that if this man attempts, above all law and above the Constitution of the United States, to exercise a power assumed by himself, a power not given by any law on the books of the states or of the nation, if he is going to assume that power to penalize these men I believe they will want, when the final issue has come, to be in such shape that our position will be as clearly laid down as it is possible to lay it down, and that the infraction of the law by the supreme court judge will be made as clear as it is possible to make it. The only way that can be done is by having the best legal talent on our side when it goes through this process in that court it is possible for us to obtain. Under those circumstances my judgment is that the report of that Committee as presented to this Convention should be adopted."

Delegate Wilson, Chairman of the Committee, presided, while Vice-President Duncan discussed the question briefly.

Vice-President Duncan in discussing the question, said in part:

"I arise to support the report of the Committee. I consider it clear, logical and constructive. I am not entirely surprised at my colleague, John Mitchell, because I am one of those who know something of his big-heartedness, and if it were not for that or what that term generally means, he perhaps would not have made the statement he did here this morning. His statement means that, rather than impose upon the working people of this country any further financial obligation to defend him, he is willing to forego that, serve his term and end the controversy. But would that end the controversy? That would be equal in a sense, at least as far as the general public is concerned, to believing that organized labor laid down in this stage of the case to the decisions of Judge Wright. And there is a broader question involved in this than the financial defense of our three colleagues in the United States courts. The rights, the liberty and the freedom of public speech and free press to every union man and to every citizen of our own country is involved. I hold that the action taken in the Denver Convention upon this subject was correct, and I am glad to hear the Committee recommend a continuation of our policy.

Vice-President Duncan discussed at some length the status of the case, and in concluding his discussion said:

The report of the Committee is to continue under all our constitutional rights to defend ourselves. This is a case in which we should continue fighting every inch of the way for our rights and liberties in the courts as well as on the economic field. The Committee's report continues that policy, not only in as far as the accused men are concerned, but in all similar instances thereafter that the same process shall be followed, so that every constitutional right guaranteed to the people of the United States shall have been utilized to preserve the rights and liberty and freedom of all our people.

Delegate Furuseth, Secretary of the Committee, discussed the question briefly, and said in part:

I am glad to see that the interest in the peculiar position taken by the judiciary is increasing and that knowledge is



also increasing to some extent. If the delegates had taken the trouble to read carefully what has come from the Committee on President's Report from time to time in the last ten years on this question they would not be quite as much in the fog as they are today. Repeatedly we have stated that in this, contempt of court is the same thing we name in Europe *lese majeste*, and that the judge sitting in equity is the king exercising autocratic power. There is no necessity for amending the constitutions in this matter. The position that the courts occupy is a stolen one. It has been obtained through holding that labor is property; that today business, the right to do business or to continue to do business, is a property right. The Congress of the United States can stop that by the passage of the Wilson bill on injunctions. It needs no constitutional amendments at all.

Delegate Mahon discussed the question, referring particularly to the number of injunctions that had been issued against himself and the attitude he had taken in regard to them. He stated that at times he had been opposed to securing counsel for himself, but when a large number of the men were out on strike and courts issued injunctions it was necessary to employ counsel to protect their interests. In concluding he said:

"The Committee's recommendation that we secure counsel when necessary is a good one. I will go as far as any man in resenting it when the courts infringe upon my rights, but that is not the question; the question is to keep our movement intact and to keep our armies so united that we can go on with the battle and win our struggles. I am in favor of the recommendation of the Committee."

Delegate Rumsey spoke of the interest of the members of his organization in the case under discussion, as the case grew out of the trouble existing between the Metal Polishers and the Buck Stove and Range Company. He stated that it might be considered a mark of ingratitude on the part of the representatives of his organization if they did not say at least a few words in behalf of the men who had been prosecuted or persecuted, as a result of the famous Buck's Stove and Range Company case. In concluding his discussion Delegate Rumsey said:

"Every delegate who has been in the Conventions for the last four or five years knows this case thoroughly. Perhaps there are some who do not know that the Metal Polishers' Union is responsible directly for the position that President Gompers, Vice-President Mitchell and Secretary Morrison have been placed in. For that reason I feel personally and on behalf of the organization I represent that the American labor movement at this time should in no uncertain sound send back to that man, who is more like a vampire than a judge, that the American Federation of Labor will go as far and farther than he will for the right of free speech."

Delegate Frey, in discussing the question, said in part:

"I am in favor of the report of the Committee for various reasons. One is that this case is the culmination of all those injunction cases, of those suits and those imprisonments for contempt which have been used to try to disrupt our movement. We find if we study what our American courts have been doing that since they began to use the injunction without any constitutional right to do so, simply arrogating that power to themselves, they have been laying down a dual code, they have been creating class distinctions in their decisions, giving to organized employers rights and privileges which they say working men are not entitled to. I feel that the report of the Committee should be sustained. It is only by carrying a case of this kind through to the extent of our ability in the courts, that we can have one case that will call such public attention to the abuses of our American courts that it will be possible for us to bring it to a stop."

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried by unanimous vote.

#### POLITICAL ACTIVITY

##### Women and Child Labor Investigation.

Under this head, the President says:

"The results of this investigation have fully justified the action of the American Federation of Labor in behalf of such an inquiry being made. The last volume, No. 11, in speaking of 'Accidents in the metal trades,' contains five specific conclusions, as follows:

"The conclusions to which a student of accidents in the metal trades must come, as set forth in the foregoing pages (of this inquiry), may be summarized as follows:

"1. The hazard to women in these industries is distinct and considerable.

"2. When men and women work at the same task its dangers menace the women much more seriously.

"3. The employment of children have in general only those dangers common to all factory work. Their employment at dangerous tasks is rare and seems to be decreasing.

"4. Negligence of the worker as a cause of accident has been greatly over-emphasized.

"5. The accidents of most frequent occurrence are largely preventable."

The facts brought out by this investigation undertaken at the instance of the American Federation of Labor, are of great importance in dealing with the subject of women and child labor. We are glad to note that the employment of children at dangerous tasks is rare and seems to be decreasing, and we are satisfied that the insistent efforts of the American Federation of Labor have been in a great measure responsible for that improvement. The standard of any civilization is known by its treatment of women. Heavy and dangerous work and drudgery of any kind should not be imposed upon them, nor should conditions exist under which it will be permitted. Our highly developed machinery and systematic methods have solved the problem of production. There is no longer any fear about the world being able to maintain the entire population in comfort without imposing upon womanhood tasks unsuited to her sex, or upon children labor unsuitable to their strength or injurious to their mental and physical development.

We recommend that the Executive Council map out a line of policy by which remedial legislation can be introduced in the various state legislatures, excluding women from employment in heavy, or dangerous occupations and that the various state federations of labor and central labor unions use their influence to secure this enactment in their respective states.

Adopted unanimously.

#### Child Labor and Children's Bureau.

We favor the establishment of a Children's Bureau in the Department of Commerce and Labor and recommend that the Legislative Committee be instructed to use its influence to secure the enactment of such a law.

Adopted unanimously.

#### Uniform Laws to Protect Human Life

In connection with this subject, President Gompers says:

"Therefore I am constrained again to urge every central body and every state federation to maintain a permanent Legislative Committee, to keep us supplied with the latest happenings in their localities, and to whom we can apply and in turn supply local and state information concerning legislation."

We recommend that the suggestion be endorsed.

Delegate Woll—In connection with this subject I want to bring to the attention of our Convention that in the State of Illinois we have during the past year enacted an Occupational Disease Law, which is the first of its kind within the jurisdiction of the Federal government, a law which for the first time inaugurates with the American jurisprudence or gives to the workmen the right of action to recover damages resulting from occupational disease. That law has gone into effect. It is broad in its scope and I urge that every Central Labor Union obtain a copy of it and try to have similar legislation enacted in their respective states.

The report of the Committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

#### Seamen's Rights.

We endorse what the President says on this subject and urge the passage by Congress of H. R. No. 11372. We hope and trust that the importance to the nation, to the traveling public and to the men employed is now sufficiently well understood to stop further opposition and to pass this just, important and too long delayed measure.

Adopted unanimously.

#### Locomotive Boiler Inspection.

We are glad that President Gompers has been able to report the enactment of this much-needed legislation. It will not only promote the safety of railroad employes, but also of the traveling public. The measure is not all that labor desired, but it is a long step in the right direction and we hope that as experience shows the need of it, the law will be improved.

Adopted unanimously.

### R. R. Track Inspection—Loading Vessels Regulation.

President Gompers reports:

"This matter was taken up with the Railroad Employees' Department, and after giving the whole subject careful consideration it was agreed that it would be wise to hold this matter in abeyance for the time being. The same course is being pursued in regard to the Government regulations in loading vessels."

We recommend that the action be endorsed.

Adopted unanimously.

### Miners' Safety—U. S. Bureau of Mines.

We are pleased to note the efficient work which has been and is being done by the United States Bureau of Mines, and that notwithstanding the brief period in which the Bureau has been in existence, the lessening of the death rate is already noticeable. The systematic manner in which the Bureau has undertaken the work of discovering the means of preventing accidents in mines is worthy of our highest commendation, which, supplemented by rescue work, also systematically conducted, has already been of great benefit to the mine workers.

We recommend that the Legislative Committee be instructed to use its influence to secure a more liberal appropriation for this Bureau in order that its work may be more rapidly carried forward in developing the means of preventing accidents and securing the information necessary for legislation to protect life and health of those engaged in mining.

Adopted unanimously.

### Occupational Diseases.

We endorse what President Gompers says on this subject. We note with pleasure the large number of laws which have been enacted in the various states for the improvement of the sanitary conditions of the workers, thereby removing to some extent the causes of occupational diseases.

We recommend that the various state federations, city central bodies, in conjunction with the Executive Council, continue their efforts to secure legislation which will entirely remove the causes of occupational diseases. We regret that the Esch Phosphorus Bill, H. R. 30,022

failed of passage in the 61st Congress. We feel that the failure of this measure is due to the parliamentary tactics of Representative Dalzell of Pennsylvania.

We recommend that the Legislative Committee use every effort to secure the enactment of this measure in the present Congress in order that the horrible disease known as "phossy jaw" and the death resulting therefrom may be entirely eliminated.

Adopted unanimously.

### The Triangle Shirt-Waist Factory Fire.

We endorse what President Gompers has to say in reporting upon this terrible disaster. We heartily concur in the recommendation contained in the following paragraph:

"In view of the cruel and blind selfishness of a class of employers in regard to the health and safety of workers in several parts of our country it is urgently recommended that our state federations and city central bodies in industrial centers demand not only the enforcement of existing law in factories, workshops, mills, and mines, but also the promotion of inquiry as to the needed laws for better—aye, humanly considered, absolutely necessary—sanitary home and workshop conditions, including safety from dangerous machinery and from fire and panic."

We heartily concur in the recommendation.

Adopted unanimously.

### Insurance Laws—Trade Unions.

Under this caption, President Gompers says:

"I therefore again urge the membership in all of the States to exert themselves to secure the enactment of such definite legislation dealing with insurance matters as will permanently prevent any interference with the rights of organized labor in the humane work of caring for the sick, the injured, and the bereaved ones. It is particularly requested that the officers of our Federation be promptly advised concerning any proposed insurance legislation in any of the States at any time."

We recommend that the suggestion be concurred in.

Adopted unanimously.

**Employers' Liability—Workmen's Compensation.**

It is very gratifying to note the rapid strides which are being made in securing amendments to the Employers' Liability Laws in many states eliminating or modifying the defenses known as "Fellow-Servant Doctrine," "Assumption of Risk," "Contributory Negligence," and "Waiving of Rights," and the numerous commissions which have been appointed to investigate this subject and that of Workmen's Compensation. That these activities must ultimately lead to the establishment of a condition where the community at large will bear the burden of the accident, cost of production instead of it being borne by the individual worker, as at the present time, is already becoming apparent.

We recommend that the Executive Council and all the various branches of the A. F. of L., continue to exert their energies towards the consummation of this object so devoutly to be wished.

Adopted unanimously.

**Eight Hour Law Extension.**

We recommend the endorsement of the suggestion that efforts be made to include the eight-hour limitation clause in all appropriation bills authorizing expenditures for public works in the broadest sense of that term.

We further recommend the endorsement of the Hughes eight-hour bill and that the Legislative Committee be directed to endeavor to secure the enactment of these measures.

**Efficiency.**

We endorse what President Gompers says upon the subject of efficiency and in addition desire to call attention to the well-known fact that the American wage worker is the most productive wage-worker in the world, his average productivity being more than 50 per cent greater than his nearest competitor in that direction and the other well-known fact that the accident rate in industrial pursuits in this country is much greater than in any other country, and to throw out the suggestion that there may be some relation between the speeding-up processes by which this increased productivity is reached, and the large accident rate which follows in the work of our industries.

In the judgment of your Committee, the two are closely allied and if by a stop-watch system or any other system the American workman is speeded up to a still higher rate, we must expect that the accident rate will increase.

Adopted unanimously.

**Immigration.**

We endorse what is said by the President on this subject, and commend the activity of our officers, the Executive Council and Legislative Committee in endeavoring to secure this legislation already long delayed. We cannot pass by unnoticed the information conveyed that Representative Dalzell of Pennsylvania again "stood stubbornly on the lid and refused to budge."

We recommend that the Legislative Committee be instructed to continue their efforts to secure the passage of either the Gardner or the Burnett Bill.

Adopted unanimously.

**Labor of Convicts.**

We endorse this portion of the President's report, and particularly desire to emphasize the concluding paragraph which reads as follows:

"Prisoners should be required to work not for private profits of contractors, nor even for the financial profit of the State, but for the benefit of their dependents and for their own reformation."

We are unalterably opposed to the labor of convicts being let out to contract. We believe that the ultimate solution of the problem will come when the convicts are engaged in the widest possible diversity of industry by hand labor for the use of eleemosynary institutions. By this method both body and mind will be strengthened. It should be borne in mind that men are imprisoned supposedly for the welfare of society and their imprisonment and the labor which may be utilized thereby should never be so handled as to become a menace to any portion of society.

For the accomplishment of this purpose, we recommend the endorsement of the Hughes Bill prohibiting officers of the United States government from purchasing convict made goods for public use in the government service, and the Booher Bill H. R. 5601, requiring convict made goods to conform to the laws of the state into which they are shipped

whether received in original packages or otherwise.

Adopted unanimously.

#### **Civil Service Employees.**

We endorse the statement of President Gompers and emphatically protest against the Executive Orders issued by Presidents Roosevelt and Taft prohibiting Civil Service employees from petitioning Congress or any committee, or member thereof, for redress of their grievances.

Under our form of government Congress is the final authority to determine the wages, hours of labor, and conditions of employment of Civil Service employees, and neither the President nor the head of any Department has any right to interfere with those employees in their presentation to Congress of such grievances, real or imaginary, which they believe ought to receive consideration. If the right of petition to the final authority is denied, it creates a spirit of unrest detrimental to the service and, as has been shown by the strikes of the railway mail clerks, the first in the history of our country, produces conflicts which should have no place in our Civil Service.

When any person enters the Civil Service he does not thereby resign his rights as a citizen. If the conditions under which he labors are not satisfactory to him, he has the same right to quit that employment, either singly or collectively, as if he had been employed by a private individual. That such a stoppage of work would be more far-reaching and its effects felt to a greater extent by the people at large than a strike of employees of a private concern must be apparent, and that in itself gives greater reason why the conditions should be made such that disputes of such a character would not arise.

The right of these servants to strike must not be denied, but all just grounds for striking should be removed. Those engaged in the Civil Service fully realize the power of Congress over the conditions of their employment and the methods required to secure changes. It follows, therefore, that if the right of petition, the right to carry their grievances to Congress is restored to them, there is not the remotest possibility that any strike would occur in the service. The

welfare of the employees themselves and of the public generally requires that these Executive Orders shall be annulled. For that reason we recommend the endorsement of LaFollette's Bill S. 1162 and H. R. 5970, restoring the rights of petition to Civil Service employees.

Adopted unanimously.

#### **Second-Class Postal Rates.**

We commend the activity of our officers in pressing for a change in the second-class postal rate regulations. We protest against the use of the postal department as a bureau of censorship upon labor, reform and fraternal publications and warn the government that sitting on the safety valve does not prevent, but induces explosions.

As a means of remedying the evils of which complained, we endorse the principles embodied in the Dodds, Martin and Burton bills.

Adopted unanimously.

#### **Political Changes Affecting Labor.**

We concur in the position taken by President Gompers under this caption. We renew our adherence to the principles of the Initiative, Referendum and the Recall. We realize that these principles, which we have long contended for, are now being very generally accepted and the last stand is being made upon the right of the recall of judges. We cannot see the soundness of such a stand. Judges are like other men, good, bad and indifferent. The selection of any man as a judge does not thereby change his character or make him infallible. It is not always possible to know in advance whether or not a person selected for a position is qualified to fill it, either mentally or morally, and whenever it becomes apparent that anyone who has been selected as a judge is incapable of meting out justice to all parties coming before him, the safety of society itself requires that he should be recalled.

Adopted unanimously.

#### **Labor Group in Congress.**

On this subject we quote and endorse the following paragraph:

"The good this group of labor men has already accomplished, the good they can and no doubt will do in Congress, should imbue the men of labor and all liberty-loving citizens with the duty, the re-

sponsibility, and the advantage of not only securing the re-election of the members of this group, but also increasing the number and the possibilities of their influence and power for just and humane legislation."

Adopted unanimously.

#### Department of Labor.

We endorse the general principles embodied in the Sulzer bill for the establishment of a Department of Labor.

Adopted unanimously.

#### Anti-Trust and Injunction Limitation Bills.

The great German author, Goethe, once said: "The greatest element of terror is the unknown." The truth of that statement becomes apparent to anyone who stops for a moment to analyze the elements of fear. That which we know we fear less than that which is hidden from us. It is that trait of human character which has made injunctions such terrible weapons in the hands of our enemies. Every injunction issued is a law unto itself, the interpretation of which is unknown to anyone, even to the judge himself, until some one has been cited to show cause why he should not be held in contempt. The person enjoined has no means of knowing how to interpret it. He does not know what he can and what he cannot do. Its scope and its powers are unknown and convey that indefinable terror which comes from the unknown.

We re-affirm our previous position on this subject as follows:

"Injunctions in labor disputes are innovations in our modern jurisprudence. The original purposes for which injunctions were issued was to restrain parties to any dispute about the title or damages to property from interfering with this property in question, until the courts had determined the property rights involved. These restraining orders were made returnable at the next term of court, or at the session of court where the cases were to be heard and determined, and consequently were never permanent, expiring by their own limitations when the court had convened to determine the questions at issue. That they are clearly intended to protect property rights, and property rights only, is demonstrated by the fact that the courts invariably insist upon a bond being furnished by the parties suing out the writ to indemnify the parties enjoined for any loss that may accrue to them by virtue of the writ having been issued. When such an order of court

has been violated it is not a difficult matter for the court to determine the actual damages, if any, that have been sustained through the issuance of the injunction, thereby protecting the restrained parties against any unwarranted invasion of their rights, but when the court issues an injunction in a labor dispute, restraining persons in controversy with employers from doing those things that they have a legal and moral right to do, and as a result of that injunction the contest is lost to the workers, there is no court on earth that can determine the damage that has been sustained by the persons enjoined, and, consequently they cannot recover from the bond. When the court arrogates to itself the power to issue injunctions never contemplated by the rules of equity, and in direct violation of constitutional and statutory law, and assumes the right to issue injunctions for the purpose of enforcing criminal law, it departs from the domain of property rights and invades that of personal rights in a manner for which there can be no excuse except that the court thereby becomes the sole judge of the law and the fact, and, if the parties enjoined are declared guilty of contempt, the extent of the punishment. All of which is in direct violation of the fundamental laws of the land and the Anglo-Saxon concept of human liberty.

The great charter of human liberty, the Magna Charta of Great Britain, the basis upon which British and American freedom rests, in Clause 39, declares:

"No free man shall be taken or imprisoned, disseized, or outlawed, or banished or any ways destroyed, nor will we pass upon him, nor will we send upon him, save by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land."

The Bill of Rights enunciated by the British Parliament for the protection of the common people and signed by William and Mary upon their accession to the British throne as a condition upon which their title to sovereignty would rest, declares:

Paragraph 1. That the pretended power of suspending of laws, or the execution of laws, by legal authority, without consent of Parliament is illegal.

Paragraph 2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws by regal authority as it hath been assumed, and exercised of late, is illegal.

The Declaration of Independence declares: "That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and it further assigns as one of the causes for the separation from the mother country and the establishment of an independent government, "for depriving us in many cases of the benefits of trial by jury."

The Constitution of the United States which creates our judiciary gives to it whatever power it can possibly exercise and limits its jurisdictions, says:

First amendment—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Sixth amendment—In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

Ninth amendment—The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Tenth amendment—The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Thirteenth amendment, Section 1—Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

It must be apparent to even the most casual investigators that the courts of the United States hold the same relationship to the Government of our country that the courts of Great Britain held and now hold to the legal power. No one will contend that any judge in Great Britain, either at the time of the adoption of our Constitution, or since that time, could have any greater power than that conferred by regal authority expressed by the Parliament and approved by the King. It naturally follows that our courts can have no greater power than that granted to them by the Constitution.

When the Constitution granted to our judiciary jurisdiction in equity, it could not have conveyed any wider authority than that which existed in English jurisprudence at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, and the quotations we have cited from the Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence, absolutely deny the right of equity courts to infringe upon personal liberty or existing law. Our government is not only one of delegated powers, but also of reserved powers. The same instrument that created the judiciary and delegated powers to it, reserves all the powers that are not thus delegated to the various States and to the people. When, therefore, any court assumes to exercise powers not delegated to it by the Constitution, it invades the rights specifically reserved by that document to the States and people; its action

becomes void from lack of jurisdiction and should not be obeyed.

Notwithstanding the constitutional limitations mentioned, modern injunctions have taken three distinct lines, two of which are unconstitutional, arbitrary and unjust.

1. Injunctions are issued to protect property rights from irreparable injury where there is no remedy at law. That is the only province in which an injunction properly belongs.

2. Injunctions have unwarrantably been issued for the purpose of enforcing existing statutory and common law arbitrarily invading the jurisdiction of the legislatures and the law courts, thus wiping out of existence that protection against false accusations that free men have fought for and forced from the hands of autocratic kings and tyrannical governments and defended at the cost of their lives, from the days of Guthram the Dane to the present generation of man, the right of trial by jury.

When the legislative branch of the government has specified the punishment for any violation of law, it has provided what, in its judgment is an adequate remedy, and means of prevention, and having provided such remedy, no court has any right to step in over the head of the legislature and provide another remedy.

3. Modern American courts assume the right to issue injunctions interfering with the personal rights of man in exercising free speech, free press, peaceable assemblage, and in their personal relationship with each other. The rights of free speech, free press and peaceable assemblage are specifically guaranteed by the Constitution. They are the fundamental safeguards of a free people which neither courts, kings nor cajolery should be permitted to destroy. The personal relationship between man and man comes clearly within the jurisdiction of the law courts and has no place in the courts of equity, unless upon the assumption by the courts that man is property, an assumption repugnant to the sense of right of all civilized communities and specifically forbidden by the XIII Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. It is under this class of injunctions that the courts have assumed jurisdiction in the now famous Buck's Stove and Range Company case.

In this case, the court, in violation of the expressed terms of the Constitution, enjoins the right of free speech, free press and peaceable assemblage, in addition to proclaiming the false doctrine that patronage and good will in business is property.

Business is divided into two elements. The first element, the stock in trade is property beyond question. The second element, patronage and good will cannot by any stretch of the imagination, or by any method of reasoning or logic be considered the property of the man engaged in business. If it is property at all, it can only be the property of the man who

has the patronage or the good will to give.

We are pleased to note that upon an appeal to the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, Chief Justice Shepard dissents from the decision of the majority of the court.

The division of opinion of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia in this case, together with the widely divergent opinions expressed by different federal courts in various parts of the country, making it practically impossible for even those that are learned in the law, not to mention the ordinary layman, to determine with any degree of accuracy the extent of the jurisdiction and powers of our courts in injunction cases, shows the imperative need that the Supreme Court should pass upon the entire subject matter involved. No better case has yet presented itself for that purpose than the Buck's Stove and Range case and the contempt proceedings growing out of it.

We, therefore, recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to take such steps as may be necessary to carry this injunction case, and the contempt cases growing out of it, to the Supreme Court of the United States in order that we may secure a decision that will define our rights in so far as it can be done in considering these cases, and we further recommend that the Executive Council be authorized to raise funds, either by assessment or appeal, if more be needed, to carry the former recommendation into effect. No matter what position the Supreme Court may take upon the cases at issue, our experience with injunctions during the past 30 years makes it necessary to secure such legislation as will clearly mark the dividing line between Equity Courts and Law Courts and prevent the Equity Courts from ever again usurping the powers of our legislatures and our courts of law.

We have examined H. R. 11,032, introduced in the 62d Congress by Representative Wilson of Pennsylvania, and believe it will accomplish the results desired, if enacted into law, and that in addition it will remove the strained construction of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law made by the Supreme Court and destroy any possibility of making the said Sherman Anti-Trust Law apply to the laborer instead of to the product of his labor.

We recommend that this bill be endorsed, and every effort be put forth by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated branches to secure its enactment into law.

We deem it incumbent upon us to emphasize the warning of President Gompers against the so-called "Life-Savers" injunction bills, introduced for the various reasons enumerated. Most of these bills concede a statutory right to the courts which they do not now possess—to issue injunctions in labor disputes, and then provide a trial by jury in contempt proceedings. Our contention is that when an injunction is issued in a

labor dispute, irreparable injury is done to the parties enjoined and to the cause of labor, which no court can compute and no bond can indemnify. The remedy lies in remanding the courts to their proper functions in law and equity, as defined in the Wilson Bill.

Until some change has been secured in the practices of the courts, either through Supreme Court decisions, or legislative enactment, we recommend that every answer to a writ of injunction or a citation for contempt shall insist upon our constitutional right of free speech, free press, peaceable assemblage and freedom from interference with our personal rights by the Equity Courts, and the denial of their authority to assume that anyone has a property right in man, his good-will or his patronage.

We reindorse the Wilson "Anti-Injunction Bill" No. 11,032, and recommend that it be introduced and its passage urged in every State legislature.

Adopted unanimously.

#### Relief from Judicial Usurpation—The Wilson Bill.

Under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States, any action taken by the working people in defense or in advancement of their interests by which an employer or business man may suffer financial or business loss, though the action of the workmen may consist in their exercise of the right of free men to withhold their labor power from employers or their patronage from business men, is now illegal. They may be mulcted in ten-fold damages alleged to have been suffered by an employer or business man, they may be prosecuted under the penal provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, fined the sum of \$5,000 and imprisoned for one year. The organization of workers, whether established for many years or temporarily formed to meet an economic emergency may be dissolved. That such a condition of affairs is unjust and intolerable all fair-minded, liberty-loving men admit. It is prejudicial to an orderly, natural, rational and peaceful solution of the industrial problem in the relations of wage earners and employers.

We recommend that this Convention authorize and direct the Executive Council to urge the President of the United States to recommend in his forthcoming message to Congress the amendment of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law upon the lines as contained in the Wilson Bill, to amend the Sherman Anti-Trust Law; and



further, that the Executive Council be and it is hereby directed, either as a body or by the selection of a committee thereof, to obtain an interview with the President in furtherance of the purpose of this report.

The Executive Council is hereby further authorized and directed to take such further action, as its judgment may warrant, to secure the enactment of such legislation at the forthcoming session of Congress as shall secure the legal status of the organized movement of the wage workers for freedom from unjust discrimination in the exercise of their natural, normal and constitutional rights, through their voluntary associations.

And the Executive Council is further authorized and directed that in the event of a failure on the part of Congress to enact the legislation which we herein seek at the hands of the Congress and the President, to take such action as in its judgment the situation may warrant in the presidential and congressional election of 1912.

Adopted unanimously.

#### Police Oppression—The Third Degree— Extradition.

We endorse the action taken by President Gompers in endeavoring to secure remedial legislation, which will prevent police oppression and the infliction of the "third degree."

We protest against the cruelty of these methods which have no warrant for their existence except the brute power of barbarism and the traditions derived therefrom.

The exercise of torture, mental or physical, is prohibited alike by law and by ordinary human feeling. Its practice on the part of the police is usurpation that must be stopped.

To this end we recommend to the State Federations and to city central bodies that they urge upon the legislatures of their separate States the enactment of such law as shall put an end to this barbarism perpetrated upon those accused of crime and guard the rights inherent in humanity and presumably sacred in every citizen.

Delegate O'Brien discussed the question at length, and spoke of the manner in which the Boston central body looked

after the interests of organized labor, and cited especially a case where it was sought to extradite two workers, but through the representations of the central body to the governor the men were liberated. He spoke in high terms of the work done by the organized men of Boston and of Massachusetts, and of the beneficial legislation they had obtained through the various city central bodies and the state branch of the A. F. of L.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

#### The McNamaras-Otis' Campaign for Revenge.

We endorse President Gompers in his statement of facts relative to the outrage upon the McNamara Brothers by kidnapping them and removing them to a hostile community for trial upon the charges made at the instance of an association bitterly antagonistic to organized labor.

We endorse the action which has already been taken and the appeal for funds which has already been made to secure a proper defense of these men. Few men realize the magnitude of the forces pitted against us in this case, in an effort not merely to convict the McNamara Brothers, but to destroy, if possible, the entire trade union movement, and the immense preparations that must consequently be made and expenses that must be incurred in order to defend our own right to existence.

A brief resume of some historical facts throws a flood of light upon the purpose underlying these prosecutions and the methods used. The United States Steel Corporation was organized in April, 1901. In the nine and three-quarters years of its existence up to the end of their fiscal year, December 31, 1910, its own reports to its stockholders show its net earnings to have been more than \$1,400,000,000. These vast earnings have been made possible by a systematic method of driving out of existence every labor organization of the workmen in its various plants. It destroyed the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, the Carpenters, the Molders, the Machinists, the Bricklayers and Stone Masons, the Miners, the Seamen, the Longshoremen, in fact all organizations of workmen either in the plants it originally held, or those taken over by it after its organization.

It forced down the wages, it lengthened the hours of employment, it made the conditions whatever its will determined. One of the subsidiary companies of the United States Steel Corporation is the American Bridge Company and which in turn is the principle factor in the Erector's Association. The last militant labor organization still resisting the encroachments of the United States Steel Corporation is the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Association in its strike against the American Bridge Company.

The United States Steel Corporation through its subsidiary, the American Bridge Company, has not yet succeeded in destroying the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

On the first day of October, 1910, an explosion of gas occurred in the Times Building at Los Angeles, California, by which the lives of twenty-one workmen were lost. The owner of the building was not then in the city of Los Angeles. The news was conveyed to him before he had reached that city and he was immediately quoted as placing the responsibility of the explosion upon the members of organized labor, before he had any personal knowledge of the conditions under which the explosion had taken place or even the opportunity to investigate the same.

With the allegation of General Otis as an inspiration, W. J. Burns employed by the Erectors' Association set about the task of bringing home to the officers of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers the charge of having destroyed the Times Building by the use of dynamite and murdered the twenty-one victims of that disaster. Having failed to destroy the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers by the same tactics used against other organizations, it was apparent that if their officers could be made to bear the responsibility of so horrible a crime, it would bring the organization into such disrepute that its destruction would inevitably follow.

Herein lies the motive. Some of the methods used are now part of our public records.

In testimony given before the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives, May 27-29 of this year, a number of papers were submitted by Mr. Leo M. Rappaport, relative to the extradi-

tion of J. J. McNamara, which were certified to by L. G. Ellingham and H. L. Confer, Secretary and Deputy Secretary of State, of the State of Indiana, which show that on April 15, 1911, W. J. Burns sent the following telegram from Chicago, Ill., to W. J. Ford, Assistant District Attorney of the County of Los Angeles, California:

"I have arrested and am holding in Indianapolis, Ind., J. J. McNamara.

(Signed) W. J. BURNS."

On the same date, April 15, 1911, W. J. Ford, Assistant District Attorney for the County of Los Angeles, California, made affidavit in part as follows:

"I further depose and say that the said J. J. McNamara is a fugitive from justice and is now located and under arrest in the city of Indianapolis, State of Indiana.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 15th day of April, 1911.

(Signed) PAUL J. MCCORMICK, Judge of the Superior Court of the State of California in and for the County of Los Angeles."

As a matter of fact Burns lied when he sent the telegram and Ford perjured himself when he made the affidavit. J. J. McNamara was not arrested and was not held in custody in Indianapolis or anywhere else until the 22nd day of April, 1911, as is shown by the testimony before the same committee. When it is known that the laws of the State of California require that before extradition papers for any person can be issued by the Governor, it must be shown that the person for whom the requisition papers are desired is under arrest and is being held in custody, statement in his telegram will be understood.

At one o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday, April 22, 1911, the requisition papers were presented to and signed by Governor Marshall of Indiana.

Section 26 of the Acts of Indiana, 1905, provides:

"Upon demand of the executive authority of any State or Territory of the United States upon the governor of this State to surrender any fugitive from justice from such State or Territory pursuant to the Constitution and laws of the United States, he shall issue his warrant reciting the fact of such demand and the charge upon which it is based, with the time and place of the alleged commission of the offense, directed generally to any sheriff or constable of any county

in this State, commanding him to apprehend such fugitive and bring him before the circuit, superior, or criminal court or judge of this State nearest or most convenient of access to the place at which the arrest may be made, and such warrant may be executed by any sheriff or constable in this State, in his own county, or in any county in this State."

Each of the courts mentioned in that law, that is, the Supreme Court, the Superior Court and the Criminal Court, were in session that Saturday afternoon.

John J. McNamara was in his office in the city of Indianapolis where he and the executive board of his organization were holding a meeting. That fact was well known to Burns and his associates who had the requisition papers in charge and yet the papers were not served upon McNamara until after all of these courts had adjourned. About 5:30 o'clock that afternoon, a number of policemen appeared at the offices of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, where their executive board was still in session and told J. J. McNamara that the Chief of Police desired to see him, declining to give him any information about what the chief wanted with him.

He left the offices of the Iron Workers and was taken to the Police Court. Arrangements had been made by the detectives with Police Judge Collins to arrive there in an automobile at that time. As has been shown by the quotation from the Indiana Statutes, a police court had no jurisdiction in requisition cases. Notwithstanding that fact, Judge Collins assumed jurisdiction, denied McNamara the right of counsel and immediately handed him over to the custody of James Hosick, to be taken to the State of California.

The evidence before the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives shows that he was not thirty minutes in the Court House from the time that he arrived until his case was disposed of and he was hustled out manacled hand and foot into an automobile and taken out of the jurisdiction of the State of Indiana, carried across country in a zig-zag manner from one system of railroads to another in order to avoid the possibility of his friends suing out a writ of habeas corpus to contest the legality of the proceedings.

That was kidnapping.

In the meantime, his associates of the

Executive Board were held prisoners in their own office and not allowed to communicate with anyone outside of it. Shortly afterwards a search warrant was presented, authorizing a search of the office for dynamite and other high explosives. Without warrant for this action, the books, papers and other documents of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers were seized, their safe forced open and \$422.00 in cash stolen from it, and no one, except those engaged in the crime knows what has become of the money.

That was theft.

The entire procedure has all the earmarks of a conspiracy.

In view of all these facts which have already been verified by competent witnesses, we absolutely decline to believe in the guilt of the McNamara Brothers on the strength of evidence furnished by liars, perjurers, thieves, conspirators and kidnappers.

It will thus be observed that the situation involves not merely the defense of the McNamaras against an ordinary criminal prosecution, but a contest for the continued existence of our affiliated organizations against the greatest combination of capital and craft we have ever been called upon to meet.

Funds, and large amounts of them, will be necessary.

These men have been taken long distances from their homes where witnesses for their defense are to be secured. The trail of conspiracy must be run down and that will require the services of skilled men. The best attorneys must be employed because no chances can be taken. The kidnappers must be punished in order that an example may be made which

will prevent a recurrence of this invasion of our rights, and a new phase of the situation is presented in the action of Judge Anderson in seizing from the Criminal Courts of the State of Indiana without warrant of law, and in violation of the Federal Constitution, Federal Statutes, the Indiana State Constitution and Statutes, the books, papers and documents of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers and turning them over to the United States District Attorney to make such use of as he may desire.

As these cases are pending in the Criminal Courts of California and In-

diana where they should be dealt with according to law, we are forced to ask ourselves the question: What motive prompted Judge Anderson to pursue this course? And it will be necessary for us to inquire whether or not our organizations are being menaced from another source?

The stories which have been circulated concerning the large contributions of money by various organizations for the defense is for the apparent purpose of giving the workers the impression that a sufficient amount has already been contributed and it is not necessary for them to contribute more. Let no man be deceived. More money is needed and needed immediately and we cannot expect to secure it except from the contributions of the workers themselves.

We, therefore, recommend that this portion of our report be sent out in circular form to every international organization, every state federation of labor and city central body, and local affiliated union, with the request that money be immediately raised for this purpose and forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

We further recommend that every officer and business agent connected with the trade union movement and every organizer of the American Federation of Labor and of the organizations affiliated therewith, be requested and urged to present these facts at every meeting they attend and at every opportunity and urge the necessity of immediate contributions.

And we further recommend that special representatives be sent into the large industrial sections in order to arouse the wage workers to the dangers of the situation and the necessity for immediate contributions.

The report of the Committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Delegate Tveitmoen—We had the President of the American Federation of Labor at our convention some time ago. It has been intimated that we appreciated his visit, that the labor movement of California was benefited by what he had done. As an official recognition of his services to the labor movement in California, the State Federation of Labor at its twelfth annual convention last October passed resolutions which should have been presented to President Gompers by

the representative of the California State Federation of Labor, Andrew J. Gallagher, but he was called home last Saturday by the illness of his mother. It therefore becomes my pleasure to present to the President of the American Federation of Labor the resolutions adopted by the California State Federation of Labor.

Delegate Tveitmoen presented to President Gompers the following resolutions, handsomely engrossed and bound in leather:

WHEREAS, Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, accepted our pressing invitation and traveled thousands of miles across the continent for the purpose of giving whatever assistance and help to the California Labor Movement that his peerless gifts and powerful influence could lend; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the California State Federation of Labor, representing the organized workers of this commonwealth in twelfth annual convention assembled, at Bakersfield, October 2nd to 7th, 1911, that a unanimous and rising vote of thanks be, and is hereby tendered to Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, for his splendid and valuable services to the workers' cause in this state, and for his many words of encouragement and wisdom which inspired greater aspiration and brighter hope in the hearts of our toilers and thus helped to keep the flame burning that lights the pathway to industrial freedom and economic liberty.

D. D. SULLIVAN, President.

(Seal) California State Federation of Labor, San Francisco, Cal., affiliated with American Federation of Labor.

PAUL SCHANENBERG, Secretary.

President Gompers in a brief address made suitable acknowledgment of the resolutions, and expressed his appreciation of the courtesies extended to him by the labor movement of the Pacific Coast during his visit there.

Delegate Furuseth, Secretary of the Committee, stated that the report of the Committee on the President's Report was completed, and that only matters referred from the report of the Executive Council and resolutions remained to be reported on.

Vice-President Duncan—What is the

pleasure of the Convention in regard to that portion of the Committee's report?

On motion the report of the Committee on President's Report was adopted as a whole.

An inquiry was made by a delegate as to whether or not there would be discussion on the portion of the report dealing with the McNamara case after the noon adjournment. Vice-President Duncan stated that as that portion of the report had been adopted as a whole there would

be no further discussion upon it.

Delegate Wilson, Secretary of the Committee, moved that the action of the Convention in adopting the report of the Committee be vacated and that the matter be open for discussion after adjournment. The motion was lost by a vote of 93 in the negative to 87 in the affirmative.

At 1 p. m., the Convention adjourned to reconvene at 2:30 p. m. of the same day.

## Tenth Day---Thursday Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 2:30 p.m., Thursday, November 23rd, Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

**Absentees**—Pfell, Roach, Coakley, Sheret, Gavlak, Coffey, Kelly (William E.), Anderson (W. H.), Hurley, Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Davis, Wangberg, Fuller, Leonard, Winchenback, Ford, Belt, Welsh, Donnelly (J. L.), Saum, Schaub,

Delegate Healy (T.), received unanimous consent to the introduction of resolution No. 175.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Furuseth—Not as Secretary of the Committee, but as a delegate to this Convention, in my own right and upon my own responsibility, I propose to offer a motion. In explanation of it I want to say that sundry ideas came before us on the committee; sundry propositions were made to us as members of the committee in regard to raising funds. We questioned the advisability or the wisdom of putting it into the report, but it was suggested by the friends of the proposition that it would better come before you from the floor. I have waited on two occasions for it to come from the floor. It has not come, and now I make this motion as a delegate to this convention:

I move that all paid officials of the labor movement be requested to give one week's wages to the McNamara fund. (Seconded.)

Delegate Furuseth discussed the question briefly, and urged that the motion be adopted. The question was also discussed briefly in a general way by Delegate Gallagher (J. J.) and Delegate Probstle.

Delegate Johannsen made an extended statement in which he reviewed the conditions in San Francisco, Los Angeles and other parts of the Pacific Coast at the present time and for some years past. He spoke of the conditions that existed in Los Angeles prior to the destruction of the Times building, the various strikes that had been conducted by organized labor and the bitter hostilities of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association towards all labor unions. He also reviewed briefly the political situation in that city and the progress of the McNamara case.

Delegate Tveitmoie discussed the question briefly, and urged that the motion offered by Delegate Furuseth be adopted. He spoke of the kidnapping of the McNamara brothers and the efforts that were being made to convict them. He stated that a large amount of money would be necessary to defend them and spoke of the resources that were undoubtedly available on the side of the prosecution to secure evidence in the case. He reviewed briefly labor conditions on the Pacific coast and the causes that led up to the attack upon the officials of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

Delegate Ryan (F. M.), in discussing the question, spoke of the contest that has been waged for the past six years by the organization of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers against the American Bridge Company. He stated that during the period mentioned his organization had increased in numbers and improved its financial condition. He spoke in detail of the events in connection with the kidnapping of the Secretary of the Bridge and Structural Iron Work-

ers and the confiscation of the books and records of the office.

Delegate Gray discussed the condition of organized labor in Los Angeles and on the Pacific coast. He stated that the fight of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association was not against the McNamara brothers as against organized labor, and urged all members of organized labor to realize the seriousness of the case being tried in Los Angeles, and to do all in their power to furnish means to defend those on trial.

On motion debate was closed.

The motion offered by Delegate Furuseth that all paid officials of the labor movement be requested to give one week's wages to the McNamara fund was carried by a vote of 196 in the affirmative to 7 in the negative.

Delegate Cole—I move you, Mr. President, that each delegate to this Convention of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to turn over to Secretary Morrison one day's pay for the benefit of this fund. I offer this motion because if you are going to set an example for your officers you ought to be willing to follow it yourself. Nothing will be of more benefit to your local than for you to go out and practice what you preach. When you go back you can let them know that you were sincere and that you saw the matter in a proper light and contributed one day's pay, as well as providing for the officers to contribute a week's pay.

The motion offered by Delegate Cole was seconded.

In response to a question Delegate Cole stated that his motion contemplated that only delegates who were not salaried officers should contribute one day's pay.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Payne and Delegate Connors. Delegate Payne stated that the delegates of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association who were not paid officials had voted against the motion to request the officers to donate one week's pay because they did not feel they were justified in voting away the salaries of other men.

The motion to request each delegate to donate one day's pay to the fund to defend the McNamara brothers was carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Furuseth, Secretary of the

Committee—The next phase of our report is that part of the Executive Council's report that has been referred to us.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation Laws" the committee reported concurrence in the three recommendations made by the Executive Council, as follows:

1. A complete and total abrogation of all the old common law defenses enumerated under the heads of "fellow servant," "assumption of risk," "contributory negligence," "waiving of rights," with this additional suggestion:

2. That in compensation laws the right of the workman to sue for full damages should be reserved.

3. The feature of benefits is liable to be for some time a vexed question, and, in our opinion, is one that will develop according to experiences met with in the various jurisdictions, and which as time goes on will be easy to add to a measure by amendment when once the humane principle of automatic compensation is written into the statute books of the states.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

The committee recommended further that the following matter in regard to the constitutional amendment to state constitutions be referred back for further consideration:

#### Proposed Amendment to the State Constitution.

The legislature may impose such conditions on any contracts of employment as shall be designated to protect the health or promote the safety or well being of any of the parties thereto or the public, or to make provision for the payment of compensation with or without the right of trial by jury and with or without regard to fault of employees injured by accidents of employment, or to persons dependent upon them, either by employers or by employees or otherwise, in such manner as the legislature may prescribe, and in the exercise of the powers herein conferred the legislature shall not be limited under any other articles or sections of the constitution.

The agitation of such a proposed amendment to a state constitution wherever necessary would in some cases be sufficient moral influence to render favorable decisions already pending in courts.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

The question was discussed at some length by Delegate Henretty, who spoke of the compensation law of the State of Washington enacted in the State of

Washington. He stated that it was the best and most progressive labor legislation of that character that had been adopted by any state in the Union, and urged that other states try to secure similar legislation.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

The committee recommended concurrence in that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "American Federation of Labor Office Building."

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended concurrence in the following portion of the Labor Representation Committee's report, contained in the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Labor Representation Committee's Report:"

We recommend to the Executive Council, and if you approve in turn, you recommend to the Atlanta Convention that the Labor Representation Committee be continued and authorized and empowered to act in unison with the Executive Council for the purpose of taking such action as may be deemed advisable and necessary for the successful consummation of the legislative demands and executive action by our Federal government, and also recommended concurrence in the following recommendation of the Executive Council:

The Executive Council takes pleasure in commending the work performed by the Labor Representation Committee, and recommends to this Convention that authority and instruction be given the Labor Representation Committee as stated in the report of the Committee just quoted.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate Homer D. Call, of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters' and Butcher Workmen:

WHEREAS, It is stated upon good authority that there are now in this country two million foreigners, who have come to America with no intention of becoming American citizens, but to remain until they earn a few hundred dollars and then return to their native land; and

WHEREAS, These men, of whom many are Butcher Workmen, are working for a wage not to exceed \$1.30 per day and living upon the 30 cents and sending back to their former home \$1.00 per day; and

WHEREAS, The low wages for which they labor and the deplorable conditions under which they exist is practically establishing the standard of living for the American laboring man; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to investigate this question at such time as is most convenient and be prepared to report back their find-

ings in this matter to the coming convention of 1912.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution was covered by action on the President's Report and that no further action was necessary. The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate Duncan McDonald, of the United Mine Workers:

WHEREAS, There occurred in the city of Indianapolis, on April 22nd last, an incident so outrageously un-American and dastardly as to shock the sensibilities of every person who has even the slightest regard for any semblance of law; and

WHEREAS, The kidnapping of John J. McNamara, who was forcibly carried from the City of Indianapolis and the State of Indiana in such a manner as to make the acts of the pirates and robber barons of olden times as well as the more modern black hand methods seem like the act of amateurs; and

WHEREAS, This villainous plot was carried out with the knowledge and consent of the Mayor of Indianapolis, the Governor of Indiana, the Chief of Police of that city and others, thereby making them the co-conspirators of this infamous outrage; and

WHEREAS, This coterie of petty politicians who permitted, aided and abetted this high-handed act of high-binders were elected to the positions they have since disgraced by the votes of workingmen; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we condemn the acts of these co-conspirators for the unholy alliance with the agents and officers of the Erectors' Association and other labor-baiting and labor-skinning agencies, thereby showing their friendship for the employing class, as against the best interests of the working class; and be it further

RESOLVED, That, realizing the futility of passing resolutions unless carried into effect, we call upon the members of the working class of the City of Indianapolis and the State of Indiana to carry this protest into effect at the next and each succeeding election, and prove their loyalty to the trades union movement and the workers generally by voting only for members of their own class and in their own interest.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution was covered by action on the President's Report and that no further action was necessary. The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 25—By Delegates F. M. Ryan, J. T. Butler and Wm. Clark, of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers:

The International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers hereby desire to extend their sincere and heartfelt thanks to the President and the Executive Council of the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor, the International and National organizations, state bodies, Central Labor Unions and other contributors, for the loyal support, moral and financial, extended to their organization in the existing crisis.

The committee recommended that the Convention express its appreciation of the thanks offered and accept the same.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 30—By Delegates Santiago Iglesias, Rafael Alonzo and Joaquin A. Becerril:

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the Free Federation of the Workmen of Porto Rico in behalf of this Congress, shall petition the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that a tour of inspection to Porto Rico be made by President Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, when possible next year, 1912, and after the adjournment of said convention.

This is the second time that the Porto Rican labor movement has appealed to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor to have one of its officials to visit the Island. The Executive Council of the Free Federation of the Workmen of Porto Rico has the following reasons to advance in favor of the approval of this resolution and they are as follows:

First—That the Porto Rican labor movement is the less favored by the visit of the high officials representing the American labor movement, due to the distance from the mainland to our island—1300 miles—which deprives the latter from the intelligent and thorough diffusion of the ideas and principles taught by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions.

Second—That it is six years since the first and last trip to this island by President Gompers, which was marked in the labor history of this territory by a great advance and progress, awakening a sincere enthusiasm and interest among all labor classes, especially the unorganized one, due to his enlightening speeches and wise teaching for humanity in general.

Third—That the Porto Rican labor movement in the same manner as the different National and International Unions, is badly in need of such closer intercourse as will better promote an intelligent, knowing and fraternal relation and bring about a clear and thorough understanding in all paramount and fundamental questions of the American Federation of Labor, with the end in view that the labor organizations in this island may be summed and be prepared to take an active and efficient part not only in

those questions which directly affect them in this territory, but also in the economical and political problems which are daily presenting themselves in the States and which are solved with great glory to them by the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

For these reasons we request the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that this resolution of the Sixth Labor Congress of the Workmen of Porto Rico be approved and accordingly President Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, be directed that he proceed to visit the island of Porto Rico when possible next year. It should be an honor for the labor classes in general in Porto Rico.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for favorable consideration if President Gompers' time shall permit of the visit. On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate Oscar F. Nelson, of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:

WHEREAS, During the past two years the Postoffice Department in its efforts to economize have done so at the expense of the working conditions of the employes of the various branches of the department by increasing hours of labor, withholding of promotions and in some instances refusing to expend the money appropriated by Congress for the extension of the postal service; and

WHEREAS, The Postoffice Department has further in its efforts to wipe out the small deficit that existed sought to increase the rates of postage on trades union and fraternal publications; and

WHEREAS, Seemingly this hurried and forced economy at the point of least resistance has been taken in order to pave the way for a much larger and permanent deficit, as the Postmaster-General and his assistants are now busily engaged in advocating "one-cent letter postage;" and

WHEREAS, There is now in existence an organization known as the "Penny Postage League" composed entirely of the same element that makes up the National Manufacturers' Association, who are striving to bring about "one cent letter postage," which would effect a saving of many millions of dollars annually to themselves, the "Big Business Interests," and which would create an enormous deficit which would have to be met by the masses who pay the taxes and who use the mail but infrequently as compared to those seeking this reduction in letter postage; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American



Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled at Atlanta, Ga., do hereby go on record as being opposed to "one cent letter postage" at least until such time as the Federal civil service employes have restored to them their inherent rights of free speech, that of petition, and the right to organize without interference, and until such time as rigid and satisfactory investigation has been made into the compensation paid the railroads for transportation of mails.

The committee reported as follows: That the portion of this resolution which seeks to improve the condition of the Federal Civil Service employes we have dealt with in the report on President's Report, and no further action is necessary. In that portion of the resolution proposing that we "go on record as being opposed to one-cent letter postage," the committee recommends non-concurrence.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Nelson—I move as an amendment that the resolution be adopted.

President Gompers—That is a negative motion. A vote of this Convention against striking this out of the resolution will accomplish the same purpose.

Delegate Nelson spoke at length in favor of the resolution and in opposition to the report of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by a vote of 80 in the affirmative to 34 in the negative.

Resolution No. 39—By Delegates Santiago Iglesias, Rafael Alonzo and Joaquin A. Recerill:

WHEREAS, The United States Congress refuses to recognize to the people of Porto Rico, which in fact is a part of the United States, the absolute right to be American citizens, and refuses to guarantee them full constitutional rights; and

WHEREAS, The Republican party now in power at its convention held in Chicago, in 1906, to nominate a presidential candidate bound itself by its platform to grant citizenship to the people of Porto Rico; and

WHEREAS, The Democratic party at its convention at Denver, Colorado, in 1906, for the nomination of a Presidential candidate, compromised itself in its platform to grant citizenship to the people of Porto Rico; and

WHEREAS, That President Roosevelt in his several messages sent annually at the opening of the session of Congress and in a special message to the national body, after his visit to Porto Rico recommended urgently the

granting of citizenship to Porto Rico; and

WHEREAS, The actual Governor of Porto Rico, Hon. George R. Colton, emphatically recognizes this fact and the Porto Rican's indisputable right to said citizenship in a document which read as follows:

"Puerto Rico, Jaf-me, Alto,  
October 30, 1911.

"I believe that the granting of full citizenship of the United States to the people of this Island is the paramount political consideration now pending in their behalf; that it would have a far-reaching beneficial effect upon their lives and activities; contribute more than anything else to their happiness and contentment and thus promote the progress and prosperity of their native land, which has become, through the interests of all affected, an inseparable part of the United States.

"The people who await this act of justice are sympathetic, lovable and loyal; there is nothing in their character incompatible with our National life, and their blending into it will add a note of commingled sweetness, patience and idealism that will perhaps be a beneficial admixture with our more rugged temperament. They and their country have become a part of us and our country; they need and are entitled, from every consideration, to all of the benefits of our institutions, sentimental and otherwise, that such affiliation should bring. They came into our country as a whole, willing and gladly, more than thirteen years ago, but no opportunity has yet been given them to become citizens without traveling fifteen hundred miles from their present residences in American territory to another part of the United States, which is, of course, out of the question for the mass of the people while during that time many thousands of foreigners, with to say the least no better qualifications than they, have immigrated to the United States and individually become citizens thereof and are today exercising their rights as such. That this inconsistency is understood by the people of the mainland, and will be eventually reconciled is shown by the fact that both of the principal political parties of the United States, in 1906, incorporated into their platforms clauses indicating their intention to support the granting of citizenship to the people of Porto Rico. That such action, has not yet been presented opportunely or in proper form to secure its passage.

"The people of Porto Rico have made their desires for citizenship manifest to all men in high governmental positions who have visited the island and practically all of such officials, including President Taft and his predecessor, President Roosevelt, have recommended to Congress that it be grant-

ed, but measures before Congress, or any other legislative body for that matter, must be followed up by those at interest and their friends upon the ground to prevent their being overlooked. Trusting, therefore, that your organization, representing as it does the largest class of the people in the Island, who are not less interested than all other classes, will adopt such means as may be deemed proper and efficacious for procuring the early consideration of this just and wise measure by Congress, and assuring you of my full co-operation in that behalf, I am,

"Very sincerely,

"GEO. R. COLTON, Governor.

"Hon. Santiago Iglesias,  
President Federation Libre de los  
Trabajadores de Porto Rico, San  
Juan, P. R."

**WHEREAS**, The lack of citizenship put the Porto Ricans in the shameful position of a people without a country, and place an arm in the hands of the reactionary element in the hands in the Island which profits by its campaigning that the United States wants to maintain us as inferior human beings; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the President of the American Federation of Labor cause to be introduced into Congress a bill having for its purpose the granting to the people of Porto Rico full American citizenship, and guarantee to the Porto Ricans the same rights possessed by the people of other States and Territories of the Nation; therefore, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor pledges to the working people and all the people of Porto Rico its sympathy, co-operation and best efforts through the press, the pulpit and every means of publicity all over the United States to secure for the one million of Porto Ricans full American citizenship and the just rights to which they are entitled; and, further be it

**RESOLVED**, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States and Congress.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution had been dealt with in the action on the President's Report and that no further action was necessary. The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 45—By Delegates T. H. Gerrey and T. J. O'Donnell, of the International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees:

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, shall take such steps as they may deem proper to secure the passage of such legislation as shall make effective at the

earliest possible moment the recommendations of resolution No. 78, adopted at the St. Louis Convention of the A. F. of L., in November, 1910.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution had been dealt with in the action on the President's report and that no further action was necessary. The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee considered Resolutions Nos. 46 and 61, and offered a substitute for the two resolutions. The resolutions and the substitute are as follows:

Resolution No. 46—By Delegates A. B. Lowe and T. J. O'Donnell, of the International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees:

**RESOLVED**, That the Erdman Act be extended to apply to maintenance of way employees and to all other organized railway employees who wish to be included in the scope of its operation.

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates A. B. Lowe, T. J. O'Donnell and T. H. Gerrey, International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees:

**RESOLVED**, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor, favor the adoption of a law compelling railway companies and railway employees to submit to investigation of any matter or matters in controversy between them regarding rules and rates. Said investigation to be conducted by commissioners chosen as follows: One by the officials, one by the employees, and the third to be chosen by the two representatives of these parties, or, in the event of their not doing so in five days, the third member of the commission, who would act as chairman, to be chosen by Messrs. Knapp and Neill, the expense to be borne by the Government in the interest of the general public and the enforcement of the award to be left to the force of public opinion and the sense of justice of the parties.

Substitute offered by the committee for Resolutions 46 and 61: That this Convention instruct the Executive Council to consider the matter of having the Federal Arbitration Law of June 1, 1898, so amended as to cover all railroad employees instead of only those employees actually engaged in any capacity in train operation or train service as the law now provides and if in its judgment such amendment is desirable it shall instruct the Legislative Committee to frame such amendments and endeavor to have them enacted into law.

Delegate Connors—I would like to inquire whether the Executive Council in considering this matter will call before

its members of the railroad organizations directly interested in this proposition. I believe in justice to the parties who will be benefited or discriminated against, as the case may be, they should be called in and heard on this proposition.

President Gompers—If there are no objections the chair will request the Secretary to make a memoranda as a minute of this Convention that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor when taking up the subject of this resolution and the recommendation of the committee invite the representatives of the organizations in whose behalf this resolution has been introduced. Is there objection? Hearing none, the Secretary will make this a minute in the records.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 47—By Delegates T. H. Gerrey and T. J. O'Donnell, of the International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees:

RESOLVED, That no man shall be imprisoned at the dictum of any judge, who has not first been tried and found guilty by a jury of his peers after a due trial at law.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution had been dealt with in the action on the President's Report and that no further action was necessary. The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 48—By O. C. Wilson, delegate from the L. U., 12854, and John B. Lennon, delegate from the Journey-men Tailors:

WHEREAS, After months of organization work, during which time no demands were made upon the employers, the members of the Button Workers' Protective Union No. 12854, of Muscatine, Ia., were locked out on the 25th of last February; and

WHEREAS, After a ten weeks' contest, during which time the Pearl Button Manufacturers' Association used every means at its command to defeat the Button Workers' organization, an agreement was reached that provided against discrimination and for the posting of schedules and the right of the workers to see the weighing of their product; and

WHEREAS, Subsequent developments conclusively prove that the employers had no intention of living up to the provisions of the agreement, as they immediately began a process of discrimination to weed out the active members; and

WHEREAS, This process of discrimination reached its climax on July 29th and 30th, when thirty-two members of the Union employed by the McKee-Bil-

ven Company were discharged because of their membership in the Union; and

WHEREAS, Every effort to settle the difficulty failed, resulting in the calling of a strike against this firm on August 21st and the levying of a 5 per cent assessment on all those still at work to support the same; and

WHEREAS, The other employers began a process of retaliation and intimidation by locking out those employed in the Pioneer plant and its branch shops, and by discharging all those who took part in the Labor Day parade and those known to pay the assessment, and by threatening to discharge all those who continued to maintain their affiliation with the Union; and

WHEREAS, This process of discrimination forced the Union to call a general strike of all the workers to preserve its existence; and

WHEREAS, The members of this Union are not entitled to strike benefits owing to its being less than one year in the American Federation of Labor, the majority of whom have been out for fifteen weeks out of the past seven months, while those who were employed at the Automatic and McKee-Bliven plants have been out for five months and all the time have been required to exist on the uncertain income from a voluntary assistance; and

WHEREAS, The members of this Union, men and women alike, have been unjustly dealt with by the police power of city, county and the state militia, arrested without cause, convicted without evidence, and cast into prison, some of whom at this time are serving on the chaingang and rock pile lately created by the Board of Supervisors of Muscatine County for the especial benefit of the striking Button Workers; and

WHEREAS, No buttons are being made, and the workers are standing as firm as ever, with excellent chances to come out of the contest victorious; and

WHEREAS, The funds coming in to support the strike are so meagre as to make us fearful that real hunger and suffering from the severity of the coming winter must ensue unless we can have additional help, of a financial character, to enable us to continue this great contest of a young union to a successful termination, which can and will be won if hunger and cold can be warded off for a short time longer; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor that we hereby express our admiration of the splendid fight already made by the Button Workers, and do hereby authorize President Gompers to indorse an appeal for funds in their behalf, and urge all affiliated Unions to help them as promptly and liberally as may be in their power.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate E. R.

Torrey, of the Central Council, Butte, Mont.:

WHEREAS, The Button Workers of Muscatine, Iowa, are now and have been on strike for many months in an endeavor to establish for themselves, the right to organize; and

WHEREAS, They are chartered by the A. F. of L., but were not in existence of a sufficient time to draw strike benefits; and

WHEREAS, If they were furnished with financial aid such as the A. F. of L. could furnish, it would mean the winning of their demands; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council, that we, as the representative body of organized labor in this community demand from the offices of the A. F. of L., and the Executive Board of the same, that they recommend to the coming Convention of that Body, that the Convention authorize an appeal for aid by the Officers of the A. F. of L. in behalf of the Button Workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That each A. F. of L. local affiliated with this Council be asked to make a similar request of their International Delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution had been dealt with in the action on the President's Report and that no further action was necessary. The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate Oscar F. Nelson, of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at the recent special session of Congress drafted a measure and had the same introduced by Senator La Follette in the Senate and by Congressman Lloyd in the House, which provides for the restoration to the Federal Civil Service employees of their inherent rights as citizens to the freedom of speech, to petition Congress for a redress of grievances, to a hearing before removal and the right to organize without the interference by departmental officials, all of which rights have been abrogated by executive order or denied by the departmental officials; and

WHEREAS, In opposition to this equitable and just measure are found the National Manufacturers' Association, who have deluged Congress with petitions protesting against the enactment of the measure, and the department officials who are anxious to perpetuate and strengthen a bureaucracy by maintaining complete control and domination of the destiny of the 400,000 Federal Civil Service employees; and

WHEREAS, Ever vigilant and holding sacred the inherent rights of free speech, that of petition, and the right to organize, it rests with our American Federation of Labor to continue to champion the cause of the "gagged" Federal

employees and to prevent the fostering of a bureaucracy that will seriously endanger the successful operation of our form of government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled at Atlanta, Ga., do hereby most heartily indorse Senate Bill No. 1162 and House Bill No. 5970, and instruct our Secretary to advise the affiliated Central Bodies by letter and through them the Local Unions of the importance of this measure and request that they petition the senators and congressmen from their states for the enactment of the measure into law.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution had been dealt with in the action on the President's Report and that no further action was necessary.

Delegate Nelson stated that while most of the subject matter of the resolution was covered in the report of the President there was one important point not covered in that report, that the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to inform the affiliated bodies of the importance of the matter and that the members of those bodies petition the congressmen and senators of their respective districts to support the Lloyd-LaFollette Bill.

After a brief discussion by Delegate Nelson, Chairman Wilson, of the committee, stated that, insofar as the committee was concerned, they had no objection to the adoption of the resolution in its entirety.

A motion was made and carried that Resolution No. 53 be adopted.

Resolution No. 58—By Santiago Iglesias, Rafael Alonzo and Joaquin A. Becerril:

WHEREAS, It is our keenest desire and our most ardent wish to have the Spanish working people of Porto Rico, Florida, Cuba, Mexico and Panama and other countries, share in the enlightenment and civilized methods and ideas which have informed American Trade Unions for generations, and to attain same it is absolutely necessary to translate into Spanish its thoughts and ideas, your conception of liberty, your methods, your aspirations and hopes, and the struggle you are sustaining for the advancement and welfare of mankind; and

WHEREAS, We believe that something of a more practical nature has to be done to place the Spanish-American workmen in closer touch with the different phases and aspects of the American labor life, we have thought of nothing more appropriate than a systematic central office of translations into Spanish, which shall undertake the publication in Spanish of everything connected with

labor under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The postage paid in forwarding such amount of reading matter from headquarters to local unions in Porto Rico, Florida, Cuba, Mexico, Panama and other Spanish speaking countries, represents a large expenditure, besides other expenses of printing, etc., without reaping the desired results of education and promoting the welfare of the labor classes at large, and especially of the membership of every Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor, now gathered in assembly, that the officers of the National and International Unions are hereby required to forward to the representatives of the American Federation of Labor in Porto Rico copies of all papers, circulars, notices and resolutions, etc., intended for publication, as well as one copy of the official journal or other newspaper published in the interests of any labor organization, for translation into Spanish and publication by the Central Office of Translation into Spanish in charge of the Free Federation of Workmen, State Branch, American Federation of Labor, San Juan, Porto Rico; and, further be it

RESOLVED, That, to defray the expenses incurred in such translations and reprinted matter for Porto Rico, Cuba, Florida, Mexico and Panama and other Spanish speaking countries, a special fund for such purpose, as hereinbefore stated, is hereby created by voluntary donations from every affiliated National and International Union; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor is hereby entrusted and charged with the collections of such donations which he will request by special circular; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the amount so collected shall be invested as aforesaid under the supervision of the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to inquire into the probable cost. On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate M. R. Pace, of the Richmond, Va., Central Trade and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, President Gompers in his annual address highly eulogized the labor press of the country for the good it is doing for organized labor in disseminating the truths of unionism and keeping before the workers what our leaders are accomplishing, and

WHEREAS, This Federation is of the opinion that the usefulness of the labor press would largely enhance if it would cease to publish advertisements of products of concerns inimical to organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the A. F. of L., in convention assembled, That no labor paper

publishing such advertisements is acting consistently with the true spirit of unionism; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this body that every labor unionist in cities where labor papers are published should esteem it a privilege to subscribe to said paper and thus contribute their mite to sustain and encourage the publisher or publishers.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution had been dealt with in the action on the President's Report and that no further action was necessary.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Pace discussed the question briefly, and urged that the resolution be endorsed, that while the general subject was covered in the report of the President the specific subject in the resolution was not.

Delegate Kelly (W. J.), discussed the matter, and stated that if members of trades unions supported labor papers as they should there would be no need to solicit advertisements, and that the papers could be used for the purpose of propaganda alone.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate J. W. Holder, of the Florida State Federation of Labor:

RESOLVED, That President Gompers' recommendation for the institution of permanent legislative committees by state Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies be indorsed, and that the incoming Executive Council be directed to urge all State Federations and Central Labor Bodies to elect such committees, with the further recommendation that legislative committees be permanent standing committees in all such representative organizations.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution had been dealt with in the action on the President's Report and that no further action was necessary. The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate James P. Holland, of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity:

WHEREAS, Local Union No. 476, a subordinate of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, which has been served with four separate and distinct injunctions within the last year and one-half, for having espoused the principles for which labor has been organized, and for refusing to handle material which is the product of non-union

conditions; and

WHEREAS, The mandate laid down in these injunctions directly aimed to cripple the carpenter organizations, and have been effective, and others in abeyance will, if granted, affect all labor organizations, more particularly those whose product depends on the support of the public and also which must rely upon the co-operation of their fellow organized workers; and

WHEREAS, This movement to restrain and restrict the activities of organized labor is being advanced and maintained by organized and centralized capital and through its agency the "Anti-Boycott Association," which employs attorneys to push such cases, and while they have been partially successful in intimidating labor unions, will probably, if left unchecked, hamper and delay the work and mission which organized labor is determined to accomplish; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is high time for organized labor to awake to the dangers of the situation confronting it, and use its powers to offset this damnable conspiracy to destroy it; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we believe this end can be accomplished successfully by and through the American Federation of Labor, and we, therefore request the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity to urge the Atlanta Convention A. F. of L. to construct some form of organized effort which can and will create a militant anti-injunction movement by the International and National Unions for presentation to public opinion of the country, and demand recognition by the dominant powers, so that no Courts of Law can be used to destroy the progressive and beneficent work which labor unions have thus far accomplished and are desirous of continuing.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution had been dealt with in the action of the President's Report and that no further action was necessary. The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 96—By Delegate W. H. Dwyer, of the United Laborers 12,992:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has gone on record by resolution, passed at the thirtieth annual Convention, in favor of organizing the migratory workers; and

WHEREAS, President Gompers in his annual report to this Convention has strongly urged the organizing of the migratory workers on a definite and systematic plan; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby authorized and directed to appropriate from the general fund of the American Federation of Labor such funds or amount of money as may be necessary for the employment of special organizers who shall devote all their time to the organizing of the unemployed, migratory workers of the North American Continent; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the president of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council and the various organizers commissioned by the American Federation of Labor, be directed to co-operate with the special organizers in a united effort for the uplift of these millions of homeless, wandering, workless workers, who now constitute the greatest menace to the organized artisans and laborers, but who, when organized on a proper plan, will form a most impregnable fortress for the advancement of human civilization and the labor movement.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution had been dealt with in the action on the President's Report and that no further action was necessary.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Dwyer, in discussing the question, stated that in the St. Louis Convention of the American Federation of Labor a similar resolution had been introduced and adopted, but practically nothing had been done to carry out its provisions except in the State of California. Delegate Dwyer spoke of the number of unions in California that had been organized under the name of United Laborers, and of the improvement that had been made in the condition of the members. He urged that other states make a greater effort to organize such labor.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate F. A. Morton:

WHEREAS, The United States prisoners are only worked a certain number of hours per day, as designated by the United States Congress; and

WHEREAS, In numbers of states of the Union the felony convicts of the state are placed on public buildings, streets, and other civic, county and state improvements, and are worked long and unreasonable hours; and

WHEREAS, There should be a uniform law in regard to hours of labor for state convicts as well as United States convicts; and,

WHEREAS, It is the sense of this Convention that state convicts should not be brought into competition with the free labor, even if shorter hours are given them; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates of this Convention be, and are, hereby instructed by this Convention to return to their respective states and start a movement on foot whereby their respective states shall pass laws governing the labor performed by state convicts, withdrawing them if possible from competition with

their free labor, or having a uniform length of hours.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution had been dealt with in the action on the President's Report and that no further action was necessary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 112—By Delegate J. W. Holder, of the Florida State Federation of Labor:**

**WHEREAS**, During the year 1912 a general election will be held at which a new President will be elected and the different political parties will make declarations of their policy and outline a platform; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That a special committee be elected by this Convention to wait upon all of the political parties, viz., the Democratic party, the Republican party, the Prohibition party, and the Socialist party, to submit to each the fundamental issues which organized labor has so frequently advocated; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That this special committee make a report to all local organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor stating the response given to it by the aforesaid political parties, without comment, in order that the members of organized labor may obtain an absolute, unbiased statement of the attitude of the several political parties on labor issues and in order to prevent our opponents from charging the officers of the American Federation of Labor with trying to deliver the votes of the members or permit the Federation to be used for partisan purposes.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to take such action as would best conserve labor's interests. The report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 143—By Delegate John M. Dowd, of the New York State Federation of Labor:**

**WHEREAS**, At the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the New York State Federation of Labor, held in the City of Oswego, N. Y., September 19-23, 1911, the all important decision of the Court of Appeals of the State of New York in declaring unconstitutional the Act passed by the Legislature of 1910, entitled Compulsory Compensation for Workmen in Certain Hazardous Occupations; it was, therefore

**RESOLVED**, That the delegate from this body to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to request the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to propose an amendment to the Federal Constitution to legalize workmen's compensation laws in the several states and national territories.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution had been

dealt with in the action on the President's Report and that no further action was necessary. The report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 147—By Delegates Thos. V. O'Connor, M. W. Kelleher, Martin Cole and P. F. A. Vaccarelli, of the International Longshoremen's Association:**

**WHEREAS**, There being a continuous influx of Asiatic labor to all Pacific coast ports of the United States, to the menace of our craft, as well as all other citizens; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed to use all their influence to the end that the immigration laws governing undesirable immigration be rigidly enforced, most especially in the northwesterly ports.

The committee offered as a substitute for Resolution No. 147, the following:

**RESOLVED**, That we reaffirm our previous declaration that the Chinese Exclusion Act should be made to apply to all races natives of Asia.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate O'Connor (T. V.),—We would like to request that the Executive Council make a little more strenuous effort to have the law enforced on the Pacific coast, and to take the matter up with the immigration authorities. The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

**Resolution No. 170—By Delegate John Mitchell, of United Mine Workers of America:**

**WHEREAS**, The use of poisonous phosphorus in the manufacture of matches causes among match workers a most loathsome disease of the bones of the face, known as "phossy jaw;" and

**WHEREAS**, The use of poisonous phosphorus in the match industry is no longer necessary and the United States is the only civilized country of commercial importance that has not already prohibited the use of this deadly poison by national legislation; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor commends and endorses the American Association for Labor Legislation in its efforts to secure early action by Congress which will absolutely prohibit the use of this unnecessary poison in American match factories, and give to the workers in this industry the same protection from unnecessary suffering and death that has been extended to the match workers in the other civilized countries of the world.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Respectfully submitted,  
WILLIAM B. WILSON, Chairman.

FRANK DUFFY,  
THOMAS F. TRACY,  
GEORGE L. BERRY,  
OWEN MILLER,  
JAMES WILSON,  
ROADY KENEHAN,  
J. J. KEEGAN,  
WILLIAM D. CLARK,  
T. V. O'CONNOR,  
HUGH STEVENSON,  
CHARLES L. BAINE,  
J. T. BUTLER,  
HOMER D. CALL,  
ANDREW FURUSETH, Sec'y.

Delegate Wilson (W. D.), in the chair.

**Report of Labor Representation Committee.**

President Gompers, for the Committee, reported as follows:

Atlanta, November 22, 1911

To the Officers and Members of the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Greeting:

The undersigned Labor Representation Committee to which was referred the communication of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party found printed in the official proceedings of the sixth day's morning session of this Convention, begs leave to report that we have given the subject due consideration, and submit the following, with the accompanying resolution, for the consideration and action of this Convention.

It is true, as stated in the communication, that the enemies of labor are making a determined effort to break the spirit of the workers in Los Angeles; that they have chosen that city as a battle ground where they hope to crush labor so completely that it will not lift its head in self-respect and struggle for its rights again; that they are making this attempt both on the economic and the political field, and that just at present the fiercest part of the struggle is on the political field.

Your committee feels gratified that the assurance is given that any action by this convention upon this subject will not be regarded as any general or other endorsement of the Socialist Party or its principles or policies, and that any action this Convention may take in the matter will not be so construed. We cannot refrain from pointing out a misconception contained in the statement of the National Executive Committee when it says that that body thoroughly under-

stands the "non-political" character of the American Federation of Labor. As a matter of fact, the trade union movement as typified in the American Federation of Labor, in its constant struggle, aims, and methods could not avoid being political even if it sought to be. Every economic, industrial and legislative effort made by the organized labor movement of our country has its political influence and significance. The American trade union movement is not non-political, it is politically non-partisan.

The situation which has existed in recent years in Los Angeles discloses the fact that since the campaign of bitter hostility toward labor inaugurated by General Harrison Gray Otis of the Los Angeles "Times," the reactionary element of the wealth possessors of that city has consistently sought to crush the spirit of labor, curb the rights guaranteed to the people of that city, and stand as an obstacle in the path of progress for the betterment and uplift of the workers. This hostile and reactionary element in Los Angeles is typified in its Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, of which General Otis of the Los Angeles "Times" is the moving spirit, and whose puppet is Mr. Alexander, the present mayor of Los Angeles and its candidate for re-election. Under Mayor Alexander's administration the fiercest and most brutal invasion of the people's rights has been the policy and the activities of that administration. It has placed the dollar before the rights of man.

For the past eighteen months the working people in the metal trades of Los Angeles have been engaged in a great struggle for economic and sociological reform, the establishment of a normal workday. The combined hostile forces of the employers in the metal trades, with the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, and General Otis are sponsors for the candidacy of Mayor Alexander. Despite the bitterness of the struggle, progress has been made in many ways so that during this period the membership in the trade unions of that city has increased more than 7,000. We have therefore the knowledge and the satisfaction that the spirit of the workers has not been and will not be either curbed or crushed, but like that of every other movement of



the people for justice, for right, for freedom, and for common uplift, will triumph over oppression and tyranny.

Fraternally yours,  
**SAMUEL GOMPERS**, Chairman.  
**JAMES O'CONNELL**.  
**FRANK MORRISON**, Secretary.  
 Labor Representation Committee.

**Resolution No. 176**—By Labor Representation Committee:

**RESOLVED**, That this, the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Atlanta, Ga., the representatives of the organized workers of America, sends greetings to the working people and all the people of Los Angeles, and extends to them our hearty endorsement and moral support in the struggle for justice and right and freedom in which they are now engaged; that the political campaign now in progress in Los Angeles typifies tyranny, oppression, a curb on the movement for the common uplift, in the candidacy of the present incumbent of the mayoralty of that city, Mr. Alexander; that, on the other hand, the candidate of the workers and of the progressive, liberty-loving people of Los Angeles is expressed in the nomination for the mayoralty of Los Angeles of Job Harriman. This Convention urges the citizenship of Los Angeles, without regard to sex or station in life, whose civic pride and love of justice dominate their action above the greed of wealth, to vote for Job Harriman and his associates for the mayoralty and municipal legislative offices.

**RESOLVED**, That inasmuch as every effort by the moneyed interests and reactionary forces of Los Angeles and elsewhere is now being concentrated in the effort to re-elect Alexander, and realizing that labor cannot entertain the hope to win its victories in matching its meagre resources to the money bags of corporate power, yet we call upon the workers and the sympathizers with progress throughout the country to give their moral support and to contribute such money as they may be enabled to afford toward the campaign fund in the effort to elect Job Harriman mayor of Los Angeles.

President Gompers moved the adoption of the report of the Committee.

The motion was seconded, and carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Ward moved that the resolutions be sent by night letter to those in Los Angeles entitled to receive it. (Seconded and carried.)

Vice-President O'Connell, on behalf of the delegates to the Convention, presented to Fraternal Delegate Roberts, of the British Trades Union Congress, a handsome chest of table silver suitably engraved. A similar chest of silver was presented to Fraternal Delegate Crinion

and Mrs. Crinion, and to Mrs. Crinion was presented a pearl brooch. A handsome diamond ring was presented to Fraternal Delegate Glockling, of the Canadian Trade and Labor Congress.

In brief addresses the fraternal delegates expressed their appreciation of the gifts.

#### **Report of Committee on Labels.**

Delegate Hayes (M. S.), Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

**Resolution No. 66**—By Delegate Frank Butterworth, of the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers:

**WHEREAS**, The International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance is contending against a determined and widespread conspiracy on the part of manufacturers of clay materials to disrupt their organization; and

**WHEREAS**, Enormous quantities of non-union brick, tile and terra cotta is used in the construction of public buildings, streets, highways, sewers, drainage projects, and other public works, to the detriment of the Alliance and its members; and

**WHEREAS**, The aforesaid materials are mainly produced by men working long hours under the most deplorable conditions and for wages too low to enable them to maintain a decent standard of living; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we instruct our Executive Council to communicate with all State Federations and City Central Bodies under the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor requesting them to use their influence to the end that all brick, tile and terra cotta used on state and municipal operations be union-made.

The Committee reported favorably on the resolution.

On motion the report of the Committee was adopted.

Secretary Hayes—That completes the report of the Committee. The report is signed by the Committee in full.

**JOHN F. TOBIN**, Chairman;  
**MAX S. HAYES**, Secretary.  
**JERE L. SULLIVAN**,  
**LOUIS KEMPER**,  
**A. M. SWARTZ**,  
**MAX ZUCKERMAN**,  
**HARRY MEYER**,  
**J. MAHLON BARNES**,  
**CHRIS KERKER**,  
**J. J. HANDLEY**,  
**CHARLES DOLD**,  
**EDWARD JOHNSON**.  
**E. J. BRAIS**,  
**A. McANDREW**,  
**ED. ANDERSON**,

**Committee on Labels.**

At 6:15 p. m. the Convention was adjourned, to re-convene at 9 a. m., Friday, November 24th.

## Eleventh Day--Friday Morning Session

The Convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Friday, November 24th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Pfell, Price (Walter V.), Sheret, Gavlak, Coffey, Kelly (W. E.), Anderson (W. H.), Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Hobbs, Davis, Wangberg, Fuller, Winchenback, Donnelly (J. L.), Lebowitz, Saum, Schaub.

Delegate Weber asked unanimous consent for the introduction of a resolution.

Objection was offered to the introduction of the resolution.

**Report of Committee on Adjustment.**

Delegate Golden, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

**Resolution No. 12**—By Delegate Homer D. Call, of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters' and Butcher Workmen:

WHEREAS, There exists at the present time in some localities a dual or seceding organization of Butcher Workmen which is attempting to deceive the rank and file of the workers of that industry and organized labor in general; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this, the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, hereby declare that the only bona fide organization of meat cutters' and butcher workmen chartered under the American Federation of Labor is the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 26**—By Delegate Jos. W. Kline, of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers

WHEREAS, The organization known as the International Subway and Tunnel Workers are taking into their organization blacksmiths and tool dressers under the name of Tool Sharpeners, the jurisdiction of said mechanics was granted the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers by the American Federation of Labor, and this jurisdiction has never been questioned; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention instruct the International of Subway and

Tunnel Workers to refrain from taking men who come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers into their organization (International Subway and Tunnel Workers) to surrender the mechanics referred to, now members of their organization, to the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers.

The committee reported as follows: No conference having been held between the two organizations, your committee could take no other action under the law. We would advise, however, that the President of the American Federation of Labor arrange a conference between representatives of the two unions and a representative of the American Federation of Labor within the next ninety days, with a view of bringing about an agreement between the two organizations involved.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that **Resolution No. 29** be amended by striking out the words "to use every means" in the eighth line of the second resolve, and the following words added at the end of the same resolve, "with the understanding that no action be taken that will involve any other organization, without first securing the consent and approval of the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor," the amended resolution to read:

**Resolution No. 29**—By Delegate A. Johannsen, of the San Francisco Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The Newspaper Solicitors' Union No. 12766, was organized and duly chartered by the A. F. of L., three years ago; and

WHEREAS, The union has endeavored to obtain a conference and agreement with their employers (The San Francisco Publishers' Association); and

WHEREAS, The San Francisco Labor Council, seeing the Justice of the Newspaper Solicitors' case has repeatedly and continually urged the San Francisco Publishers' Association to

come to an agreement with the Newspaper Solicitors' Union and failed; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the A. F. of L., has attempted to bring about an agreement between the San Francisco Publishers Association, and Newspaper Solicitors' Union No. 12766, and failed, and

WHEREAS, President Gompers, on his recent visit to California, held a three hours' conference with the Publishers' Association, and was unable to persuade said Association to even meet representatives of the Newspaper Solicitors' Union while he was present or otherwise, or even agree to accept an intermediary at any future time; and

WHEREAS, Regardless of all the foregoing continued efforts on the part of organized labor to adjust the matter, the Newspaper Solicitors' Union is not only refused recognition, but has not had a conference with their employers for a period of two years; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor stands unqualifiedly for the recognition of its affiliated Unions and collective bargaining with their employers; and

WHEREAS, The San Francisco Publishers' Association claims that the revenue producing department of their business should be absolutely under their control. If that claim is allowed it means that thousands of wage workers, such as clerks, bookkeepers, salesmen, salesladies, et cetera, are debarred from joining and receiving the protection of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, go on record as demanding of the San Francisco Publishers' Association that they deal with and recognize the Newspaper Solicitors' Union No. 12766; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention empower the San Francisco Labor Council to take charge of the controversy between the Newspaper Solicitors' Union and the San Francisco Publishers' Association, and that the San Francisco Labor Council be empowered to bring about an agreement between the San Francisco Newspaper Publishers' Association and the Newspaper Solicitors' Union No. 12766 with the understanding that no action be taken that will involve any other organization without first securing the consent and approval of the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate L. P. Philippi, of the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis and vicinity:

WHEREAS, The Carpenters represented in the St. Louis District Council went on strike for an increase of wages on April 1st, 1911; and

WHEREAS, The District Council represented some 3,500 members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and 35 members of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters; and

WHEREAS, a general 'contractors' association opposed the union by importing scabs and strike breakers, which, owing to the necessity of having union labor, they later organized as Carpenters' Union No. 1 of the Independent Allied Trades Union; and

WHEREAS, This move did not prove successful, owing to the fact that owners demanded union carpenters, affiliated with the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, In consequence thereof a committee from the Carpenters' District Council did meet with committees from the Contractors' Association endeavoring to arrive at an agreement and were prevented only by the insistence of the Contractors' Association that the union agree to use all scab work, and further agree not to strike in sympathy with or assist any kindred trade, which conditions the Carpenters' District Council would not agree to, when the contractors committee broke further conference about July 1st, 1911; and

WHEREAS, Such action of the contractors was prompted by the fact that the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters did propose to enter into, and did enter into, an agreement as drawn by the Bosses' Association, and did furnish cards to the strikebreakers, known as Independent Carpenters, and thereby throw the mantle of the American Federation of Labor about them and defeat the efforts of the United Brotherhood; and

WHEREAS, This agreement is pernicious and contrary to union principles and disruptive to the labor movement, and is an attempt on the part of a small minority to force the same outrageous condition on the 3,500 United Brotherhood men of St. Louis (see section 7, article 7, of the attached copy of agreement): Sec. 7. Employers are at liberty to employ and discharge whomsoever they see fit, but any carpenters employed by them shall be union men and shall become subject to this agreement, and must fail if the affiliation of these men with the American Federation of Labor is withdrawn; and

WHEREAS, The action of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters was strongly condemned by the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union on July 23rd, 1911, by resolution, copy of which was forwarded to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, An application from the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, foregoing reasons; now, therefore be it Branch No. 801, for affiliation with the Central Trades and Labor Union, was rejected on July 23rd, 1911, for the

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., that the action of the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union in refusing to seat Branch No. 801 of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, is hereby indorsed; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it is against the laws and principles of the A. F. of L. to approve of or maintain dual organizations in any trade, and that, therefore, the charter of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters be, and is hereby revoked, by this Convention.

Your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to arrange a conference between representatives of the two organizations involved within ninety days from the adjournment of this Convention, with a view of arranging a basis of amalgamation of the two organizations, and in case of disagreement upon the terms of amalgamation agreed upon and submitted by the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the differences shall be referred to the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for a final decision, which decision shall be rendered not later than June 1, 1912.

Should the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners fail to amalgamate with the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners on or before July 1, 1912, the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to revoke the charter of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Gilmore discussed the report of the committee, and the report of the Executive Council in regard to the amalgamation of the two organizations. He opposed the portion of the report of the committee providing that if an amalgamation does not take place at a certain date the charter of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners would be revoked. He argued that that portion of the report should be eliminated and the plan of amalgamation submitted to the two organizations before such a question was put before the Convention.

Vice-President O'Connell, chairman of the committee, in discussing the question said in part:

It might be well to state the position

of our committee on this matter right in the beginning of these cases of dual organizations and give the Convention some idea of the purpose of the committee. I want to say right in the beginning that our committee is unanimously of the opinion that there is room for but one organization of one trade in America, and we are starting right out on that line. The delegates from both the organizations appeared before our committee. The delegates of the Amalgamated Association claimed that former agreements that had been reached and former awards rendered had not been carried out. There was an apparent fear upon the part of the delegates from the Amalgamated Carpenters that they would not receive fair consideration in the matter of amalgamation. In order that that phase of the proposition might be taken care of the Executive Council is delegated by our report to see that the Brotherhood of Carpenters extends fair consideration in the matter of amalgamation to the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners. That is to say, consideration should be given in taking the members of the Amalgamated Society into the Brotherhood. That is what the amalgamation means, that consideration should be given the good standing of the members in the Amalgamated Society in order that they will not lose in their standing as trade unionists the time they had been members of their organization, but that the Brotherhood should give them the length of standing the members had in their own organization.

It will be understood right from the beginning that there will be no further haggling or squabbling over amalgamation after the first of July; that it must take place by that time. If there is an appeal of any kind it must be made in June and the amalgamation take place in July or the charter of the Amalgamated will be revoked.

Delegate Duffy (F.), in discussing the question, reviewed at some length the trouble existing between the two organizations of carpenters in various parts of the United States, stating that the trouble was more acute now than it had been in former years. He stated that the Tampa Convention of the Building Trades Department had decided there should be but one organization of

carpenters; that the Amalgamated Society and the United Brotherhood should get together in order to avoid trouble on the buildings and not involve other building tradesmen. Delegate Duffy referred to various plans of amalgamation that had been suggested during the past ten years, all of which had failed. He stated that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners were willing to amalgamate and had been for ten years, and referred in detail to some of the plans for amalgamation that had been suggested.

Delegate Wilkinson, in discussing the question, spoke briefly of the history and development of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners in the entire English-speaking world, and of the benefit that organization had been to its members. He spoke of the responsibility that would devolve upon the delegates in voting upon the report of the committee, stating that it would affect, not only the movement in America, but in other parts of the world. He referred in detail to various plans for amalgamation that had been suggested during past years, and spoke at length of reasons why they had not been accepted by both organizations.

At the close of Delegate Wilkinson's discussion the following substitute for the report of the committee was offered by Delegate Wilkinson and Delegate Gilmore, of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners:

That this, the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor now convened in Atlanta, Ga., hereby order (for the purpose of bringing harmony about between the two carpenters' organizations), that a board of arbitration be established consisting of three men, one to be selected by the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, and one to be selected by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, these two to select the third.

That the Board of Arbitration shall meet not later than December 31, 1911, for the purpose of formulating a working agreement between the two above named carpenters' organizations, and be it further provided for the purposes of the Arbitration Board that each side to this controversy shall have in attendance an equal number of representatives who shall present such matters to the Arbitration Board as may be necessary in arriving at a satisfactory conclusion in drafting the agreement."

Delegate Wilkinson moved the adoption of the substitute for the report of the committee. The motion was seconded by Delegate Gilmore.

Delegate Wilkinson requested that Mr. Herbert Crampton, General Councilman of the Amalgamated Society, be given the privilege of the floor.

Delegate Macfarlane stated that he did not think it was necessary to have any one outside of the delegates speak, as it would only tend to prolong the discussion.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.), moved that Mr. Crampton be allowed the privilege of the floor for a period of twenty minutes, inasmuch as the Amalgamated Society had so small a number of delegates present. (Seconded and carried.)

In opening the discussion Mr. Crampton stated that he would approach the matter as an international trades unionist and not deal with the squabbles that had occurred between the two organizations of carpenters. He stated that the Amalgamated Society had had no trouble with any other organization. He stated that the Amalgamated Society stood for the highest type of unionism in a financial sense. Mr. Crampton reviewed at length the efforts that had been made for a number of years to amalgamate the two organizations.

Delegate Macfarlane discussed the question at some length, and replied in detail to statements made by Mr. Crampton in regard to the per capita paid by the members of the two organizations. He stated that in England the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners was seeking to procure the amalgamation of all the carpenters' organizations in that country, and that recently the Associated Carpenters had become part of the Amalgamated Society. He stated that although the Amalgamated Society had been organized in the United States prior to the United Brotherhood it had not grown large in numbers and its financial policy had evidently not appealed to the American workmen. He stated that the United Brotherhood had obtained results for its members in increasing wages and shortening hours of labor.

Delegate Furuseth discussed the ques-

tion briefly, and said in part: The struggle that has been going on here is on the religious field, the struggle between the orthodox and the heterodox. On the political field the struggle is between absolutism and democracy. On the organization field the struggle is between compulsion and personal freedom, between the man who wants to do right because he is intellectually and morally convinced it is right, and the man who wants him to do right with a lash over his back. The American labor movement as represented in the American Federation of Labor has not grown great in that way. It has grown great by respecting the fundamental hopes and aspirations of the worker himself, respecting his ideas of freedom. And what are you trying to do? Following the trend of popular opinion—a greater New York, a greater Boston, a greater San Francisco, a greater United States, a greater carpenters' union, accession, conquest, force. Why, you are about to deny the fundamental principle upon which the labor union is founded. I cannot go with you on that idea. I do not believe it is healthy. You are about to repeat something that took place at Richmond when the cigarmaker was told, "You must use the label of the Knights of Labor and you must admit any one, no matter who he is." And who survived, the Knights of Labor or the cigarmakers? Look at this Convention, and in your mind's eye look at the Convention of the Knights of Labor when that was done. I cannot agree to the fundamental principles that are developed in the report. I cannot agree that men are property to be given by the one and taken by the other. I cannot agree that men are chattels, either individually or collectively. I cannot agree that this Convention or any power on earth has the right to say to me or to anybody else, "You shall join this or you shall join that." I agree that you have a right to educate me so that I will freely and of my own accord say, "That is correct and that is lasting." Your force idea is worthy of nothing but contempt.

Delegate Meyers discussed the question briefly, and referred to trouble that had occurred between the Amalgamated Society and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters in Washington, stating that it

had also affected the men in the other building trades. He stated he was glad that the Executive Council had made the recommendation it did in regard to the controversy and that the Adjustment Committee had seen fit to recommend a settlement after so many years of conferences and attempts to secure a settlement.

Delegate Richardson—I would like to ask on what authority the Adjustment Committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor authorize the revoking of the charter of the Amalgamated Society, and I would like to know what law or regulation of the American Federation of Labor the Amalgamated Society has violated?

Vice-President O'Connell, Chairman of the Committee—If the question is put to me I will say our authority is the action this Convention may take. We are not dealing with violations of the constitution at all; we are dealing with what we believe to be the best interests of the labor movement.

Delegate Kelly (W. J.), in beginning his discussion, stated that while the delegates who had attended several Conventions of the American Federation of Labor were no doubt familiar with the controversy there were new delegates who were not, and for that reason reviewed briefly the attempts that had been made to amalgamate the two organizations in the last few years. In discussing the insurance and benefit features of the two organizations Delegate Kelly stated that he did not join this organization for the sake of insurance, but for the benefits that the organization would bring to him in his wages and working conditions. In closing his discussion Delegate Kelly said: If you take away from us that bugaboo we have to confront when we are going before architects and owners, that there is another organization of carpenters in the American Federation of Labor who are willing to take our places, we will take care of the balance of it. I will guarantee that the individual members and the rank and file of our organization will handle that question, and handle it in the proper manner. We want them to come in with our organization in the proper manner; we are willing to give them all the benefits we are entitled to

according to the length of time of their membership in the Amalgamated Society or otherwise. This is not a jurisdiction question by any means. The members of both organizations do identically the same class of work, we work on the same buildings, in the same room, yes, and we work as partners together. There is no jurisdiction in a question of that kind.

Delegate Gehring in discussing the question stated that the question under consideration affected not alone the carpenters, but every organization represented in the Convention. He referred to the statement of the chairman of the committee that there should be but one organization in each craft in the country, and stated that the sooner that state of affairs could be brought about the better it would be for the movement. He stated that he approved of the policy adopted by the Adjustment Committee for settling the case under consideration and similar cases.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.), asked if the amalgamation took place would the United Brotherhood agree to protect the Amalgamated Society for the benefits they had paid and the system now in operation. He asked further would the United Brotherhood agree to accept the cards of those who came from the old country.

Vice-President Huber—We are doing that now.

Delegate Hayes—Are the Amalgamated men guaranteed in the matter of benefits? Will it be incorporated in the constitution or agreement that the Amalgamated men will be protected in the benefits which they have paid?

Vice-President Huber—We have done that heretofore.

Delegate Hayes discussed the question at length, referred to resolutions he had introduced and arguments he had made in former conventions in favor of a peaceful solution of the differences between the Amalgamated Society, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and other organizations in which similar controversies had arisen. He stated that he intended to vote in favor of the report of the committee with the understanding that the Amalgamated Society men would be protected in their benefits.

On motion debate was closed.

The motion to adopt the substitute offered by Delegate Wilkinsons and Delegate Gilmore was lost.

Vice-President Huber requested a roll call on the motion to adopt the report of the committee.

Roll Call on the Report of the Adjustment Committee on Resolution No. 32 and the Report of the Executive Council on the Question of the U. S. Carpenters—Amalgamated Carpenters.

Ayes—Kennedy (A. J.), Koch, Kerker, Noschang, Klapetzky, Fischer (Jacob), Anderson (Ed.), Kline, Golden, Flannagan, Franklin (J. A.), Casey, Weyand, Flynn (Joseph), Sovey, Tobin (J. F.), Baine, Hallinan, Schaffer, Dano, Proebstle, Kemper, Ward, Kugler, Sullivan (John), Butterworth, Huber, Duffy (Frank), Macfarlane, Young, Flynn (T. F.), Kelly (Wm. J.), Swartz, Tveitmo, Gengenbach, Goelnitz, Gompers, Tracy (T. F.), Barnes, Smith (J. T.), Conway, Pfeil, Christman, Zuckerman, Thomas, Hughes (A. C.), Scoby, McNulty, Collins; Fay, Yount, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Glass, McNamara, Kinsella, Smith (Fred), Rickert, Larger, Meyer, Landers, Altman, Rosenberg, Block, Kleinman, Polakoff, Dubinsky, Hayes (D. A.), Cain, Pierce, Ring, Duncan, Balch, Russell, Lawlor, Moffitt, Shalvoy, D'Alessandro, Etchison, D'Andrea, Marshall, Kenahan, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Miller (Geo.), Pattberg, Williams (John), Selway, McSorley, Taggart, Brock, Bryan, Gehring, O'Connor, Kelleher, Cole, Vaccarelli, O'Connell, Fry, Keegan, Buckley, Handley, Lowe, O'Donnell, Gerry, Call, Daly, Rumsey, O'Sullivan, Bobb, Hynes, Walsh, Mitchell (John), Hayes (F. J.), Walker, McCullogh (E. S.), Wilson (W. R.), Cannon, Williams (J. C.), Mahoney, Valentine, Frey, Curran, Duffy (P. F.), Murtaugh, Weber (J. N.), Miller (Owen), Carey (D. A.), Winkler, Hedrick, Skemp, Evans (D. J.), Moorhouse, Tazelaar, Kelly (Sam'l.), Carey (J. T.), Wilson (Jas.), Gernon, Woll, McGivern, Clark (Wm. D.), Alpine, Tracey (Wm.), Murphy, Malley, Nelson, Menge, Cartlidge, Berry, Marks, Johnston, Malin, Sultor, Perham, Soyster, Miller (J. F.), Gallagher (T. J.), Ryan (M. F.), Mounts, Nolte, Gallagher (J. J.), Mahon, Taber, Commons, Lilly, Barry, Suarez, Peterson, Mitchell (M. W.), Short, Bridwell, Kafer, Connors, Brails, Lennon, Biggs, Tobin, Hughes (T. L.), Neer, McLaughlin, Hermann, Golden, Morgan, Williams (T. J.), McAndrew, Evans (E. Lewis), Lynch, Morrison, Hayes (M. S.), Stevenson, McCullough (T. W.), Birnes, Cooke, DeVeaux, Mikel, Holder, McKenna, Pfeiffer, O'Brien, Myers, Durnin, Wilkerson, Donoghue, Leary, Dowd, Graney, Ryan (E. H.), Levin, Iglesias, Shay, Blakey, Henretty, Weber (F. J.), Buckley, Hirsch, Tharp, Heck, O'Brien (W. H.), Ferry, Carroll, Conner, Carter, Sontheimer, Haines, Mead, Schaffer, Briggs, Scoggan, Gray, Schneider.

Abell, Coleman, Fahey, Agethen, Wendt, Albrecht, Ullrich, Welsh (E. F.), Pace, Philippi, James, Russi, Johannsen, Leonard, Smith (A. W.), Noonan, Wilby, White, Morton, Voll, Becerril, Ford, Forehand, Dwyer, Engdahl, representing 15,491 votes.

**Nays**—Gilmore, Wilkinson, Richardson, Humphrey, Nestor, Donlin, Ward (Jas.), Flynn (Patrick), Furuseth, Mulcahy, Hassenpflue, Wright, Bohm, representing 425 votes.

**Not voting**—Ryan (F. M.), Butler, Clark (Wm.), Crozier, Healy, Brennan, Friel, Mangan, Roach, Coakley, Price, Lewis (T. L.), McDonald, Moyer, Hannah, Sheret, Gaviak, Bird, Carolan, Curtis, Hatch, Gallagher (A. J.), Lawrence, Smith (Jos.), Coffey, Smith (T. J.), Kelly (Wm. E.), Jones (Jerome), Anderson (W. H.), Lowell, DeYoung, Torrey, Hurley, Hardy, Jones (J. R.), Munn, Smith (L. W.), Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Cox, Skemp (Meta), Quick, Hobbs, Kennedy (T. G.), Doherty, Holland, Davis, Wangberg, Fuller, Taylor, Alonso, Ingram, Winchenback, Smith (C. T.), Morris, Wilson (O. C.), McAndrews (J. J.), Belt, Welsh, Creamer, Donnelly (J. L.), Cornette, Lebowitz, Dunne, Saum, Ham, East, Manning, Schaub, Crinlon, Roberts, Glockling, representing 1324 votes.

**President Gompers**—The morning papers published a statement which I will ask the secretary to read. After he has read it I desire the indulgence of the convention for a few minutes in order that I may take cognizance of it.

Secretary Morrison read the following article from a newspaper:

"New Orleans, La., November 23.—Witnesses for the prosecution in the Los Angeles Times dynamiting case have been threatened with death after having withstood repeated efforts of agents of the defense to bribe them, declared William J. Burns, the detective, in an address today before the state secretaries' section of the American Bankers' Association. Mr. Burns bitterly arraigned Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor; Eugene V. Debs and other 'would-be-leaders' of organized labor, but declared that nine-tenths of organized labor is opposed to violence and not in sympathy with the efforts of the small socialistic element to destroy organized society and lessen respect for the laws of the country.

**Says Debs Incited to Murder.**

"He declared that Eugene Debs, in a recent signed article in a periodical which Burns suggested should be known as 'The Appeal to Treason,' wrote in a vein calculated to incite men to the worst possible violence. 'And,' he said, 'I interpreted the article to mean that J. Pierpont Morgan, Guggenheim, General Otis and myself should be removed.

"If they get me," he declared with feeling, 'there will be somebody else to

take up the work and continue the fight for the protection of society. I have a consciousness of having performed my full duty, with the observance of an absolute regard at all times for the rights of every individual affected and prompted only by a desire to see that justice is done.'

**Confidence Voted in Burns.**

"Mr. Burns' discussion of the McNamara case was at the requests of the state secretaries' organization and followed his address before that body on the subject 'Modern Methods of Protecting Banks.'"

"A rising vote of confidence in Mr. Burns' integrity was extended him by the meeting.

"Mr. Burns only briefly discussed the Los Angeles case, and said if it had not been for the unfounded attacks upon him made by Samuel Gompers and others he would refrain from saying anything about it until he was called upon to testify.

"While declining to go into details of the prosecution's evidence in the case, he said he was satisfied that John J. McNamara and James B. McNamara would be convicted.

"And, gentlemen," he said, 'It is a significant fact that no dynamiting has occurred since the arrest of the McNamaras.'

**Fund of \$1,000,000 for McNamaras.**

"Mr. Burns repeated the declaration which he made several weeks ago that a fund of over \$1,000,000 had been collected or pledged for the defense of the McNamaras.

"When I first made that statement," he said, 'Gompers promptly announced that it was a lie. But he did not give any figures nor did he inform the public as to the source of some of this large aggregation of money. He contented himself with saying that I was a liar, which only goes to show the character of the men who are attacking me.

"I tell you, they have the money and they have endeavored to buy our witnesses. They have offered some of the prosecution witnesses their own price, and when these witnesses refused to accept the offers and expressed themselves in that manner they have been threatened with death. We have actually found it necessary to hide some of our witnesses.

"But, gentlemen, nine-tenths of organized labor are not in sympathy with that character of people, and it will be demonstrated unquestionably that they do not stand for violence.'

**Plea for Better Officials.**

"Mr. Burns closed with a plea for bankers and business people to take a greater interest in the selection of public officials. It is the highest obligation of citizenship, he said, to see that decent, honest men are elected to office. 'Red-flag anarchists, parading under the cloak of socialism, are not innumerable in this country,' he said, 'and they will go to any



extreme in enforcing their demands, even to the taking of human life.

"The only remedy for this growing evil, he said, was an awakening of the honest citizenship of the United States to a more sincere and active interest in its political and social problems.

#### Darrow Denies Charges of Burns.

"Los Angeles, November 23.—'What Burns is reported to have said is in keeping with what he has said previously,' said Attorney Clarence S. Darrow, chief counsel for James B. McNamara, referring to the address of Detective William J. Burns today in New Orleans. 'There is not a word of truth in it.'

"Officials of the district attorney's office would not discuss the statement."

President Gompers—Statements of that character, no matter from whence they emanate, have an influence upon that portion of the public that believes everything it sees in print, and it is to take cognizance of that fact which primarily prompts me to ask your indulgence for a few minutes. I do not think it is necessary to enter into a defense of my utterances or my action either in connection with the McNamara defense or any other activity as a labor man and as a citizen. You will notice that from the day J. J. McNamara was kidnapped out of his home and out of the state of Indiana there has been a staging of the entire procedure. I was not present when the offices of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers were invaded, but it is common knowledge that the newspaper representatives in publishing their accounts stated that they were in the offices of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers immediately after the invasion by Burns, Drew and that coterie. It has been the action of Burns ever since, and including that day, to have the entire proceedings spectacular and sensational in order to attract the attention of the newspapers and the general public.

I take it that the business of a detective, in theory at least, is to detect crime and the perpetrators of criminal acts; but it seems to me this has been the only case that has come under my observation in which a detective has tipped off in advance to newspaper men the details of an invasion or of an arrest. You can scarcely take up the newspapers for two successive days without finding some utterance of Burns, making an attack upon some of my colleagues and my-

self, affirming, charging and accentuating his conviction that the men incarcerated in Los Angeles are guilty and will be convicted. He has not only broken into the daily press, but he has broken into the magazines. And whoever heard of a detective who claims to have run down men guilty of crime trying their case in the public press, in the magazines and on the forum while the case was still pending before the court?

Burns makes the charge that efforts were made to bribe witnesses for the prosecution, and, failing in that, they were threatened with bodily injury. That statement is answered by Mr. Clarence S. Darrow, who denies and repudiates it. I will take my chance before the American public in standing with Clarence Darrow as against Detective Burns.

Burns repeats a statement he made several weeks ago, which he has repeated since on several occasions, that the American Federation of Labor has accumulated or gathered a sum of over a million dollars for the defense of the McNamaras. That statement is absolutely untrue. There is a double purpose in such a statement. One purpose is to create the impression in the minds of the general public that no such fund can be legitimately used in the defense of the McNamara boys. The other is to convey to the minds of the working people of our country the impression that there is already so great a fund at our command to defend these men that it will not be necessary for them to assist, and they will therefore be deterred from contributing their pennies so that the men may be properly defended.

From the entire procedure of Burns in this case and from his unsavory record in many other cases, in one or the other category he must be placed, either that he is a malicious, malignant man who undertakes to hunt men the same as we find man hunters in aboriginal countries or that he is so unsound in his mind that he deludes himself.

During the session of the National Association of Manufacturers a few months ago Mr. Kirby, its president, made a declaration in regard to an immense fund at our command to defend the McNamara brothers. He said these funds were be-

ing wickedly and illegally used. At that time I was called upon by the newspaper representatives in Washington, and by the representatives of the newspaper agencies who asked me what I had to say in regard to it. I not only repudiated the accuracy of that statement, but made the offer that bor would be thrown open to Mr. Kirby or the books and papers and financial accounts of the American Federation of Laundry committee of citizens he might select, provided he would give an equal opportunity to me to appoint a committee to investigate the accounts and the books of the National Association of Manufacturers. And that offer, insofar as I have the authority to make it, is open to Detective Burns.

Burns has said on the platform and in the newspapers repeatedly that detectives as a rule are the greatest set of scoundrels who have ever gone unwhipped by justice, and the detectives so accused by Burns turn upon him and say, "You're another." That Mr. Burns delivered an address before the bankers and their secretaries is quite appropriate. That these bankers and their secretaries should tender to him a rising vote of confidence in his integrity raises the question as to the validity and the worth of a vote of confidence and the source from which it is given. I ask if this vote of confidence in the integrity of Burns has been given by these bankers and their secretaries, what body of decent, law-abiding citizens, citizens who insist on honest legislation, clean politics and high civic standards would give a vote of confidence in the integrity of the bankers who voted confidence in the integrity of Burns? The fact that there has grown into the minds of the people of our country a determination to insist that the legislation of our country shall be within the power of the people by the initiative and the referendum and the recall is a vote of want of confidence in the powers which have so long been exercised by politics, legislation and judicial decisions.

Burns refers to violence and says that he is saving society and when he shall go others will arise like him to save society. God save society if he is to be the one to save it! Burns has said that I

am not a representative of labor. Well, I am sure I do not get my credentials from him and his ilk. I venture to say that this Convention, as has previous conventions, very clearly represents the voice of the great rank and file of the workers who are organized in our unions. I am perfectly willing that the verdict of the men of labor shall be registered as to whether I try to interpret their hopes and aspirations, and whether I am trying to do the best that is in me in order to serve the interests and secure the rights of labor, and whether I try to comport myself as somewhat of a decent citizen.

I have not the least doubt that when the case against the McNamaras shall be opened and the prosecution has its inning some statements will be laid before the jury that until refuted will look bad; but as in every other manufactured statement, in every other slander, in every other statement that traduces the character and the honor of a man, when a fair opportunity is presented for the exposure of such statements the real facts will be made known. Millions have been contributed by organized labor haters, all the resources at their command have been used to aid the prosecution, and it will take some money to follow and trace and unmask those who have conspired against the lives of innocent men.

We have not anything like the fund they charge, we have not half nor quarter of it, but we do need funds. There are hundreds of witnesses to take from their homes in other parts of the country, some of them living as far as 3,000 miles from Los Angeles. These witnesses cannot be taken to Los Angeles and then sent home, to be called at any time when needed, and then sent back again. They must be on the ground and kept there. All this will require funds. I do not know what may come hereafter. I am sure that we have not raised and that we shall not be able to raise a fund that will be entirely adequate. Bear in mind that the case now on trial, in which I think but three jurors have so far been obtained, although it has been on for six weeks, will be prolonged and expensive. If J. B. McNamara should not be acquitted, if there is some disagreement, which I trust there will not be, in the jury it

may involve another trial. The attorneys have been compelled to close up their homes and their business to take up their residence in Los Angeles, not knowing how long they will have to remain. They have had to give up their offices and they have no other clients. We cannot allow our men to be sacrificed upon the altar of greed and we are not going to do it, Burns or his masters to the contrary notwithstanding.

They may abuse me, they may call me hard names, they may say anything they please about me and I care not a jot for it; but I am not going to permit them to say anything or do anything that reflects upon our movement or our men without resenting it with whatever power I may have at my command.

Vice-President Perham—I desire to offer a motion, as follows:

**RESOLVED**, That it is the sense of this convention that if the report is true that the Secretaries' Section of the American Bankers' Association in New Orleans recently adopted a vote of confidence in the integrity of so-called Detective Burns, after the untruthful and scurrilous statements made by him at that meeting and in other places regarding the representatives of organized labor, that such action on the part of the organized bankers is not calculated to increase the confidence of the people in their organization, but casts a reflection upon the intelligence and integrity of that body.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

At 12:45 p.m., the Convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2:30 p.m. of the same day.

## Eleventh Day—Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 2:30 p. m., Friday November 24th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Pfisl, Sheret, Gavlak, Coffey, Kelly (Wm. E.), Anderson (W. H.), Hurley, Hardy, Jones (J. R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Hobbs, Davis, Wangberg, Fuller, Winchenback, Belt, Welsh (Thos. E.), Creamer, Donnelly, Saum Schaub.

### Report of Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Golden, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

**Resolution No. 40**—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, W. A. Neer, R. J. Hermann and John P. McLaughlin, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers.

WHEREAS, The charter of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs gives them the sole right and jurisdiction to have in their organization all men driving wagons and automobiles of all classes; and

WHEREAS, There exists in the City of New York, Federal Union No. 9463, titled, Newspaper and Mail Deliverers; and

WHEREAS, This Federal Union has in its membership nine hundred newspaper wagon drivers; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By this Convention, that the Executive Council stand instructed to notify this Federal Union No. 9463, and any other Federal Union, in any part of the country, that they be compelled,

and are ordered, to turn over all drivers and chauffeurs to the International Organization of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee concurs in the resolution, with instructions to the President of the American Federation of Labor to see to it that members of Federal Union 9463, who are mailers shall be transferred to the organization having jurisdiction over them.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Ward in discussing the case said:

I have no objection to the report of the committee. I have no objection to one part of the resolution, but that part which reads that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters had jurisdiction over all drivers of teams and chauffeurs is not correct according to the decision of the St. Louis Convention. At that time the Brotherhood of Teamsters asked for jurisdiction over all chauffeurs, and they were granted jurisdiction where other organizations had not already that jurisdiction within their organizations.

Vice-President O'Connell—The committee is dealing with this resolution only as it applies to this federal union in New York.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.), in discussing the question, said:

We did not know there were any strings to the decision of the St. Louis Convention. We understood that it would not interfere with any jurisdiction already granted, and we had prior to that time been granted jurisdiction over teamsters and chauffeurs employed in breweries.

Delegate Kugler in discussing the question said:

That question was settled years ago, and at this late date we do not desire to waive any jurisdiction as far as we are concerned. The teamsters in our organization decided long ago which organization they wanted to belong to and they are going to remain in our organization.

Delegate Dunne discussed the question at length, going into the details of the organizing of Federal Union No. 9468. He referred to the growth of that organization and the manner in which it had raised the wages and decreased the hours of labor of the men connected with it. He referred to contracts between his organization and the employers, and quoted from such contracts. He opposed the report of the committee and desired to have the resolution referred to the Executive Council without instructions.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.) discussed the question further, and replied to a number of statements made by Delegate Dunne. He objected to other organizations claiming teamsters.

Delegate Kugler—I object to Brother Tobin saying the Brewery Workers have Teamsters in their organization. They have not.

Vice-President Mitchell, who was presiding, stated that the objection would be noted.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Klapetzky—There is not a freer forum, I believe, in the world than is the Convention of the American Federation of Labor. I believe, however, the delegates ought to consider when they start an argument that we do not want to stay here all winter and they should make their arguments as brief as possible.

The chairman requested the delegates to be as brief as possible in their discussion.

Resolution No. 43—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, W. A. Neer, John P. McLaughlin and A. J. Hermann, of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, find, in many sections of the country, that the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union have in their membership men who distinctly drive wagons and automobiles; and

WHEREAS, We believe they are entirely outside the bakery shop, and not bakers; and

WHEREAS, Our charter grants us jurisdiction over all classes of drivers on all kinds of wagons and automobiles; and

WHEREAS, We have at the present time several local unions of bakery wagon drivers and chauffeurs organized and chartered under our jurisdiction; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union of America to turn over to the International Organization of Teamsters and Chauffeurs, all drivers who are now members of their organization.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the matter be referred to the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with instructions to call a conference of the representatives of the two organizations involved, and a representative of the American Federation of Labor, within ninety days after the adjournment of this Convention, with the object of bringing about an agreement between the two organizations.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed by Delegate Kerker, who spoke of the controversy between the Bakers' International Union and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in regard to the drivers. He objected to the adoption of the resolution.

Vice-President O'Connell stated that the committee did not recommend the adoption of the resolution, but reference to the Executive Council because a conference had not been held between the two organizations, as recommended by the St. Louis Convention.

The subject was discussed at length by Delegate Kerker, who defended the right of the Bakers' organization to retain the drivers.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.), stated that the Teamsters' representatives were per-

fectly willing to go into a conference with the representatives of the Bakers. He spoke at length of the claims of the Brotherhood of Teamsters that all drivers belonged to that organization, and objected to other organizations claiming drivers.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 83—By Delegate J. P. Holland of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity:

WHEREAS, The economic conditions of labor demand absolute cohesion of the organized workers, unity of action and co-operation; and

WHEREAS, The policy of the employer is to keep apart the interest of his employes, thus using one craft against another where more than one is employed; and

WHEREAS, We deeply regret the necessity of this action against a craft like ours employed in various houses, places, etc., but do so in the most friendly spirit, believing that thus the interest of each can be made common, and the required co-operation secured; and

WHEREAS, The culinary workers are employed by the same employers and in the same houses, places, etc., as are the members of the American Federation of Musicians and our contention is that if both would act in the spirit of solidarity and co-operate, the grievances of one would be the concern of the others, hence conditions for both would advance and be uplifted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Atlanta, Ga., 1911, to devise and create a plan whereby this much desired object can be accomplished, so that in future conjoint action must be taken by the Hotel and Restaurant International Alliance and the Bartenders' International League of America and other culinary trades and the American Federation of Musicians, on any grievances arising in a house, place, etc., by either one or the other mentioned organization.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee is of the opinion that this matter is one for the two International Unions involved to decide. Therefore we recommend that the whole matter be submitted to the American Federation of Musicians and the Hotel and Restaurant International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that the resolution be amended by striking out the words "or part" in line 11 of the first resolve and the words "and other places"

be inserted in their place, the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 92—By Delegates Wm. J. Cooke, Harry DeVeaux and Jos. Birnes, of the White Rats Actors' Union of America:

WHEREAS, During the convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Norfolk, Va., the jurisdiction of the Actors' International Union was defined and for the purpose of reaffirming this decision, the White Rats Actors' Union do offer this resolution in proper form; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is hereby conceded that all parts of a theatrical production occurring behind the footlights and in front of the scenery after same has been placed in position by the stage mechanics, the same being specialties, acts, illusions, acrobats and any and all forms of entertainment known as either legitimate, variety or vaudeville, presented as such in any theatre, music hall, circus, fair ground, or park or other places in which any form of entertainment is produced shall be under the jurisdiction of the White Rats Actors' Union of America; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That nothing in the resolution is to be construed so as to interfere with the legitimate performance of musicians recognized as such by the American Federation of Musicians, or in any way conflict with the jurisdiction already conceded to International or national unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The committee reported that the two organizations involved had agreed to the changes recommended in the resolution, and that the committee concurred in the resolution as amended.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate DeVeaux, Delegate Barry, Delegate Birnes and Vice-President O'Connell.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

The committee reported on that portion of the Executive Council's report under the caption "United Brotherhood of Carpenters—Amalgamated Woodworkers." The secretary of the committee stated it would not be necessary to read the entire report of the Executive Council on that subject, but read the following recommendation at the close of the Executive Council's report:

"Having been unable to secure the amalgamation of the Carpenters and Woodworkers, the entire matter is again placed before you for instructions as to what further action to take."

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the president of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to arrange a conference between representatives of the two organizations involved, within ninety days from the adjournment of this Convention, with a view of arranging a basis of amalgamation of the two organizations. In case of disagreement upon the terms of amalgamation agreed upon and submitted by the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the difference shall be referred to the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for a final decision, which decision shall be rendered on or before June 1, 1912. Should the Amalgamated Woodworkers fail to amalgamate with the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners on or before July 1, 1912, the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to revoke the charter of the Amalgamated Woodworkers forthwith.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Mulcahy—I would like to ask whether there is any penalty attached to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters in the event they refuse to abide by the decision that may be reached by the Executive Council, as described in their report.

Vice-President O'Connell, Chairman of the Committee—We take it for granted that the arrangement made by the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that is acceptable to the Executive Council that would not be agreed to by the Brotherhood would result in the Executive Council not carrying out the instructions of this Convention to revoke the charter of the Amalgamated Woodworkers.

The question was discussed at length by Delegate Mulcahy, who objected to the report of the committee. He spoke of the long connection of the Amalgamated Woodworkers with the American Federation of Labor and the efforts they had made to organize the men of their trade, improve their conditions and raise their wages. He spoke of the efforts that had been made for some years to amalgamate the two organizations, and in closing his discussion said:

If you decide here that we must abide

by that report of the committee it will not settle the question for all time, as some of the delegates wish to do, because this condition will come about. You cannot amalgamate successfully two sets of men whose feelings are so far apart. I have had enough experience in the factories to know as much about this as any one else. They have already driven over twenty thousand men out of the labor movement. They have got some men, it is true, but in the vast number of centers of industries today there is very little effort towards organizing those men, and there is less success attained than ever before. If the Convention, instead of adopting such a report as that, would provide some way by which the factory woodworkers could maintain an organization, the men in the factories, who have been striving to maintain an organization against great opposition would be better off and so would this building trade in controversy with us if they would be confined to some extent to their own jurisdiction. They are reaching out in every avenue possible and destroying the efforts that have been made for years.

Delegate Duffy (F.) discussed the question, and referred briefly to the efforts that had been made in past years to amalgamate the two organizations. He spoke of the efforts that had been made by the United Brotherhood to secure such an amalgamation and the terms that had been offered by them to the Woodworkers. He spoke of the amount of money that had been spent by the United Brotherhood for organizers each year and of the work done by those organizers in building up the organization. In concluding Delegate Duffy said:

We are willing now, as we have been, to amalgamate. We want to get together according to the terms of the Minneapolis and Toronto agreements. We are willing to do that. The men who have left the Woodworkers have not gone out and been lost. They have come over to the Brotherhood of Carpenters and we have improved their condition.

We have increased their wages, decreased their hours and we propose to be liberal with them.

The question was discussed further by Delegate Woll, Delegate Mulcahy and President Gompers.

At the conclusion of the discussion Secretary Morrison proceeded with the roll call, which resulted as follows:

**Roll Call on the Report of the Committee on Adjustment on the Question of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters—Amalgamated Association of Woodworkers.**

**Ayes**—Kennedy (A. J.), Koch, Kerker, Noschang, Klapetzky, Fischer (Jacob), Anderson (Ed.), Kline, Golden, Flannagan, Franklin, Casey, Weyand, Flynn (Joseph), Sovey, Tobin (J. F.), Baine, Hallinan, Schaffer, Dano, Proebstie, Kemper, Ward (E. F.), Kugler, Sullivan (John), Huber, Duffy (Frank), Macfarlane, Young, Flynn (T. F.), Kelly (Wm. J.), Swartz, Tveitmo, Gengenback, Goellnitz, Gompers, Tracy (T. F.), Barnes, Smith (J. T.), Zuckerman, Thomas, McNulty, Collins, Fay, Yount, Comerford, Hannahan, Glass, McNamara, Healy, Brennan, Friei, Smith (Fred), Rickert, Larger, Meyer, Landers, Altman, Bloch, Hayes (D. A.), Cain, Pierce, Nestor, Duncan, Bianchi, Russell, Lawlor, Moffitt, Shalvov, D'Alessandro, Etchison, D'Andrea, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Miller (Geo.), Pattberg, Williams (John), Selway, McSorley, Taggart, Gehring, O'Connor, Kelleher, Cole, Vaccarelli, O'Connell, Fry, Keegan, Buckley, Handley, Lowe, O'Donnell, Gerrey, Price, Call, Daly, Rumsey, O'Sullivan, Bobb, Hynes, Walsh (Thos.), Mitchell (John), Hayes (F. J.), Lewis, Walker McCullough (E. S.), McDonald, Wilson (W. B.), Moyer, Cannon, Williams (J. C.), Mahoney, Valentine, Frey, Curran, Duffy (P. F.), Murtaugh, Miller (O.), Carey (D. A.), Winkler, Hedrick, Skemp, Evans (D. J.), Moorhouse, Tazelaar, Kelly (Sam'l.), Carey (J. T.), Wilson (James), Gernon, Woll, Donlin, McGivern, Ward, Clark (W. D.), Alpine, Tracey (Wm.), Murphy, Malley, Nelson, Menge, Cartledge, Berry, Marks, Johnston, Sultor, Perham, Soyster, Miller (J. F.), Gallagher (T. J.), Ryan (M. F.), Mounts, Nette, Gallagher (J. J.), Mahon, Taber, Commons, Lilly, Barry, Suarez, Peterson, Mitchell (M. W.), Short, Bridwell, Kaefel, Connors, Brals, Lennon, Bligs, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes (T. L.), Neer, McLaughlin, Hermann, Golden, Morgan, Williams (T. J.), Evans (E. Lewis), Lynch, Morrison, Hayes (Max), Stevenson, McCullough (T. W.), Holder, McKenna, O'Brien (Joe), Myers, Durbin, Smith (Jos.), Donoghue, Leary, Dowd, Graney, Ryan (E. H.), Lavin, Smith (T. J.), Shay, Blakey, Henretty, Weber (F. J.), Buckley, Hirsch, Heck, O'Brien (W. H.), Torrey, Ferry, Carroll, Hassenpflue, Carter, Sontheimer, Haines, Mead, Schaffer, Briggs, Scoggan, Schneider, Abell, Coleman, Doherty, Pahey, Agesthen, Albrecht, Hoiland, Ullrich, Welsh, Pace, Taylor, Philipp, Russi, Johannsen, Ingram, Leonard, Smith (A. W.), Noonan, Wilby, White, Smith (C. T.), Morton, Voll, Bohm, Forehand, Dwyer, Ham, Engdahl, representing 15,374 votes.

**Nays**—Gilmore, Wilkinson, Crozier,

Richardson, Humphrey, Hughes (A. C.), Scooby, Brock, Flynn (Patrick), Furuseth, Carolan, Mulcahy, Sharp, Conner, Wright representing 409 votes.

**Not voting**—Butterworth, Ryan (F. M.), Butler, Clark (Wm.), Conway, Pfeil, Christman, Feeney, Kinsella, Mangan, Rosenberg, Kleinman, Polakoff, Dubinsky, Ring, Marshall, Kenahan, Bryan, Roach, Coakley, Weber (J. N.), Hannah, Sheret, Mallin, Gavlak, Bird, McAndrew, Curtis, Hatch, Birnes, Cooke, DeVeaux, Mikel, Gallagher (A. J.), Lawrence, Pfeiler, Wilkerson, Coffey, Iglesias, Kelly (Wm. E.), Jones (Jerome), Anderson (W. H.), Lowell, DeYoung, Hurley, Hardy, Jones (J. R.), Munn, Smith (L. W.), Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Cox, Skemp (Meta), Quick, Gray, Hobbs, Kennedy (T. G.), Wendt, Davis, Wangberg, Fuller, James, Alonso, Winchenback, Morris, Becerril, Wilson (O. C.), McAndrews, Ford, Belt, Welsh (T. E.), Creamer, Donnelly (J. L.), Cornette, Lebowitz, Dunne, Saum, East, Manning, Schaub, Crinlon Roberts, Gockling, representing 1,457 votes.

Delegate Short moved that the first order of business Saturday morning be the report of the Committee on Building Trades. (Seconded.)

Vice-President O'Connell suggested that the motion be amended to provide that the report of the Committee on Building Trades be the first order of business following the concluding of the report of the Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Short accepted the amendment, and the motion as amended was carried.

Delegate Wilson (J.), moved that a night session be held, to convene at 8 o'clock. (Seconded.)

The announcement was made that the Convention Hall could not be obtained for the evening session, and Delegate Wilson stated that he would change his motion to read that such a night session be held at some place to be arranged for.

Vice-President Duncan moved that as a substitute the rule to adjourn at noon on Saturday be suspended and the Convention remain in continuous session on Saturday until the business of the Convention was finished. (Seconded.)

Delegate Lewis (T. L.) moved that the motion offered by Vice-President Duncan be laid upon the table. (Seconded, but not carried.)

The motion offered by Vice-President Duncan was carried by a vote of 152 in the affirmative to 58 in the negative.

Delegate Walker (J. H.)—I move that

the rules be suspended and that we meet tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Moffitt moved that the election of officers be made a special order of business for 10 o'clock Saturday morning.

Delegate Hayes (M. F.), moved as an amendment that the election of officers be made a special order of business for 2 o'clock Saturday afternoon. (Seconded.)

Delegate Hirsch moved as an amendment to the amendment that the election of officers be made a special order of business immediately after the conclusion of the report of the Committee on Building Trades. (Seconded.)

Delegate Carter moved as a substitute for the whole that the election of officers be held after all other business had been transacted.

The motions offered by Delegates Moffitt and Hirsch were lost.

The motion offered by Delegate Hayes, that the election be made a special order of business for 2 o'clock Saturday was carried.

Delegate Hayes (F. J.)—I find in here in the Cincinnati Enquirer a statement I think ought to be denied in order that the position of the United Mine Workers may be made clear. Our International President is not here, and as I am next in official capacity I take the opportunity to deny the statement in the Cincinnati Enquirer. I understand it has also appeared in the Chicago Tribune. The article states "Split in big labor body is imminent because of the attack on Gompers. Organization of Miners secretly lays plans to withdraw from the American Federation of Labor. Reld faction of Electrical Workers follow movement to form Independent Federation." The article goes on to state that the delegates of the Western Federation of Miners, and United Mine Workers of America held a secret conference the other night to carry out this purpose.

I take this occasion to brand the statement as a deliberate falsehood. The United Mine Workers of America and the Western Federation of Miners have ever been loyal to the American labor movement and intend to remain so. State-ticle states "split in big labor body is ments of that kind do the miners' organization a great injury. I cannot remain silent without making this state-

ment that our organization may be put in a better light before the public. Some people seem very anxious to misrepresent the miners' organization. We do not want these statements to go unchallenged. We have had no secret conferences with any faction of the Electrical Workers or any other organization in this Convention, and we will be loyal to this movement to the end.

President Gompers—Will you take advantage of this present opportunity to make the statement you advised the secretary and myself that you intended to make?

Delegate Hayes (F. J.)—The delegates of the Western Federation of Miners met the United Mine Workers and they have organized a mining department. We have presented our by-laws and constitution to the Executive Council and asked for a charter.

Delegate D'Alessandro objected to any more time being wasted in making motions for special orders of business, and asked that the regular order be proceeded with.

Delegate Golden, Secretary of the Committee on Adjustment, proceeded with the report of the committee as follows:

Resolution No. 122—By Delegates P. F. Richardson and J. R. Humphrey, of the International Association of Car Workers:

WHEREAS, The International Association of Car Workers now is, and has been, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor since September 30, 1901, during which time it has conformed to all laws, rules and regulations of the American Federation of Labor, and has never even been charged with the violation of any part thereof; and

WHEREAS, By virtue of said affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, the International Association of Car Workers had jurisdiction over certain classes of men engaged in the building, repair, inspection and maintenance of railroad cars; and

WHEREAS, By virtue of said affiliation with the American Federation of Labor in its certificate of affiliation issued to the International Association of Car Workers under date of September 30, 1901, did bind itself to support the said International Association of Car Workers in the exercise of all its rights, privileges and autonomy as an affiliated Union; and,

WHEREAS, Article IX, Section 11, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor reads in part as follows: "No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any national, international, trade or federal union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall



not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions without the written consent of such unions;" and

WHEREAS, A dual organization known as the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America made application for affiliation with the American Federation of Labor in September, 1909; and,

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction of said Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America not only infringed upon but completely covered the jurisdiction of the International Association of Car Workers, which jurisdiction the American Federation of Labor has conceded, admitted and recognized for a period of over nine years; and,

WHEREAS, The Toronto Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in November, 1909, adopted the recommendation of the Adjustment Committee in an effort to amalgamate the said two Car Workers' organizations, which is as follows: "Committee recommends that a conference of the Executive Officers of the Int'l. Association of Car Workers and Brotherhood of Railway Carmen together with the president of the A. F. of L. or member of the Executive Council, be held in the city of Washington, D. C., at the earliest possible date to arrange terms of amalgamation of the Car Workers and Railway Carmen organizations. Failure to agree upon terms of amalgamation the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. shall outline the terms of amalgamation and issue a charter to the amalgamated organizations;" and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in open violation of Article IX, Section 11, of the Constitution, and in violation of the action of the Toronto Convention above quoted, and in violation of the ordained and guaranteed charter and constitutional rights of the International Association of Car Workers, issued a certificate of affiliation to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen under date of August 9, 1910; and

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding President Gompers' ruling on a point of order raised against the seating of the delegates representing the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen as printed in first column, Page 15, first day's proceedings of this Convention, the recommendation of the Executive Council to the Toronto Convention on the subject matter of the Carmen and Car Workers was not adopted by that Convention, nor did the St. Louis Convention last year sustain the action of the Executive Council in issuing a charter to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen by even one vote, let alone an overwhelming vote; and

WHEREAS, The Toronto Convention did not authorize the issuance of a charter to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen and the St. Louis Convention did not endorse nor sustain the Executive Council in the issuance thereof; and

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the American Federation of Labor specifically provides that only the International Association of Car Workers or Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America may law-

fully be or remain affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that action of the Executive Council in issuing a charter to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America be and is hereby set aside; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That with the passing of this resolution the certificate of affiliation issued to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen shall be immediately surrendered to the President of the American Federation of Labor, and should the officers of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America fail or refuse to surrender the charter then it shall become null and void; and, be it further.

RESOLVED, That with the passing of this resolution all rights, privileges and benefits of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, secured by the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America as the result of the issuance of the said charter, shall cease and be denied to it and them forthwith.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee non-concurs in Resolution No. 122, and reiterates our position that there should be but one organization representing one trade in North America. But the claim is made that one of the Car Workers' organizations is indebted to its members for a large sum of money on account of back strike benefits due, we therefore recommend that the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor continue their efforts to bring about an amalgamation of the two organizations, as soon as the indebtedness of the organization referred to is liquidated.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Richardson opposed the report of the committee. He recited in detail the efforts that had been made to amalgamate, and referred particularly to the report of the Adjustment Committee in the Toronto Convention. He made the statement that the records had been changed by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, first by omitting the report of the Adjustment Committee in the Toronto Convention, and later making some changes in it.

In reply to that statement Secretary Morrison explained that the report of the Adjustment Committee on the Car Workers' question had been accidentally omitted by the printer from the daily proceedings furnished the delegates, but that

upon discovery of the omission separate printed slips had been distributed in the convention containing the report of the Adjustment Committee; that he had made corrections for the permanent proceedings and left them in the hands of the assistant secretary to make revision because he was compelled to leave for Washington with President Gompers and Vice President Mitchell in connection with the contempt proceedings, but the permanent proceedings were printed without containing the report of the Adjustment Committee. When this was ascertained slips were again printed and inserted in the permanent record, which contained the report of the Adjustment Committee with two typographical errors, which did not change the meaning or sense of the report.

Delegate Richardson discussed the question at length, and stated the position of his organization in regard to the propositions that had been made to amalgamate. After Delegate Richardson had discussed the question for some time a motion was made and carried that he be given twenty minutes additional time in which to discuss it.

Delegate Hugh Stevenson, whose firm printed the proceedings, spoke upon the question, corroborating the statement made by Secretary Morrison.

President Gompers made a brief statement explaining some of the negotiations that had been had in endeavoring to amalgamate the Car Workers' organization.

Delegate Ryan (M. F.), made a brief statement, in which he said in part:

I want to say at this time the indebtedness of our organization some two years ago was brought about on account of strike benefits to our membership. We stood at all times for the liquidation of any honest claim against our organiza-

tion. I am pleased to state that the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America has liquidated every dollar of indebtedness. I also want to say that, notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Richardson's organization was affiliated with the A. F. of L. for about ten years and had the assistance of those other organizations affiliated, he never was able to overcome the membership of our organization. Since our affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, practically of two years standing, we have increased our membership over 15,000 members, and today there are only about eight organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. that have larger memberships than ours. We are willing to comply with the recommendation of the committee.

After a further discussion by Delegate Richardson President Gompers asked: Now that the Brotherhood's indebtedness has been liquidated, will there be any difficulty in amalgamating, in the opinion of Delegate Richardson?

Delegate Richardson—We want our rights restored and then we will talk on that question.

President Gompers—You want the charter of the Brotherhood revoked?

Delegate Richardson—I want it back in Washington. I want it surrendered, and if they do not surrender it, declare it null and void.

President Gompers—Will you insist on that now?

Delegate Richardson—Restore our rights, Mr. Chairman.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by a vote of 156 in the affirmative to 2 in the negative.

At 7 o'clock p. m., the Convention was adjourned to reconvene at 8 o'clock a. m., Saturday, November 25th.

## Twelfth Day—Saturday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 8 a. m., Saturday, November 25th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Pfell, Shoret, Gavlak, Gallagher (Andrew J.), Lawrence, Coffey Kelly (Wm. E.), Anderson (W. H.), Hurley, Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Hobbs, Wendt, Davis, Wangberg, Winchencack, McAndrews (J. J.), Ford, Belt, Welsh (Thomas E.), Creamer, Donnelly, Lebowitz, Saum, Schaub.

### Report of Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Golden, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 117—By Delegates D. D'Alessandro, J. D'Andrea and J. B. Etchison, of the International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, There are some independent and seceding unions of Hod Carriers and Building Laborers seated and recognized in the various State and Local Building Trades Councils chartered by the Building Trades Department; and

WHEREAS, Complaint has been made to the Building Trades Department of such unlawful state of things, but no action has been taken by the Department until the present time; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the Building Trades Department to give compulsive orders to the various Local and State Building Trades Councils to unseat those independent or seceding locals unless they affiliate with the proper International Unions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That Building Trades Councils refusing to comply with such request be suspended by the Building Trades Department until they comply with the orders of the Department.

Your committee recommends that this matter be placed in the hands of the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, with instructions to confer with the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, with a view of carrying out the purpose of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 129—By Delegates D. D'Alessandro, J. D'Andrea and J. B. Etch-

ison, of the International Hod Carriers' and Building Laborers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, Our experiences of the past have demonstrated that the common laborers working in the construction of streets, sewers, tunnels, etc., in 95 per cent of the cases come and work in the construction of buildings, whereas those men have not been organized, and could not be organized by this International Union, not having jurisdiction upon such work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention extend to the I. H. C., and B. L. U. of A. jurisdiction over the common laborers employed in the construction of streets, sewers and tunnels.

The committee recommended that the subject matter of the resolution be referred to the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for consideration and action.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 132—By Delegates Matt Comerford, John Glass, J. L. McNamara and James G. Hannahan:

WHEREAS, A controversy exists between members of the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance and members of the International Union of Steam Engineers in Cook County, Illinois; and

WHEREAS, If this is permitted to continue it will destroy the friendly relations which have existed for years between the above organizations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-first annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, at Atlanta, Ga., instruct the Executive Council to call a conference of representatives of the two above named organizations for the purpose of effecting a settlement of the existing controversy; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a member of the Executive Council be present at the conference which shall be called in the City of Chicago, not later than February, 1912.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

The committee referred to that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Machinists-Elevator Constructors," and read the following recommendation of the Execu-

tive Council:

"In reference to the above contention between the organizations in interest, your Executive Council recommends that the subject matter be left with the Executive Council to take such further action as may be helpful to bring about full understanding and adjustment between the two organizations."

The committee report as follows on the above report of the Executive Council: Your committee approves of the action of the Executive Council, and recommend that they continue their efforts to bring about a final adjustment of the matter.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 163—By Delegate T. J. Carolan, of International Brotherhood of Tip Printers:

WHEREAS, The value and utility of the Union Label as an organizing factor is firmly established among trades unionists; and

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Tip Printers, who do gold, silver and metal printing and embossing in hats, caps, badges and novelties, has the greatest difficulty in organizing the tip printers in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago and other cities, because of the fact that the master tip printers have seen fit to lock them out for a number of years, and openly declared that no union man shall ever work in their shops again, a threat which they have lived up to to a man, and all because the tip printers had courage to ask a little more wages so as to keep themselves and families from want; and

WHEREAS, Some of the master tip printers have gone so far as to degrade their men by putting up a prize of \$10 every six months, and the man working the most flesh from his hands, and the largest amount of blood out of his veins is the winner of this miserable and degrading prize; and

WHEREAS, A very large amount of the printing done in the non-union shops is placed in union hats and caps, and this work comes from union hat and cap manufacturers, who send the printing to non-union shops to have it printed and then place it in their union goods; and

WHEREAS, We believe that we have a just right to demand from organized labor that it should see that all printing in union hats, caps, badges, etc., is strictly union and done by union men, bearing the label of

the International Brotherhood of Tip Printers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all organizations, national or federal, having in their organization members working on tip printing presses and doing work which rightfully belongs and comes under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Tip Printers, be instructed by this convention to surrender all such members who are doing tip printers' work and working on tip printing presses, to the International Brotherhood of Tip Printers.

The committee reported as follows: There having been no conference held on this matter, your committee recommends that it be referred to the President of the American Federation of Labor, with instructions to arrange a conference of the parties involved at the earliest possible date, with a view of adjusting the matter.

The report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Theatrical Stage Employees—Electrical Workers—Jurisdiction over Moving Picture Machine Operators," the committee recommended that the matter be left in the hands of the Executive Council with instructions to continue their efforts at adjustment.

Delegate Barry.—As you know, we have already been in Washington three times. In appearing before the Adjustment Committee I asked if they would recommend that next time a conference was called all parties be there.

Vice-President O'Connell.—And we do so recommend to the President.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 135—By Delegate Jas. H. Hatch, of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The Carpet Mechanics' Union, of San Francisco, Cal., is affiliated with the Building Trades Council of San Francisco, Cal.; and

WHEREAS, The Carpet Mechanics Union referred to is a dual union and not affiliated with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America, whose jurisdiction covers the Carpet Layers, Cutters, Measurers and Estimators; and

WHEREAS, Resolutions have been introduced at several Conventions of the A. F. of L. by the representative of the Upholsterers International Union of North America requesting that the Carpet Mechanics of San Francisco affiliate with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America or be

denied affiliation with Central Bodies affiliated with the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, No action has been taken by the Building Trades Council of San Francisco indicating compliance with the action requested by the Conventions of the A. F. of L. in the case of the union referred to; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed to take decisive action that will insure compliance with the request contained in this resolution.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution, and that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to carry into effect the purposes of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 171—By Delegate Jas. H. Hatch, of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, A charter has been granted by the A. F. of L. to Window Shade Workers of San Francisco, Cal., who are known as Local Union No. 13091; and

WHEREAS, The Shade Workers are a part of the Upholsterers' craft and are in all other cities members of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed to revoke the charter issued to the above mentioned Union, and that they be instructed to affiliate with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee concurs in the resolution and recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor notify the officers of Local Union No. 13091 to surrender their charter to the American Federation of Labor and affiliate themselves with the Upholsterers' International Union of America.

Delegate Johannsen—I would suggest that a similar letter be also sent to the San Francisco Labor Council.

President Gompers—Is there objection?

Vice-President O'Connell—We have no objection. It goes without saying that will be done.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 145—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, M. W. Kelleher, P. F. A. Vaccarelli and Martin Cole, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, A dispute did exist for a number of years between the International Seamen and the International Longshoremen; and

WHEREAS, The Pittsburg Convention of the A. F. of L. directed that the matter in dispute, between the above mentioned organizations, be submitted to a Board of Arbitration for adjustment, the representatives of the Seamen and the Longshoremen and President Gompers, met in the city of Erie, April, 1906. President Gompers was chosen as arbitrator by both sides on June 27, 1907. President Gompers acting in such capacity rendered his decision in the case; this decision was accepted by the Seamen's delegation at the Norfolk Convention of the A. F. of L. in the month of December, 1907, was reported to the Seamen's Convention, and was accepted by that body; the Longshoremen's Convention held July, 1907, refused to accept the decision rendered by President Gompers. The Norfolk Convention took an action instructing President Gompers and some other member of the Executive Council to visit the Longshoremen's Convention at Erie, 1908, to use their best endeavor to induce the Longshoremen to accept the decision as handed down by President Gompers. The Longshoremen after listening to the addresses of President Gompers and Treasurer John B. Lennon, then took action in their Convention of 1908, giving the delegates who were to represent them at the Denver Convention of the A. F. of L., full authority to accept the decision of President Gompers, and to bring about a settlement of the dispute existing between the two organizations at a meeting held at Denver, between the representatives of the Seamen and the Longshoremen, with John B. Lennon and D. Mulcahy acting for the A. F. of L. The decision of President Gompers was accepted by the Longshoremen with the understanding as is outlined in the proceedings of the Denver Convention of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, The Longshoremen have carried out the decision as handed down by President Gompers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Seamen's Union be instructed to live up to and carry out President Gompers' decision.

The committee reported as follows:

In the hearing of the case it was claimed by one of the parties involved that a question of maritime law was involved, also that it would be impossible to comply with the decision of President Gompers in 1908 without violating said maritime law. Your committee therefore recommends that the matter be referred to President Gompers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to investigate the alleged claim made relative to the matter of maritime law, and to render a decision on the matter in dispute with a view of protecting the interests of both organizations involved.

A motion was made and seconded that

the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Cole stated that he took exceptions to the report of the committee, as the Longshoremen's representatives did not concur in the claim that there was a maritime law involved. He stated that in their opinion there was no such law involved. He stated that the decision handed down by President Gompers was perfectly agreeable to the Longshoremen and they fully intended to carry it out.

Delegate Furuseth discussed the question and stated that he was in favor of the report of the committee. He quoted from the Navigation Laws sections to support his contention that a maritime law was involved.

Delegate O'Connor (T. V.), discussed the question at some length and opposed the report of the committee. He spoke of the contention that had existed for years between the Seamen and the Longshoremen and of the various efforts that had been made to adjust it. He stated that when a decision was finally reached the Longshoremen had lived up to it, but denied that the Seamen had done so.

In referring to the report of the committee Vice-President O'Connell, chairman of the committee, said: The committee simply recommends that the matter be referred to President Gompers to decide a question in dispute in his decision. If his decision is that his former decision in the case stands, that is all there is to it, both sides will have to carry it out. It is simply asking the President to explain his own decision.

Delegate O'Connor—If that is the report of the committee we are willing to accept it.

Delegate Flynn discussed the question briefly, and referred to the friction that has existed between the Longshoremen and Seamen on the Pacific Coast.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 111—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, Wm. A. Neer, A. J. Hermann and J. McLaughlin, of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers.

WHEREAS, The Toronto Convention, on the recommendation of the Adjustment Committee, requested that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs and the United Brewery Workmen of America, in the interest of the labor movement in general cease hostilities for one year, both sides by their silence on the floor of the Convention when the recommendation was brought in by the committee, practically agreeing to said recommendation; and

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs have honorably and honestly carried out their part of the recommendation of the Toronto Convention; and

WHEREAS, The United Brewery Workmen of America have deliberately and wilfully violated the agreement of Toronto, and have not only acted worse than they did before the agreement was entered into, but are stopping at nothing to destroy many of the local unions of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters by forcing members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs into their organization, by threats to the employers of tying up their business, not only in the brewery industry, but in plants where there are soda and mineral waters manufactured and bottled; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention take steps to prevent a continuation of this kind of business and instruct the United Brewery Workers of America to live up to the original jurisdiction decisions rendered in the Minneapolis and other conventions of the American Federation of Labor between the said International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs and the United Brewery Workmen of America.

The committee reported as follows:

Another new feature having developed in relation to this dispute, namely the evolution of the mineral water business, we recommend that the whole subject matter be referred to the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, with instructions to appoint a representative of the American Federation of Labor who shall make a thorough investigation and report his findings to the Executive Council at the earliest possible date. The President of the American Federation of Labor shall then arrange a conference between representatives of the two organizations involved, with a view of bringing about an adjustment of the controversy. Failing to agree then the Executive Council is instructed to render a decision setting forth clearly the jurisdiction of both organizations not later than July 1, 1912.

Delegate Kemper—If the report of the committee means or intends reopening

the controversy as far as the jurisdiction of the United Brewery Workers is concerned, over beer drivers, chauffeurs and stablemen helpers in the breweries, then we must protest; for in our opinion this matter has been definitely settled and we now enjoy jurisdiction over the beer drivers, chauffeurs and stablemen all over this country. If, however, the intent and purpose of the recommendation of the committee is to refer that new phase of the question to the Executive Council, then we are perfectly satisfied that it shall be so referred. But we would like to know at this time the intent and purport of the recommendation of the committee.

Vice-President O'Connell—I will say for the committee that the decision implies this: First, there is an apparent evolution in connection with the mineral water drivers, the distribution of soft drinks, etc. The teamsters claim that the brewery workers have gone out in that line of industry without permission of any person and have organized the teamsters. On that particular question the committee's report implies that an investigation shall be made and a decision rendered. If the teamsters had the question of jurisdiction settled as to teamsters in breweries, then the Executive Council would be in a position to make a declaration so there might be no further dispute brought into the Convention hereafter questioning their right to have such teamsters.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.), stated that he was somewhat disappointed at the report of the committee. He stated it was not a question of the new development that was considered by the delegates representing the Teamsters' organization, but a question of whether or not the Convention meant anything when it rendered a decision. Delegate Tobin referred at length to the Minneapolis decision in regard to the Teamsters and Brewery Workers, stating that a decision was rendered there giving the teamsters to the organization he represented, and that other succeeding Conventions had confirmed the decision. He stated that the teamsters were going to claim the rights guaranteed them by their charter, and would insist that the American Federation of Labor put into effect the decision

rendered in regard to the Teamsters' organization. He stated further that they wanted not only an investigation of the new developments but of the entire question involved in the resolution.

Delegate Kugler discussed the question at length, and gave a brief history of the organization and progress of the Brewery Workers' organization. He referred to the fact that a referendum vote had been taken to allow the drivers connected with breweries to decide to which organization they would belong, that 95 per cent of those men were organized, and he did not think the American Federation of Labor would say that they should not be members of the United Brewery Workers.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegates Woll and McCullough (T. W.), for the committee, and by Delegate Sullivan (J. L.).

Delegate Ward discussed the question and stated that the protest entered by Delegate Kemper was against the reopening or submitting to investigation the lines of demarcation on the question of the brewery drivers or chauffeurs delivering beer. He stated that the Brewery Workers would most emphatically protest against submitting to any committee the lines of demarcation of the Brewery Workers at this late day, and that the language used in the resolution submitted by the Teamsters was misleading and incorrect. In that it stated that they wanted the control of all teamsters, that they had always had it and that it had been granted to them by their charter rights. He stated that such is not the case, that when they asked for jurisdiction over chauffeurs the Convention did not give them jurisdiction over those employed in other trades that were already decided upon.

Delegate Ward offered the following motion: I move that it is the sense of this Convention that the interest of the beer drivers is better conserved in the International Brewery Workmen's organization, and that the question of soft drinks be submitted to the Executive Council for disposal. (Seconded.)

Vice-President Duncan—Before putting the motion stated by Delegate Ward the chair desires to say that the report of the committee would comprehend that which Delegate Ward has offered. The

subject matter dealt with by the committee is Resolution No. 111. It then goes on to say that new developments have arisen, and they recommend that the whole subject matter be referred to the President and Executive Council, with instructions to appoint a representative who shall make a thorough investigation and report on the finding of the Executive Council at the earliest possible date. This means that if the report of the committee is adopted and the man appointed he will report to the Executive Council conditions just as he finds them. Then the President is to get representatives of the two organizations to meet with the President of the American Federation of Labor or some one selected by him, and endeavor to adjust the matter to the satisfaction of both. In the event of failure the Council is instructed by this committee to make an effort to define the jurisdiction lines.

Delegate Ward—Do I understand from the chairman of this Convention that the investigation is on the new matter, or that the investigation is to be made as to the beer drivers now employed in the breweries?

Vice-President Duncan—The report of the committee as it is worded comprehends both, but with this qualification or provision in it that the man who investigates is to investigate conditions just as they are. For instance, if it is found that 95 per cent of the beer drivers are in the Brewery Workers' organization he would so report. You would not expect the Executive Council to say a situation like that should be changed. As to the mineral water drivers, the situation is different. The report of the committee says it is a new development. Do you still wish your amendment to be stated?

Delegate Ward—I would not have offered the amendment were it not for the persistence of the Teamsters in trying to bring this whole matter up again. We have confidence in the Executive Council, and so far as I am concerned, unless the other delegates of the Brewery Workers insist on the amendment I will be satisfied to withdraw it.

Delegate Kemper—Having seconded the amendment, I will say that the statement of the chair, that should the investigator find that our claim is correct

as to the number of beer drivers employed in breweries who are members of our organization, he will so report and that will be the basis of the decision to be rendered, and that this jurisdiction over 95 per cent of the beer drivers in our organization will not be jeopardized, I will concur in withdrawing the amendment.

Delegate Tobin asked if the statement of the chair was that if the investigator found that 95 per cent of the drivers were in the Brewery Workers that they would not be asked to give them up.

Vice-President Duncan—I will say this, so you will not misunderstand the position, that no member of the Executive Council and no delegate on the floor of this Convention would be willing as a council member or as a delegate to say that 95 per cent of any craft found in an organization should be transferred to another organization. This Convention might say so, but not the Executive Council.

The question was discussed further by Delegate Tobin, who wished to know why the Adjustment Committee did not attach a penalty for failure to abide by the decision of the Executive Council, as had been done in the case of other organizations reported on during the previous day.

Delegate Golden, Secretary of the Committee—We are not in a position to bring in a penalty until the lines of demarcation are drawn. I want to say to Delegate Tobin that if I am here next year and a part of that Adjustment Committee, and either one or both organizations violate the terms laid down by the Executive Council, I for one shall recommend the revocation of one or both charters.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Resolution No. 161—By Delegates D. D'Alessandro, J. D'Andrea, and J. B. Etchison, of the International Hod Carriers' and Building Laborers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The International Hod Carriers' and Building Laborers' Union of America was chartered by the American Federation of Labor, April 13th, 1903, and the following jurisdiction was granted: "Wrecking of buildings, excavation of buildings, digging of trenches, piers and foundation, holes, digging, lagging, sheeting of said foundation, holes, and caisson



work, concrete for buildings, whether foundation, floors or any other, whether done by hand or any other process, tending to masons, mixing and handling all materials used by masons (except stone setters), building of scaffolding for masons, plasterers, building of centers for fire-proofing purposes, tending to carpenters, tending and mixing of all material for plastering, whether done by hand or any other process, clearing of debris from buildings, choring, underpinning and razing of old buildings, drying of plastering, when done by salamander heat, handling of dimension stones; and

WHEREAS, Another organization, called the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers, is infringing upon our jurisdiction, by admitting in that organization unskilled laborers doing the mixing and conveying of concrete; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-first Convention of the A. F. of L. restrain the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers from organizing such unskilled laborers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention order the A. B. of C. W. to transfer to the I. H. C. and B. L. U. of America all the unskilled laborers who are now part of that organization; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Building Trades Department be instructed by this Convention to notify all the State and Local Building Trades Councils, that the mixing and conveying of concrete shall be done by members of the I. H. C. and B. L. U. of America.

The committee reported as follows:

Inasmuch as the International Hod Carriers' and Building Laborers' Union of America took an appeal from the action of the Building Trades Department bearing on this dispute to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no decision having been rendered by that body, your committee recommends that the dispute be referred to the Executive Council, with a request that a decision be rendered at the earliest possible date.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate D'Alessandro discussed the question at length, and stated that the matter had been referred to the Executive Council in a previous convention but no recommendation had been made by the Executive Council in regard to it. He stated that a resolution had been introduced in the Toronto Convention to revoke the charter of the Cement Workers,

that it had been referred to the Executive Council but no report had been made by that body. He objected to its being again referred and asked that a decision be made by the convention. After an extended discussion Delegate D'Alessandro asked the chairman of the Committee if the question of the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers and the Cement Workers would be considered at the first meeting of the Executive Council.

Vice-President O'Connell, Chairman of the Committee, stated that the committee recommended that it be taken up as soon as possible.

Vice-President Duncan stated that the question had come to the Executive Council on an appeal from the Building Trades; that the Executive Council had heard statements from Delegate D'Alessandro on two occasions, and the matter was unfinished business before the Executive Council.

Delegate D'Alessandro moved that the Executive Council consider the jurisdiction dispute between the Cement Workers and the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers at its first meeting. (Seconded.)

Vice-President O'Connell stated that the committee would accept the amendment to change the words "at the earliest possible time" to "at the first meeting."

Delegate Tveitmo discussed the question briefly, stating that the Brotherhood of Cement Workers would stand on the declaration of principles and policy adopted by the convention at a previous session—one organization for one trade. He stated that he favored the report of the Committee on Adjustment, and requested that the Executive Council give the representatives of his organization due notice when they intended to take the question up.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Williams, who stated that if the proposition meant that the Building Laborers desired to include the affiliated helpers of his trade he would enter a protest. Delegate D'Alessandro stated that they had nothing to do with the Tile Workers, and did not want to claim any of the mechanics' work.

Delegate Etchison in discussing the question said: "We do not ask for the

helpers of any mechanical craft; we do not ask for the Cement Workers' helpers, much less the Tile or Marble Workers' helpers. We only ask for the laborers who mix and wheel concrete on reinforced concrete buildings.

The report of the committee was adopted, when amended by adding the suggestion of Delegate D'Alessandro.

Vice-President O'Connell—That concludes our report with the exception that we are going to make a general declaration, carrying out the ideas expressed by me in opening our report yesterday morning. The declaration is as follows:

Before closing the report the Committee on Adjustment wishes to make the following declaration and recommendations: Whatever argument or excuse there might have been in the past for the existence of two organizations of the one craft, we now believe that such argument or excuse is absent. It is the unanimous opinion of the Committee on Adjustment, many of whose members have had to deal with disputes caused by the existence of two organizations of one craft for many years, that the time has arrived for the American Federation of Labor to openly and emphatically declare itself to the effect that, large as this country is, it is not large enough to hold two organizations of the one craft. Therefore your Committee recommends that this Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes squarely on record in favor of the above declaration, and your Committee further recommends that this convention instruct the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to carry into effect the principles and purposes involved in this declaration—one craft, one organization. All of which is respectfully submitted.

JAMES O'CONNELL, Chairman.  
JOHN GOLDEN, Secretary.  
MATTHEW WOLL.  
JOHN A. MOFFITT.  
T. W. McCULLOUGH.  
WILLIAM E. KLAPETZKY.  
JOS. A. FRANKLIN.  
THOMAS S. FARRELL.  
FRANK GEHRING.  
EDWARD FLORE.  
MICHAEL J. HALLINAN.  
PERCY THOMAS.

WILLIAM TABER.  
VICTOR ALTMAN.  
H. C. SHALVOY.

Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Golden—I move the adoption of the declaration.

Delegate Abell—Does that mean complete trade autonomy?

Vice-President O'Connell—I don't know what you mean by the question. It means that in the machinists' craft, for instance, or the printing craft, or the electricians' craft, or any other trade recognized as a trade, there is not room in this country for two organizations. That is what it means.

President Gompers—I think it would be but proper to call attention to this fact, that there is a general misapprehension as to the real meaning of the word "autonomy," autonomy as applied to and used in the trade union movement and the American Federation of Labor. Autonomy is the right of the organization itself to govern itself.

Treasurer Lennon asked if the report of the committee might not be construed as being in more or less opposition to the resolution adopted in the Scranton Convention on the subject of organization that in some instances are recognized as having the right to contain within their organization all the people who are engaged in the industry.

Vice-President O'Connell—We had in mind just what Delegate Lennon speaks of, which is not the intention of the committee at all. The motion of the committee recognizes that the trades have that right, but the committee wants this declaration to go out, that if a faction of a trade breaks away or the organization splits, the portion that goes on the outside may know at the very start that there can be no recognition of two divisions of that organization in this Federation, nor can some faction of a craft not yet affiliated with the organization that is affiliated here, some independent portion of a trade on the outside, hold out with the hope that in the future it is possible for that portion of that craft to be chartered by the American Federation of Labor. It does not interfere in any way with the decision and declaration of the Scranton Convention. It recognizes fully the rights of the miners as they are now organized.

Delegate Kugler—Would it be possible to insert the declaration of the Scranton Convention?

Vice-President O'Connell—The minute you do that you are getting away from this clear cut declaration. There is no way to misunderstand this declaration unless the Conventions hereafter put a construction on it by their own vote.

President Gompers—The chair is of the opinion that it is your desire to adopt this declaration of the committee as the Convention's own declaration, and yet not to modify the declaration of the Scranton Convention. You have heard the questions and answers, and if they are made part of the record of the proceedings of this Convention they will show the intent of the declaration as in no way curbing or modifying the Scranton Convention declaration, it seems to me the purpose of all will be served.

Delegate Connors—The question I want settled is a definition of what a trade is. We have discussed the Brewery Workers' and the Teamsters' proposition, and I presume from what is arrived at that the teamster is a brewery worker. That is what I want to find out. I think some time in the future this thing will be discussed in here again. We have certain organizations that are going about attempting to gobble up other organizations. What we would like to know is what constitutes a trade. At least I would like to know.

Vice-President O'Connell—That can only be decided, where there is a contention, by the proper authority. That is the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor or the Convention itself will decide. When there is a dispute between some portion of an organization affiliated a declaration can be made as to what that trade consists of; but the general declaration contained in the resolution applies to those things we recognize as trades affiliated with this organization. There can be no misunderstanding as to that.

Delegate Healy—It may be that this will be construed differently from the way it is put to us now. I think your committee should draw up a declaration making matters clear so that we can understand them. It may be that after we have voted on this you will de-

cide that the Engineers and Firemen are one organization. I have been asked on more than one occasion by officers of this Federation in the past year or two if there is not a possibility of bringing those two organizations together. We should be very careful before we adopt general declarations at this time. I am opposed to voting on any declaration until I know what it means.

Vice-President O'Connell—The declaration anticipates what you say. If the Engineers and Firemen agree among themselves to be in one organization this declaration anticipates such a thing, but if you do not decide to do it this declaration will not force you to do it.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Delegate Richardson asked the privilege of the floor.

President Gompers—The report of the Committee on Building Trades was made a special order of business immediately following the—

Delegate Richardson—I rise to a question of personal privilege. I want to surrender the charter of the International Association of Car Workers to the American Federation of Labor.

President Gompers—Will the delegate step up to the platform?

Delegate Richardson—Here is the charter, Mr. Chairman.

President Gompers—The chair would like to inquire by what authority Delegate Richardson surrenders this charter?

Delegate Richardson—As President of the International Association of Car Workers I surrender the charter.

President Gompers—The President of the American Federation of Labor places this charter in the hands of the Secretary, with the request that he inform the Secretary of the International Association of Car Workers that the charter is held by him for transmission to the organization, and that President Richardson, without authority of that organization, surrendered the charter, usurping a position which no presiding officer has a right to assume in the name of a membership who have not spoken on the question.

#### Report of Building Trades Committee

Delegate Tveitmo, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

**Building Trades Department—U. B. of Carpenters—Steam Fitters.**

The Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. at its convention in St. Louis just after the close of the A. F. of L. Convention, suspended from representation therein the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers.

At our meeting in January, the officers of the Buildings Trades Department made application for the revocation of the charter of affiliation with the A. F. of L. of these two organizations. Action upon the application was deferred until our June meeting. President Gompers in the meantime, being authorized by us to co-operate with the officers of the Building Trades Department for the purpose of endeavoring to bring about an adjustment of the trouble with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and the amalgamation of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers with the United Association of Plumbers. Efforts along this line, however, were without success.

At our meeting in June, the following letter was received:

"Washington, D. C., June 13, 1911.

"Mr. Samuel Gompers, President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Washington, D. C.

"Dear Sir and Brother:

"Pursuant to the instructions of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, I herewith transmit to you for submission to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor the following statement and request:

The Building Trades Department, American Federation of Labor, in convention in St. Louis, November 28th to December 5th inclusive, approved a recommendation made by the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department of which the following is a copy:

"That the grievance against the International Steam Fitters and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be referred to the coming convention with a recommendation that, if the organizations still refuse to obey the mandates of the Tampa Convention, they be suspended from the Department. It is further recommended that like action be taken by the A. F. of L."

The substance of the foregoing action is that if the unions named therein failed to comply with the decisions reached by the Tampa Convention of the Building Trades Department, and for such failure or refusal as the case may be, the unions in question were suspended by the Department and like action requested by the American Federation of Labor.

As you are aware, this subject-matter was transmitted to you and by you to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on the occasion of your last meeting, but as we understand the matter, sanction of the recommendation has not been given; instead a proposition in the case of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers to amalgamate with the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers has issued, and in the case of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, a conference was proposed.

The result is that more than four months have elapsed without any definite action having been taken, which in large measure has rendered the work of the Department ineffective, causing in addition distress among the several locals and a wilful and deliberate manifestation to ignore the subsequent decisions rendered by the Executive Council of the Department, especially in the case of minor jurisdictional disputes. This action is regrettably working great havoc on the welfare and progress of the Department, which to say the least augurs no good for the future; indeed unless some definite, positive stand is taken to uphold the decisions of the department in the respect outlined in the foregoing quotation, then the affiliated organizations might just as well consent to abandon the effort of protection that the Department in reality carries with it through the present form of organization; so much so is this the case that it becomes absolutely essential, indeed imperative, that we have a decision from your council forthwith, upholding the action of the St. Louis Convention of the Building Trades Department with respect to the two organizations herewith named.

There are before the Executive Coun-

cil of the Building Trades Department at this time several questions of an intricate nature that of necessity should be settled once and for all, and that will redound to the credit, strength and prestige of the Department, but as before stated it is useless to proceed in these matters unless we are to have a confirmation by your council of the action taken by the St. Louis Convention in the case previously referred to.

We therefore earnestly appeal to you to give the cases complained of the attention they deserve without delay and render a positive and final opinion in the premises, so that the future course of the Department may be determined.

Anxiously awaiting the same on behalf of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, I have the honor to remain,

Fraternally yours,  
(Signed) Wm. J. SPENCER,  
Secretary-Treasurer,  
Building Trades Dept."

President Short and Secretary Spencer presented the letter in person, requesting that definite action be taken thereon. We gave much time, consideration and discussion to the subject and thereafter we sent the following reply, embodying therein the decision of the Executive Council relative to not only this but kindred matters involved:

Washington, D. C., June 17, 1911.  
Mr. William J. Spencer, Secretary,  
Building Trades Dept., A. F. of L.,  
Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.  
Dear Sir and Brother:

The letter which you at the direction of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, A. F. of L., handed me, was submitted to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. for its consideration. As you know, at a joint meeting of the Executive Council of the Department with the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., the subject matter of the requests contained in the letter, as well as those questions which led up to the present situation, was gone over in detail, at length, and comprehensively, and therefore much of that which was orally conveyed as the expression of our views upon the matter is not necessary to be recounted here.

We have, however, given further attention to the laws of the A. F. of L., and of the Department, and have taken into consideration the present situation of the Department, and its local councils, as well as the unsatisfactory conditions which obtain in the building trades in many centers of the country; and with all we have had in mind the desire to be helpful to the Building Trades Depart-

ment for its success and perpetuity.

At the St. Louis Convention of the Building Trades Department, November-December, 1910, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America were suspended from the Department, and these international unions are not now a part thereof. The action of the Department in suspending these two international unions carried with it also the request that they be suspended by the American Federation of Labor, and your Executive Council through you has made that request.

In connection therewith, we desire to express our belief that to carry into effect the advice, conclusions, or decisions in the Building Trades Department and in the local building trades councils, it is not only desirable but most helpful that the organizations affiliated to the Department, and to its councils, shall yield a ready compliance thereto, of course having in mind that such advice, conclusions and decisions are in conformity with fundamental principles of labor and of the organic laws and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Your Executive Council asks the American Federation of Labor to suspend therefrom the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America. In connection therewith your attention is called to Article 9, Section 12, of the Constitution of the A. F. of L., which reads as follows:

"The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated national or international union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds' majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll-call vote."

You will readily observe that under this law the Executive Council has no power to suspend an international union (which carries with it the revocation of its charter). The fullest limit to which our authority extends is to make such report and recommendation to the forthcoming convention of the A. F. of L. at Atlanta, November, 1911, and this course we shall pursue, as in our judgment the circumstances warrant, with the hope that our respective executive councils and conventions may work out an adjustment of this and similar contentions which will tend to retain and cement still more the bonds of unity and fraternity of all our affiliated organizations and members as fully in harmony as the movement in which we are engaged will permit.

We present to your consideration the fact, which the history of the labor movement demonstrates beyond cavil or doubt, that to revoke charters, suspend organizations, enforce compulsory obedience to edicts and decisions, have invariably led to a rebellious spirit resulting in bitter conflict, relentless antagonisms, and disintegration and dissolution. While re-

alizing the necessity that discipline in the labor movement must be observed at least to some degree, yet this fact is self-evident; that the best, most enduring and advantageous discipline in the organized labor movement is that discipline which comes with time and experience and is suggested and later self-imposed. It is something not yet generally understood how perfectly safe freedom is, and this truism applies to the administration of the organized labor movement as much as it does to any government on the face of the earth.

Imbued with this experience and conception, we have great apprehensions of the advisability of the suspension or revocation of charters of international unions based upon the contentions over trade jurisdictional disputes. We submit that such contentions can better be adjusted by the contending parties being in affiliation with the general organizations of labor than by being in enforced suspension with their charters revoked.

It is a truism that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, and it is also true that so long as the chain is retained intact, even its weakest link may be strengthened. In the effort to maintain the chain of unity among the rank and file of the organized labor movement if it is unwise to cast aside a weak link, how much more injurious is it to cast out the stronger?

The cause which has brought about this contention, is first, the jurisdictional dispute between the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance. The Tampa convention of the Building Trades Department decided that the work in dispute should come under the jurisdiction of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance. That decision was confirmed by the department convention at St. Louis, 1910. Upon the U. B. of Carpenters declining to yield obedience to the decision, it was suspended from the department. It is not our purpose to here discuss the merits of the award. We find the situation as it is; that the U. B. of Carpenters is now unattached to the Building Trades department, where it properly belongs, and we are constrained to repeat the thought we have already expressed, that enforced compulsory obedience to edicts and decisions has never proven either advantageous or successful, and that suspension of international unions and revocation of charters are not calculated to harmonize existing differences, nor bring the members of an international union so suspended into a better frame of mind in order that an award may be accepted by them. We urge upon the consideration of your department that in any event the opportunity to secure compliance with the expressed judgment of duly constituted authorities in the labor movement, is increased when the international unions most vitally interested are in affiliation and fellowship with the department of which they are a ma-

terial part.

We, therefore, recommend that the Building Trades Department, A. F. of L., at its first opportunity, reinstate the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America in full affiliation to the Department; that in the meantime and thereafter, every effort be exerted by that organization, the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, the Building Trades Department, and the American Federation of Labor, by correspondence, conferences, and by every moral suasion within our power, to bring about an adjustment of the matters in dispute to the satisfaction and advantage of the organizations primarily in interest. We assure the Department that the good offices of the executive council and of the American Federation of Labor will be continued to be exerted and renewed to assist the Department and the organizations involved to effect a solution of the trade jurisdictional dispute between the two organizations.

In the second case, that is, in the controversy between the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers, of the United States and Canada, and the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America, we recognize a matter of dispute entirely different in character as compared with the dispute between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance; a dispute which has existed for years, to the detriment not only to the immediate organizations involved, but to the entire building industry. This dispute has passed through all the channels of mediation, arbitration, investigation and decisions by the American Federation of Labor, and by the Building Trades Department, without satisfactory results. These investigations, arbitration awards and decisions, have been uniformly to the effect that there ought not to exist two distinctive, separate organizations in the pipe fitting trades; that the best results to the workers in the industry would be best conserved by all being united in the one general organization of these trades, namely, the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers, of the United States and Canada, for general purposes, yet each branch of the pipe fitting trade to have as much autonomous administration as is consistent with the general interest of all.

The views which we have expressed to you orally, the opinions expressed herein, and the recommendations which we submit to your Department and to the two organizations named, we earnestly hope will be taken into favorable consideration and prompt action by all, and will form the basis of our report and recommendations to the Atlanta convention of the American Federation of Labor.

While it should not be necessary, yet we do take advantage of this opportunity to again assure you, and through you,

the Building Trades Department, and the great rank and file of labor, that we will go to the limit of our opportunity, authority and power in supporting your department in doing the best possible for the general betterment of the organizations and members in the Building Trades.

With earnest wishes for the greatest success, we have the honor to remain,

Yours fraternally,

**SAMUEL GOMPERS,** President.

**JAMES DUNCAN,** First Vice-President.

**JOHN MITCHELL,** Second Vice-President.

**JAMES O'CONNELL,** Third Vice-President.

**D. A. HAYES,** Fourth Vice-President.

**WILLIAM D. HUBER,** Fifth Vice-President.

**JOS. F. VALENTINE,** Sixth Vice-President.

**JOHN R. ALPINE,** Seventh Vice-President.

**H. B. PERHAM,** Eighth Vice-President.

**FRANK MORRISON,** Secretary.

**JOHN B. LENNON,** Treasurer.  
American Federation of Labor.

Secretary Spencer informed us that the matter would be submitted to the executive board of the Building Trades Department. He then, on July 7th, wrote President Gompers as follows:

July 7, 1911.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

By direction of the executive council of the Building Trades Department, I write to inform you that the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in the case of the request of the Building Trades Department for the suspension of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers and of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, was laid before the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department at its session in the city of Indianapolis, June 29, 1911, and after mature consideration, the opinion was reached that since the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department is not vested with authority to override or subordinate a decision of the Building Trades Department rendered in convention assembled, and again since the constitution of the department does not confer powers upon the Executive Council to reinstate an organization that has surrendered its membership because of refusal to comply with the laws of the

organization, unless the law shall have been conformed to, the Executive Council finds itself without power to reinstate the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners in accordance with the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

You are, therefore, advised that the decision as rendered by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will be referred to the next convention of the Building Trades Department, which will convene at Atlanta, Ga., November, 1911.

Trusting that this will be satisfactory, I am,

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) **WM. J. SPENCER,**  
Secretary-Treasurer, Building Trades Department.

The two subjects brought to the attention of the Executive Council from the Building Trades Department are not similar in any particular excepting that both organizations were suspended by the Building Trades Department.

#### CARPENTERS.

In the contention involving the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, it was an instance of jurisdictional dispute between two affiliated organizations which, excepting in this instance, had no other direct trade relationship, the one to the other, than one building trade has to other building trades.

The relationship of affiliated building trades to the American Federation of Labor and Departments is dual, and therefore in fundamental law, suspension of charters primarily rests with the American Federation of Labor. This, and the fact that in the American Federation of Labor revocation of charters has not been considered a cure for jurisdictional contentions, prompts our recommendation to this convention that the application of the Building Trades Department to revoke the charter of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be not concurred in, and instead that the Building Trades Department be informed that for the above reasons and in the interests of harmony to reinstate the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners to full affiliation therein; and that all efforts and influence of the American Federation of Labor and of the department should be applied to adjust the jurisdictional contention in interest, thereby making for the best interests of the disputants and for the progress and solidarity of the labor movement.

Your committee concurs and recom-

mends that the report of the Executive Council be approved.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate O'Sullivan (M.)—I desire to know, in the event the Convention adopts the recommendation of the Executive Council, the matter just reported on by the committee, does it in any way set aside the decisions rendered in jurisdiction disputes by the Building Trades Department?

President Gompers—It certainly does not. The report does not contain one word in regard to it.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

#### STEAM FITTERS.

The Secretary of the committee read the following recommendation of the Executive Council:

"In the instance of the contention affecting the pipe fitting industry the interests directly involved raise the following questions:

First: Concentration of effort and efficiency in one general pipe fitting organization; or

Second: Segregation of certain portions of the industry into separately managed and distinctly administered associations.

"In regard to the latter question, the segregated portion of the industry does not, and for many reasons cannot, cover or comprehend in all parts of North America, the portion of the industry it essays to govern in largely populated cities and their immediate environments.

"Therefore, in this instance, the Executive Council holds that both for harmony and for practicability, the pipe fitting trade should be represented in the A. F. of L., also in the Building Trades Department, by one general association of the pipe fitting industry—the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada; and, further recommends that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., be instructed, and the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department be requested to carry this into effect."

The committee recommended concurrence in the report of the Executive

Council, and recommended non-concurrence in the following resolution:

Resolution No. 144—By Delegates J. T. Kinsella and John Mangan, International Steam Fitters, etc.:

WHEREAS, Considerable turmoil and expense has been encountered by workmen in the Building Industry caused by strikes resulting from the unsettled conditions among the various trades; and

WHEREAS, A portion of this difficulty has been caused by reason of the existence of more than one organization that admitted men employed at the various branches of the Steam Fitting Trade as members; and

WHEREAS, Experience has demonstrated that a practical, sensible, fair and impartial solution of any question can be best settled by those most directly interested; and

WHEREAS, Several plans heretofore offered have failed to accomplish the desired end, because of the compulsory feature of amalgamation contained therein; and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. has repeatedly, through its conventions and officers, in no uncertain manner declared against "Compulsory Arbitration" as contrary to the spirit and purpose of the American sense of justice and fair play, with a view therefore of offering a plan looking toward the solution of this difficulty along fair and just lines that permit the rank and file of the men engaged at the various branches of Steam Fitting to decide for themselves as to their future form of organization, the representatives of this Association present the following; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., now in session in Atlanta, Ga., that the President of the American Federation of Labor, be, and is hereby, authorized to issue a call for a Convention to all men engaged at the various branches of the Steam Fitting Trade irrespective of their affiliation, to meet within \_\_\_\_\_ months at some centrally located city to be selected by the President of the A. F. of L., to determine for themselves their future form of organization.

Secretary Tveitmo—The following minority report is presented by one member of the committee, Delegate Kinsella:

The minority report offered by Delegate Kinsella is as follows:

"I herewith beg leave to submit a minority report of the Committee on Building Trades, on the subject matter pertaining to the U. A. Plumbers, etc., and the International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers, as contained in the Executive Council's Report as submitted to the committee for their considera-



tion, for the following reasons:

"First. The report is clearly in conflict with the charter rights of the International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers as granted to them by the American Federation of Labor.

"Second. That the report is in support of the action taken by the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor at its last Convention, which action is contrary to Article II, Section 3. Article IX, Section 12 Article XV, Section 3, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, and therefore offer as a substitute Resolution No. 144.

J. THOMAS KINSELLA,

Member of Committee on Building Trades."

Delegate Kinsella moved that the minority report be substituted for the report of the committee.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Mangan.

Delegate Mangan spoke at length in favor of the minority report of the committee. He reviewed the history of the International Association and spoke of the benefit it had been to its members. He also reviewed the controversy that has existed between the International Association and the United Association and the efforts that have been made to adjust the differences. He spoke of the formation of the Building Trades Department in the Norfolk Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and quoted the questions that were asked at the time the motion was adopted authorizing the formation of the department. He contended that later the Building Trades Department assumed power that was not granted it as a subordinate body when it unseated the International Association at the St. Louis Convention of that department by a vote of 31 in the affirmative to 22 in the negative. He stated that, inasmuch as the laws of the American Federation of Labor required a two-thirds vote to revoke a charter it required a similar vote to revoke a charter in the Building Trades Department.

Delegate Alpine discussed the question, speaking in support of the report

of the committee and in opposition to the minority report. He opposed the contention made by Delegate Mangan that steam fitting was a separate trade, and referred to the large number of steam fitters already affiliated with the United Association of Plumbers, etc. He urged that there be but one organization in the pipe fitting trades. He stated that there were 487 cities thoroughly organized over which the United Association has control and where a man could not work at his trade unless he carried a union card, and that there were a total of 550 local unions in that organization, a large number of them composed wholly or in part of steam fitters. He stated that the Building Trades Department had unseated the Steam Fitters because every order issued by that Department had been disregarded by them. On motion debate was closed.

Delegate Kinsella arose to a question of personal privilege and stated that the rules provided that the introducer of a motion was entitled to an opportunity to discuss it. Delegate Kinsella was granted the privilege of the floor and discussed the question at length. He urged the adoption of the minority report and opposed the report of the committee. He reviewed briefly the controversy that had existed between the two organizations for many years and of various efforts that have been made to amalgamate them. He contended that the steam fitter belonged to a separate and distinct trade and had a right to belong to his own organization. He urged that the Steam Fitters be allowed to maintain their own organization and protect the rights of the members of their own trade and calling.

Delegate Short, Chairman of the committee, in behalf of the committee, spoke in opposition to the minority report. He stated that he voiced the sentiment of twelve or thirteen members of the committee when he stated that in their judgment the recommendation of the Executive Council should be carried into effect and that hereafter there should be but one organization in the pipe fitting industries of the country. He stated the welfare of the men would be best conserved if they were in one organization.

Delegate Leonard asked the privilege of the floor, but the chair ruled that no

other discussion was in order, as a motion to close debate had been adopted.

Delegate O'Brien—I would like to ask if the minority report is not exactly in line with the splendid recommendation that has been given to this Convention and passed almost unanimously by the committee which finished its report before the Building Trades Committee?

President Gompers—The chair will answer that it is necessarily a matter of a point of view. If you regard the steam fitting and plumbing as separate trades, then it would appear that the minority

report would be justified. If, on the other hand, the point of view is that the steam fitting and plumbing is one general pipe fitting trade, then the majority report represents that view. However, that is for the Convention to decide.

The motion to adopt the minority report was lost by a vote of 135 in the negative to 38 in the affirmative.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by *viva voce* vote.

At 1 o'clock p. m. the Convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2 p. m. of the same day.

## Twelfth Day—Saturday Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 2 p. m., Saturday, November 25th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Pfaff, Sheret, Gaviak, Gallagher (Andrew J.), Lawrence, Coffey, Kelly (William E.), Anderson (W. H.), Hurley, Hardy, Jones (John R.), Munn, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Quick, Hobbs, Davis, Wangberg, Fuller, Taylor, Winchenback, Ford, Belt, Welsh (Thomas E.), Creamer, Donnelly, Lebowitz, Saum, Schaub.

Delegate Short, Chairman of the Committee on Building Trades—The committee has but one more question to report on, the case of the Electricians. The representative of the affiliated organization informs me that he is willing to let the matter go to the Convention without debate.

Treasurer Lennon—I move that the special order, the election of officers, be postponed to allow that report to be made. (Seconded and carried.)

### Report of Building Trades Committee.

Delegate Tveitmo, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your committee considered the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Electrical Workers," and Resolution No. 109, which reads as follows:

Resolution No. 109—By Delegates C. F. Russl, Jr., of the San Antonio Trades Council; Duncan McDonald, U. M. W. of A.; A. B. Lowe, T. H. Gerry, T. J. O'Donnell, M. of W.; Max S. Hayes, Typographical; Chas. H. Moyer, W. F. M.; M. M. Donoghue, Montana F. L.; P. J. Doherty, A. W. Wright, Vancouver T. & L. C.; Louis Kemper, U. B. W.; J. Mahlon Barnes, Cigar Makers, and Geo. H. Ullrich, Philadelphia C. L. U.

WHEREAS, At the present time a large organization of Electrical Workers is unaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, This body of Electrical Workers in their desire to become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor complied fully with the provisions of the plan of amalgamation decided upon by the Executive Council after the St. Louis Convention; and

WHEREAS, The precedent of seating two organizations representing the same craft has already been established by the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the unaffiliated International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers as officered by J. J. Reid, General President, and J. W. Murphy, General Secretary, be granted a charter and their delegates seated in this Convention.

Your committee non-concurs in Resolution No. 109, and recommends that the following recommendation of the Executive Council be approved:

"We urge that this Convention recommend to Mr. Reid that the joint agreement reached at Rochester be submitted to a referendum vote of his membership, and that the unaffiliated organization authorize and direct a committee to meet with a committee of the affiliated organization, with the view of carrying the provisions of the Rochester agreement into effect, and thus amalgamate the two organizations into one comprehensive brotherhood of electrical workers affiliated to the American Federation of Labor."

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Abell—I move that a representative of the unaffiliated body be allowed the floor.

Delegate Short—Inasmuch as the representatives of the affiliated organization have stated that they desire to go to the Convention without discussion, owing to the lateness of the hour, I think it would not be proper to give the floor to the unaffiliated organization.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.), urged that a representative of the unaffiliated organization be given the floor.

President Gompers stated if there was no objection Mr. J. J. Reid would be allowed the privilege of the floor.

No objection being offered, Mr. Reid was given the privilege of the floor, and discussed the question at length.

Delegate McNulty discussed the question, replied to a number of statements made by Mr. Reid, and spoke in detail of the action that had been taken by the organization represented to endeavor to amalgamate the two branches of Electrical Workers.

Delegate Sontheimer moved as an amendment to the pending motion that the chair be authorized to appoint a committee of seven delegates to settle the question, providing the heads of both the contending factions would agree in writing that they would accept the finding of the committee of seven. (Seconded.)

Delegate Keegan (J. J.), spoke in support of the recommendation of the committee.

The amendment offered by Delegate Sontheimer was lost.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by a vote of 163 in the affirmative and 15 in the negative.

Resolution No. 128—By Delegates Martin E. Goellnitz, F. C. Gengenback and O. A. Tveitmo, of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers:

WHEREAS, Complaint has been made repeatedly that members of Federal Unions are persistently trespassing upon the jurisdiction of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be directed to inform all Federal Unions that such violations of the law must cease, and further, that members of Federal Unions must carry out the laws of the American Federation of Labor and the laws of its affiliated International and National Unions.

The committee recommended that the resolution be approved. The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate T. Briggs, of Calumet Joint Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The Cement Block Setters, of Kensington, Ill., are duly chartered and recognized by the American Federation of Labor as Local Union No. 12904; and

WHEREAS, Said organization has succeeded in establishing a wage scale of 62 1-2 cents per hour and an eight-hour work day; and

WHEREAS, The men of Local 12904 endeavored to join both the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers and the Bricklayers' Union, but met with refusal from both organizations, they were then granted a charter by the A. F. of L. through the efforts of the Calumet Joint Labor Council; and

WHEREAS, The members of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers are now doing the work allotted to Local Union No. 12904 by the A. F. of L. and are allowing their members to work for 37 1-2 cents per hour to the detriment of the members of Local No. 12904; and

WHEREAS, Such action is contrary to the best interests of the labor movement and injurious to the members of Local Union No. 12904; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, by the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that such actions are unwarranted and that the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers be requested to instruct their members to discontinue such actions in the future.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Building Trades Department, and that no charter be granted to cement block setters' organizations in the future.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates D. D'Alessandro, J. B. Etchison and Joseph D'Andre, of the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers' International Union.

WHEREAS, In the city of New York, our local unions for the last three years have not been able to receive recognition from the Building Trades Council, affiliated with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor; and,

WHEREAS, The independent union has been recognized by such body; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention direct the Incoming Executive Board to notify the Secretary of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor to make an effort to have our local unions in New York city seated in the Council; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That if the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department takes no action along this line, that the Incoming Executive Board of this International Union stop paying per capita tax, if necessary, until our local unions in New York city are seated in the Building Trades Council of that city; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a copy of this resolution be sent to every member of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and also a copy be sent to Secretary Frank Morrison of the American Federation of Labor.

It appears that this resolution has been introduced in this Convention through misapprehension, and your committee recommends that it be referred to Building Trades Department.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Your committee in concluding this report desires to express appreciation of the splendid efforts put forth by the Executive Council in behalf of harmony, peace, solidarity and unity among the organized workers of America, and it should be our most earnest wish that this good work be continued until all petty disputes and internal strife are removed from the Trade and Labor Union Movement.

**JAMES A. SHORT**, Chairman.

**C. W. FRY**,

**GEO. F. HEDRICK**,

**F. M. RYAN**,

**F. J. McNULTY**,

**M. O'SULLIVAN**,

**D. D'ALESSANDRO**,

**WM. J. MCSORLEY**,

**JOHN DONLIN**,

**PAUL BLANCHI**,

**J. THOS. KINSELLA**,

**WM. J. TRACEY**,

**FRANK FEENEY**,

**O. A. TVEITMOE**, Secretary.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

Delegate Miller obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution, and submitted the following:

Resolution No. 177.—By Delegates Owen Miller, of the American Federation of Musicians; John T. Smith, of the Cigar Makers' International Union; Charles W. Wilkerson, of the Missouri State Federation of Labor; Louis P. Philipp, of the St. Louis Trades and Labor Union, and Daniel Willby, of the Springfield, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Assembly:

WHEREAS, One Edgar G. Bailey, a former member of the Hackmen's Union, of Kansas City, Mo., was in 1904, tried and convicted for murder in the first degree, for killing one Ferguson, a non-union hack driver, during the Hack Drivers' strike, in that city; and

WHEREAS, Said Bailey was sentenced to death, but this sentence was commuted

to imprisonment for life by the then Governor, Joseph W. Folk; and

WHEREAS, Since then the Missouri State Federation of Labor, has instituted an investigation, and found much evidence to prove that Bailey acted in self-defense, and that he was convicted through the evidence of utterly unreliable witnesses, which fact has been so well substantiated that the Prosecuting Attorney and Mr. Phil R. Troll, the then President of the Kansas City Employers' Association, agree that Bailey after serving seven years penal servitude, should be pardoned; and

WHEREAS, The Missouri State Federation of Labor having secured evidence substantiating these extenuating circumstances, have petitioned Gov. Herbert S. Hadley, to grant a pardon to Edgar G. Bailey; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor now in session in Atlanta, Ga., that the attitude of the Missouri State Federation of Labor in the case of Edgar G. Bailey, be endorsed and the same be transmitted to Gov. Herbert S. Hadley immediately.

On motion of Delegate Miller the resolution was adopted.

Delegate Wilson (W. B.), in the chair.

Chairman Wilson announced that the hour for the special order had arrived and nominations for President would be in order.

Delegate Golden placed in nomination for President, Samuel Gompers. There being no further nominations, on motion the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for Samuel Gompers.

The Secretary complied with the instructions of the Convention, and Samuel Gompers was declared duly elected President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Huber, on behalf of the District Council of Carpenters, presented to President Gompers a handsome gavel made of all the different woods known in Georgia. President Gompers made suitable acknowledgment of the gift.

President Gompers in the chair.

Delegate Frey placed in nomination for the office of First Vice-President, James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters' International Association. There being no further nominations the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for James Duncan for First Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the Convention, and James Duncan was de-

clared duly elected First Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate McCullough (T. W.), placed in nomination for Second Vice-President, John Mitchell of the United Mine Workers of America. There being no further nominations, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for John Mitchell for Second Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the Convention, and John Mitchell was declared duly elected Second Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Berry placed in nomination for Third Vice-President, James O'Connell of the International Association of Machinists. There being no further nominations the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous consent of the Convention for James O'Connell for Third Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the Convention and James O'Connell was declared duly elected Third Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Keegan (J. J.), placed in nomination for Fourth Vice-President, D. A. Hayes, of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association. There being no further nominations, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for D. A. Hayes for Fourth Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the Convention and D. A. Hayes was declared duly elected Fourth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Larger placed in nomination for Fifth Vice-President, William D. Huber of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Tveitmo. There being no further nominations, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for William D. Huber for Fifth Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the Convention and William D. Huber was declared duly elected Fifth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Wilson (J.), placed in nomination for Sixth Vice-President, Joseph F. Valentine, of the International Molders' Union of North America. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Frey. There being no further nominations the Secre-

tary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for Joseph F. Valentine for Sixth Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the Convention, and Joseph F. Valentine was declared duly elected Sixth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Leonard placed in nomination for Seventh Vice-President, John R. Alpine of the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers. There being no further nominations, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for John R. Alpine for Seventh Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the Convention, and John R. Alpine was declared duly elected Seventh Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Miller placed in nomination for Eighth Vice-President, Henry B. Perham of the Order of Railway Telegraphers. There being no further nominations, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for Henry B. Perham. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the Convention, and Henry B. Perham was declared duly elected Eighth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Brais placed in nomination for Treasurer, John B. Lennon, of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America. There being no further nominations, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for John B. Lennon. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the Convention, and John B. Lennon was declared duly elected Treasurer for the ensuing year.

Delegate Ryan (M. F.), placed in nomination for Secretary, Frank Morrison, of the International Typographical Union. There being no further nominations, the President was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for Frank Morrison for Secretary for the ensuing year.

Each officer, upon the announcement of his election, made a brief address to the Convention, thanking the delegates for the unanimous election, and pledging their best efforts to the work of the organization for the coming year.

The chairman announced that election of two fraternal delegates to the British

Trades Union Congress would be in order, and that nominations were in order for the first fraternal delegate.

Delegate Woll placed in nomination George L. Berry, of the International Printing Pressmen's Union.

Delegate Leonard placed in nomination J. J. Keegan, of International Association of Machinists. Delegate Keegan declined the nomination.

There being no further nominations, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for George L. Berry for fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the Convention, and George L. Berry was declared duly elected fraternal delegate.

Delegate Ryan (M. F.), placed in nomination for second fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress William D. Mahon of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees. (Seconded by Delegate Connors.)

Delegate Wilson (W. B.), placed in nomination John H. Walker, United Mine Workers of America.

Delegate Klapetzky placed in nomination Owen Miller, of the American Federation of Musicians.

#### Roll Call on Election of Fraternal Delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

For Mahon—Franklin, Casey, Wefand, Flynn (Jos.), Tobin (J. F.), Baine, Hallinan, Schaffer, Dano, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' delegation (66 2-3 votes), Brotherhood of Carpenters' delegation (834 votes), Tveitmoee, Gengenback, Goellnitz, Cigarmakers' delegation (218 votes), Electrical Workers' delegation (94 votes), Brennan, Friel, Iron and Steel Workers' delegation (23 votes), Bryan, Longshoremen's delegation (187 votes), Maintenance of Way Employees' delegation (50 votes), Metal Polishers' delegation (50 votes), Sheet Metal Workers' delegation (86 votes), Painters' delegation (113 votes), Nelson, Menge, Cartildge, Printing Pressmen's delegation (126 votes), Ryan (M. F.), Nolte, Mahon, Taber, Commons, Lilly, Stone Cutters' delegation (29 votes), Connors, Textile Workers' delegation (50 votes), McAndrew, Evans (E. Lewis), O'Brien (Joe), Durnin, Dowd, Graney, Blakey, Jones, Tharp, O'Brien (W. H.), Ferry, Carroll, Hassenpflue, Sontheimer, Schaffer, Scoggan, Quick, Doherty, Fahey, Wendt, Pace, James Russi, Johannsen, Morton, McAndrews Forehand, Dwyer, Cornette, representing 3382 2-3 votes.

For Walker—Kennedy (A. J.), Koch, Kerker, Brewery Workmen's delegation (270 votes), Brotherhood of Carpenters' delegation (1112 votes), Gilmore, Wilkinson, Conway, Pfeil, Christman, Thomas, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Glass, McNamara, Healy, Rosenberg, Bloch, Kleinman, Polakoff, Dubinsky, Hayes (D. A.), Cain, Pierce, Ring, Nestor, Duncan, Bianchi, Russell, Lawlor, Moffitt, Shalvoy, D'Alessandro, Etchison, D'Andrea, Iron and Steel Workers' delegation (22 votes), McSorley, Taggart, Brock, Longshoremen's delegation (63 votes), O'Connell, Fry, Keegan, Buckley, Handley, Price, Metal Polishers' delegation (50 votes), Sheet Metal Workers' delegation (86 votes), Mine Workers' delegation (2146 votes) Moyer, Cannon, Williams (J. C.), Mahoney, Valentine, Frey, Curran, Duffy (P. F.), Murtaugh, Painters' delegation (113 votes), Wilson (James), Gernon, Woll, Donlin, McGivern, Ward, Clark, Alpine, Tracey (William), Murphy, Malley, Sultor, Miller (J. F.), Gallagher (T. J.), Mounts, Gallagher (J. J.), Stone Cutters' delegation 57 votes, Tailors' delegation (40 votes), Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Neer, McLaughlin, Hermann, Textile Workers' delegation (50 votes), William (T. J.), Carolan, Lynch, Hayes (Max), Stevenson, McCullough (T. W.), Hatch, Mulcahy, Pfeiger, Myers, Smith (Jos.), Wilkerson, Donoghue, Leary, Henretty, Weber (F. J.), Heck, Torrey, Cox, Mead, Coleman, Agethen, Holland, Welsh, Leonard, Morris, Beceril, Dunne, East, Manning, Engdahl, representing 9,218 votes.

For Miller—Noschang, Klapetzky, Fischer (Jacob), Anderson (Ed.), Kline, Golden, Flanagan, Brewery Workmen's delegation (180 votes), Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' delegation (33 1-3 votes), Cigarmakers' delegation (218 votes), Hughes, Soby, Electrical Workers' delegation (95 votes), Kinsella, Mangan, Rickert, Larger, Meyer, Landers, Altman, Marshall, Kenahan, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Miller (Geo.), Patberg, Maintenance of Way Employees' delegation (50 votes), Lewis, Weber (J. N.), Miller (O.), Carey (D. A.), Winkler, Painters' delegation (450 votes), Printing Pressmen's delegation (64 votes), Perham, Soyster, Flynn (Patrick), Furuseeth, Barry, Suarez, Peterson, Bird, Tailors' delegation (80 votes), Morrison, Mikel, Iglesias, Smith (T. J.), Skemp (Meta), Schneider, Abell, Albrecht, Philippi, Alonso, Wilby, Smith (C. T.), Bohm, representing 4057 1-3 votes.

Not voting—Sovey, Butterworth, Crozier, Richardson, Humphrey, Zuckerman, Smith (Fred), Roach, Gehring, Coakley, Call, Carey (J. T.), Hannah, Sheret, Mallin, Gaviak, Kaefer, Curtis, Birnes, Cooke, DeVaux, Gallagher, (A. J.), Holder, McKenna, Lawrence, Coffey, Ryan, (E. H.), Lavin, Shay, Buckley, Kelly (Wm. E.), Anderson (W. H.), Hirsch, Lowell, DeYoung, Hurley, Conner, Hardy, Jones (J. R.), Munn, Smith (L. W.), Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Carter, Haines, Briggs, Gray, Hobbs, Kennedy (T. G.),

Davis, Wangberg, Ullrich, Fuller, Taylor, Ingram, Smith (A. W.), Winchenback, Noonan, White, (C. E.), Wright, Voll, Wilson (O. C.), Ford, Belt, Welsh (T. E.), Creamer, Donnelly (J. L.), Lebowitz, Saum, Ham, Schaub, Crinion, Roberts, Glockling, representing 582 votes.

Delegate Walker was declared duly elected fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Delegate Ryan (M. F.), placed in nomination for fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress John T. Smith, of the Cigarmakers' Union. There being no further nominations, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for John T. Smith. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the Convention, and John T. Smith was declared duly elected fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

The President stated that nominations were in order for the next Convention city.

Delegate Henretty placed in nomination Seattle, Washington.

Delegate Casey placed in nomination Richmond, Virginia. (Seconded by Delegate Pace.)

Delegate Curran placed in nomination Rochester, New York.

**Roll Call on Selection of a Convention City.**

For Seattle—Wilkinson, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Miller (Geo.), Pattberg, McSorley, Taggart, Mitchell (John), Hayes (F. J.), Lewis, Walker, McCullough (E. S.), McDonald, Wilson (W. B.), Moyer, Cannon, Williams (J. C.), Mahoney, Weber (J. N.), Miller (O.), Carey (D. A.), Winkler, Donlin, McGivern, Ward (Jas.), Nelson, Berry, Marks, Johnston, Soyster, Miller (J. F.), Gallagher (T. J.), Mahon, Taber, Commons, Flynn (Patrick), Furuseth, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Neer, McLaughlin, Hermann, Mulcahy, Mikel, Smith (Jos.), Donoghue, Henretty, Torrey, Ferry, Schaffer, Scoggan, Philipp, Russi, Johannsen, Beceril, Bohm, Forehand, representing 5556 votes.

For Richmond—Kilne, Golden, Flanagan, Franklin, Casey, Weyand, Flynn (Jos.), Brotherhood Carpenters delegation (556 votes), Gilmore, Williams (John), Selway, Brock, O'Connor, Kelleher, Cole, Vaccarelli, Lowe, O'Donnell, Gerrey, Painters delegation (113 votes), Ryan (M. F.), Mounts, Nolte, Gallagher (J. J.), Lilly, Pfeiffer, Myers, Blakey, Jones (Jerome), Carroll, Abell, Doherty, Wendt, Pace, Morton, Cornette, Manning, representing 1709 votes.)

For Rochester—Kennedy (A. J.), Koch, Kerker, Noschang, Klapetzky, Fishes

(Jacob), Anderson (Ed), Tobin (J. F.), Baine, Hallinan, Schaffer, Dano, Proebstle, Kemper, Ward, (E. F.), Kugler, Sullivan (John), Ryan (F. M.), Butler, Clark (Wm.), Brotherhood Carpenters (1390 votes), Tveitmoee, Gengenback, Goellnitz, Gompers, Tracy, (T. F.), Barnes, Smith (John T.), Thomas, McNulty, Collins, Fay, Yount, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Glass, McNamara, Healy, Brennan, Friel, Kinsella, Mangan, Rickert, Larger, Meyer, Landers, Altman, Rosenberg, Bloch, Kleinman, Polakoff, Dubinsky, Hayes (D. A.), Cain, Pierce, Ring, Nestor, Duncan, Bianchi, Russell, Lawlor, Muffitt, Shalvoy, D'Alessandro, Etchison, D'Andrea, Bryan, O'Connell, Fry, Keegan, Buckley, Handley, Price, Daly, Rumsey, O'Sullivan, Bobb, Hynes, Walsh (Thos.), Valentine, Frey, Curran, Duffy (P. F.), Murtaugh, Painters' delegation (563 votes), Wilson (James), Gernon, Woll, Alpine, Tracey (Wm.), Murphy, Malley, Perham, Barry, Suarez, Peterson, Bird, Mitchell (M. W.), Short, Bridwell, Connors, Brails, Lennon, Biggs, Golden, Morgan, Williams (T. J.), Carolan, McAndrew, Evans (E. Lewis), Lynch, Morrison, Hayes (Max S.), Stevenson, McCullough (T. W.), Hatch, Wilkerson, Leary, Dowd, Graney, Lavin, Tharp, Heck, Hassenplue, Sontheimer, Mead, Schneider, Coleman, Agethen, Fahy, Albrecht, Holland, Welsh (E. F.), Leonard, Willby, McAndrews, Donnelly, Dunne, Engdahl, representing 9028 votes.

**Not Voting**—Sovey, Butterworth, Crozier, Richardson, Humphrey, Conway, Pfeil, Christman, Zuckerman, Hughes, Scooby, Smith (Fred), Marshall, Kenahan, Roach, Gehring, Coakley, Call, Carey (J. T.), Hannah, Sheret, Clark (Wm. D.), Menge, Cartledge, Malin, Sultor, Gaviak, Kafer, Curtis, Birnes, Cooke, DeVeaux, Gallagher, (A. J.), Holder, McKenna, Lawrence, De Young, O'Brien (Joe), Durbin, Coffey, Ryan (E. H.), Iglesias, Emith (T. J.), Shay, Weuer, Buckley, Kelly (Wm. E.), Anderson (W. H.), Hirsch, O'Brien (W. H.), Lowell, Hurler, Conner, Hardy, Jones (J. R.), Munn, Smith (L. W.), Oliver, Hassard, Evans (J. F.), Carter, Haines, Cox, Briggs, Skemp (Meta), Quick, Gray, Hobbs, Kennedy (T. G.), Davis, Wangberg, Ullrich, Fuller, Taylor, James, Alonso, Ingram, Smith (A. W.), Winchenback, Noonan, White (C. E.), Wright, Smith (C. T.), Voll, Morris, Wilson (O. C.), Ford, Belt, Welsh, Creamer, Dwyer, Lebowitz, Saum, Ham, East, Schaub, Crinion, Roberts, Glockling, representing 947 votes.

Delegates Pace and Henretty stated that they desired the selection of Rochester made unanimous.

#### **Report of Committee on Boycotts.**

Delegate Lynch (J. M.), Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate Groce Lawrence, of the Illinois State Federation:

WHEREAS, The strike of the Brick Tile and Terra Cotta Workers Alliance, Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men and Stationary Firemen, against the Purlington Paving Brick Company of Galesburg, Illinois, is still on, and is being vigorously prosecuted by the three unions involved after a year and a half of strife; and

WHEREAS, The aforesaid Purlington Paving Brick Company still maintain their hostile and uncompromising attitude toward organized labor saying that they can whip the Brickmakers and the entire Federation of Labor and refusing to permit any members of a labor union, with the exception of the Bricklayers' Union to work in its plant; and

WHEREAS, The boycott against the Purlington Paving Brick Company is at the present time more effective than at any previous time during the strike; and

WHEREAS, A determined effort by the organized workers of Illinois would greatly aid us in the unionizing of the Purlington plants; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to continue to use every means at their command to further this boycott; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention render all possible financial assistance to the three organizations involved in said strike.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 8 be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate John Carroll, of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Chicago Printer Roller Makers' Union No. 10638, American Federation of Labor, did on September 14th, 1909, solicit through Secretary Morrison the aid of the American Federation of Labor in the general organization of the Printer Roller Makers' craft throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor representatives at the St. Louis Convention of the American Federation of Labor did, under instructions, introduce a resolution requesting Convention endorsement of the action of the Chicago Central Bodies and Chicago Printer Roller Makers' Union No. 10638 in placing Chicago's scab printer roller concern, the Samuel Bingham Sons Manufacturing Company, on the unfair list, and requesting the moral aid of all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to make the aforesaid boycott effective; and

WHEREAS, Neither the promised organization of the country's Printer Roller Makers by the American Federation of Labor, nor the pledged assistance of those organizations enroll-

ed under the banner of the American Federation of Labor in the active boycotting of the scab printer roller making firm of Samuel Bingham Sons Manufacturing Company has ever been given practical form or expression; and

WHEREAS, Both requests were, and are, not only modest in character, but likewise in strict conformity with trade union principles, that provide and recognize that an injury to one becomes the concern of all; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor delegates, in regular convention assembled, instruct the officials of the American Federation of Labor to seriously take up the work of organizing the unorganized Printer Roller Makers in the various metropolitan centers, and all affiliated unions, especially those identified with the printing trades—be instructed to discourage the use of scab printer rollers by their members, especially those printer rollers produced by the unfair Samuel Bingham Sons Manufacturing Company.

The committee recommended that the Executive Council make an effort to adjust the contention between the Chicago Printer Roller Makers Union 10638 and the Samuel Bingham Sons Manufacturing Company, that attention be given to the organization of unions of printer roller makers where such opportunity exists, and that the unions identified with the printing trades be requested to use their influence against the use of unfair printer rollers.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate Abraham Rosenberg, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The work people employed in the ladies' garment industry in the city of Cleveland were working under the most miserable and oppressive conditions, viz.: Working in sweat shops, working long hours for starvation wages and under a system of blacklisting; and

WHEREAS, Manufacturers of ladies' garments in the city of Cleveland have persistently refused to meet a committee for the purpose of co-operative adjustment of said conditions or to submit same to arbitration; and

WHEREAS, Such refusal of the Manufacturers of the city of Cleveland resulted in the cessation of work on June 7, 1911, involving 6,000 men and women; and

WHEREAS, Said strike is still pending; and

WHEREAS, The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has expended over \$300,000 to defray the expenses of such strike; therefore, be it



RESOLVED, That the thirty-first annual convention of the American Federation of Labor pledge its full moral support and assistance to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to try and bring about an adjustment of the existing controversy; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, instruct all organizers, central and state bodies and the Labor Press to make known to the merchants and consuming public the conditions under which ladies' garments are manufactured in the city of Cleveland.

The committee recommended the adoption of the proposition. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 86—By International Typographical Union delegation:

WHEREAS, The Cambridge University Press, with headquarters in England, the United States and Canada, is prosecuting with great vigor the campaign for the sale of the eleventh edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, reaching many friends of labor with alluring advertisements setting forth the qualities of the work; and

WHEREAS, The American edition of the eleventh edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica was produced under unfair conditions in one of the most notorious of rat printing shops, and this, in spite of protest made to the publishers, notifying them of the character of the firm to whom the contract was given, with due notice of its unfriendly attitude towards organized labor, which same attitude has been persisted in for many years; in order that the friends of organized labor may not be deceived into the purchase of the product of unfair and unfriendly publishers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor present these facts to all friends of organized labor that they may know that the eleventh edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, now being advertised throughout the United States and Canada, was produced under unfair conditions, and is, therefore, not entitled to and should not receive the patronage of fair-minded people or friends of labor.

The committee recommended the adoption of the proposition. The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 104—By the International Typographical Union Delegation:

WHEREAS, The New York Christian Herald, on April 6, 1911, locked out its entire mailing force of Union men and displaced them with non-union help; and,

WHEREAS, This lockout occurred without a moment's notice to the New York Mailers' Union, after members of the Union had given the Christian Herald for a number of years good and faithful service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, declares the action of the Christian Herald as unfair and inconsistent with the mission of the paper; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to bring all the influence possible to bear to the end that the Christian Herald shall re-employ in its mailing department members of New York Mailers' Union No. 6.

The committee recommended the adoption of the proposition.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 108—By Delegates Chris Kerker and Henry Koch, of the International Union of Bakery and Confectionery Workers:

WHEREAS, The Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America has been forced in a severe contest with the newly organized "Bread Trust" by the pool bosses of the country, known as the Schults Bread Company, the American or General Baking Company, and the Ward Baking Company, and its subsidiary companies known as the Corby Yeast Company, and the Daly Machine Company, a branch of the steel trust; and

WHEREAS, The above named combination has declared for the open shop, which means closed to the union man, in the bakery and confectionery industry; and

WHEREAS, The Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union vigorously, manfully, determinedly and in a straightforward trade union way, stand opposed to the open shop policy of this gigantic system; and

WHEREAS, As the situation presents itself, we picture it with serious alarm and apprehension for we recognize in it an insidious attack on organized labor, and placing the organization at stake; and

WHEREAS, The Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union, through its National officers and committees from the central bodies, did try to settle the controversy but were unsuccessful in bringing about a mutual understanding; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-first Convention, in session in Atlanta, Georgia, of the American Federation of Labor, instruct its President to arrange for a conference, not later, if possible, than sixty days after the convention between the aforesaid concerns, the president or representative of the A. F. of L. and the National Representative of the Bakers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That if they are unsuccessful then that the products of Ward Bread Company, known as Tip-Top Bread, the Schults Bread Company, known as the Bronx Bread, and the General Baking Company, known as Butter Krust, Butter Nut and Pan Dandy, be placed on the unfair list of organized labor throughout the country.

The committee recommended that the proposition be referred to the Executive Council, with the suggestion that the conference mentioned therein be arranged for as soon as possible. The re-

port of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate T. R. Lilly, of the Saw Smiths' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The Atkins Saw Company has been placed on the unfair list recently by Machinists' Union No. 161, of Indianapolis, Ind., without consulting the Saw Smiths and other unions working in said plant; and

WHEREAS, The product of said firm—that is, the manufacture of saws—is made exclusively by union members of the Saw Smiths' Union in good standing; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That before such arbitrary action is taken in the future all grievances of any kind be submitted to the unions involved, for investigation and action, majority vote of all interested parties to decide the course to be pursued, and we further protest against the product of our members being placed on the unfair list, when there is no cause for such action.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council arrange for a conference in Indianapolis, made up of representatives from each of the International Unions interested in the contention; that the conference shall consider and attempt to make effective the unionizing of the Atkins Saw Company's plant in all its mechanical departments, and in the event that result is not accomplished to agree on a plan of campaign that will promise eventual success.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 130—By Delegate Andrew J. Gallagher, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The members of the System Federation of Railway Employees of the Harriman Lines have now been on strike for over five weeks; and

WHEREAS, Our strike has badly crippled the Company's service and, while we feel assured of ultimate victory, yet that desired end could be achieved with much less trouble to us and the general public if we could obtain the entire assistance of those employed by the Company who are not affiliated with the System Federation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and all International Unions affiliated therewith are earnestly requested to bring all possible influence to bear toward securing the assistance of those engaged in the handling of trains to the end that a conference may be held and our just demands be presented in the most forceful manner to the officials of the Harriman System; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That your honorable bodies take steps immediately to put all the

railroad lines of the Harriman System on the unfair list, and that you call the attention of the Engineers, Fireman, Conductors, Trainmen, Switchmen and all other trades connected with the handling of trains, not to assist by repairing or handling anything pertaining to the keeping in running order of locomotives, boilers, rolling stock or other equipment, but that they confine their work strictly to their own calling. That you send all available men to the R. R. Lines, organizers, business agents, etc., to keep the strike situation in good shape and thereby assist us in securing a speedy and decisive victory.

The committee recommended that the proposition be referred to the Railway Department of the A. F. of L.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 134—By Delegates Ladies' Garment Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, Messrs. Harris and Blanck, proprietors of the Triangle Waist Co., of New York city, have been requested to provide safe and sanitary workshops for their employees; and

WHEREAS, said firm refused to grant said request, the employees decided to stop work until safer conditions were provided and declared a strike against said firm; and

WHEREAS, The Triangle Waist Co., with the assistance of certain politicians, defeated the objects of their organized employees and employed strike-breakers to assist them; and

WHEREAS, A fire occurred in workshop of said firm on Saturday, March 26, 1911, resulting in the loss of lives of 147 operatives of above named firm; and

WHEREAS, A number of these employees have testified that the employers had insisted on keeping the exits locked; and

WHEREAS, Both Messrs. Harris and Blanck have after an investigation been arrested and held for trial charged with causing the loss of lives of 147 persons, and for some unknown reason their trial has been postponed for about nine months; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. use their good offices to bring to trial those guilty of causing this sad catastrophe; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the accused Messrs. Harris and Blanck are in the shirtwaist business under the name of the Reliance Waist Co., and working under the same conditions as prior to March 26, 1911; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. place the Reliance Waist Co. on the unfair list.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the Convention express its condemnation of the conditions that were responsible for the Triangle Waist Company horror; that it urge the State and city authorities to exercise unceasing vigilance and precau-

tion to prevent a repetition of the calamity; that these authorities make immediate investigation of working and sanitary conditions and fire escape facilities in the plant of the Reliance Waist Company, and that organized labor and sympathizers have in view the identity of interests between the Triangle Waist Company and the Reliance Waist Company. We also recommend to the Executive Council that it exert its influence to the end that those responsible for the Triangle catastrophe shall be brought to speedy trial and penalty.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 138—By Delegate J. T. Carey, of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Paper Makers and Allied Crafts engaged in the manufacture of paper, have for years encountered united opposition on the part of the paper manufacturers, to all efforts to organize with the hope of abolishing slavery conditions still existing in a large number of paper mills; and

WHEREAS, On account of the large number of paper mill employes still unorganized, which has retarded the growth of organized labor generally; and

WHEREAS, Paper manufacturers have boycotted the paper bearing the label of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, to the extent of compelling the discontinuance of the sale of union-made paper in a number of localities; and

WHEREAS, On account of the boycotts of the label of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers on the part of the United Manufacturers, other manufacturers, that are otherwise friendly to their employes, dare not grant a shorter hour work-day to their employes for fear of boycott on the part of the Paper Trust; and

WHEREAS, The Elkhart Paper Company, of Elkhart, Ind., a fair corporation, has placed before organized labor a plan for the co-operative ownership and control of the Elkhart Paper Mills, agreeing to sell the controlling interest in the mills with the distinct understanding that the control of the management of the mills remain in possession of members of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The co-operative plan as submitted by the Elkhart Paper Company or some other feasible plan of control if adopted, would provide that organized labor and those friendly to the cause, could secure union-made paper at reasonable cost; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., will, as soon as possible, make a full investigation of the co-operative proposition as submitted by the Elkhart Paper Company, and that

the Executive Council or some member or members thereof, or some other person or persons, deputized by them, make full investigation of the property of the Elkhart Paper Company together with the books and accounts of the Elkhart Paper Company, and that same be submitted to all allied national and international organizations, state branches and city central bodies with the recommendation of the Executive Council, as to the feasibility of the proposition submitted by the Elkhart Paper Company, this report to be submitted as soon as possible.

The committee reported as follows:

In lieu of the foregoing your committee recommends that all international and national unions, state and city central bodies and local unions with official publications, and managers of labor journals, be urged, when paper contracts expire, to arrange for the use of union label water marked paper.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 156 be amended by striking out the words "do and hereby promise" in line 5 of the last Resolve, and substituting the words "be requested," the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 156—By Delegates Andrew C. Hughes and Frank Scoby, of the Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, A cooperage firm known as the Western Cooperage Company, located in the city of Los Angeles, Cal., has locked out the coopers that were formerly employed in that establishment because they joined the Coopers' International Union, and the Coopers' International Union; and

WHEREAS, The aim, purpose, and intent of this firm, who, by the way, are members of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association of that city, is to adhere to the policy of the open shop; and

WHEREAS, The Coopers' International Union has spent thousands of dollars during the past year in spreading the gospel of trade unionism in Southern California, combating powerful opposition coming from the large cooperage concerns engaged in the manufacture of wine and brandy barrels; and

WHEREAS, We realize our strength as members of organized labor to such a degree of assurance that to have the help of the American Federation of Labor and its membership in California join with the Coopers' International Union in tabooing such an unwarranted, un-American and unbusinesslike policy pursued by the Western Cooperage Company; and

WHEREAS, The Western Barrel

Company, of Los Angeles, now operates a union cooper shop in the city of San Francisco because of the great strength of organized labor's patronage in that locality; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, do denounce the action of the Western Coöperage Company for attempting to deprive free men to join the union of their craft, whose sacred object is to obliterate avarice, ignorance, and slavery from these shores; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the members of the American Federation of Labor in general, and of friends in San Francisco and other points in the far west, be requested to bear well in mind the nefarious action on the part of the Western Coöperage Company.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that resolution No. 158 be amended by striking out the last Resolve, which reads: "That the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor place the product of the Bishop and Babcock Company of Cleveland, Ohio, on the 'we don't patronize' list," and substituting another Resolve, the amended resolution to read:

**Resolution No. 158—By Delegates T. M. Daly and Thomas Rumsey** Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers Union of N. A.

**WHEREAS**, Inasmuch as the greater per cent of the breweries are thoroughly organized, and as these breweries depend largely on organized labor for the sale of their product; and

**WHEREAS**, The firm of the Bishop & Babcock Company, of Cleveland, Ohio, manufacturers of beer pumps, bar supplies, etc., are antagonistic to organized labor, and have been placed on the unfair list by the Ohio Federation of Labor, and by the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America; and

**WHEREAS**, There are other firms strictly union that are able to furnish this class of goods bearing the union label; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the convention direct the attention of organized wage earners and sympathizers to the antagonistic attitude of the Bishop and Babcock Company.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 163—By Delegates T. M. Daly and Thos. Rumsey:**

**WHEREAS**, The Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers have been on strike at the Ansonia Clock Co., of Brooklyn, N. Y., for the past twelve months in an effort to reduce their hours of labor from ten to nine per day, and

**WHEREAS**, The Ansonia Clock Co. entered into an agreement with our International Officers to settle the grievance, but the Ansonia Clock Co. violated every part of the agreement; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor place the products of the Ansonia Clock Co., on the "We don't patronize" list.

The committee recommended the striking out of the Resolve and substituting the following:

**RESOLVED**, That the convention direct the attention of organized wage earners and sympathizers to the violation of contract by the Ansonia Clock Company, to its substitution of nonunion for union workers, and to the fact that its clocks are the product of a company antagonistic to union labor and union conditions of employment.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Lynch—That completes the report of the committee which is respectfully submitted and signed,

D. A. HAYES, Chairman.  
JAMES M. LYNCH, Secretary  
JAS. B. CONNORS,  
JOSEPH SMITH,  
J. H. KAEFER,  
E. R. TORREY,  
WM. J. COOKE,  
THOS. J. SMITH,  
W. A. NEER,  
EDW. H. RYAN,  
FRANK HECK,  
FRANK J. HAYES,  
THOS. CONNORS,  
H. M. MUNN,  
THOS. J. DURNIN,

Delegate Barnes (J. M.) moved that the Convention adjourn to reconvene at 8 o'clock p. m. (Seconded but not carried.)

**Report of Committee on Organization.**

Delegate Fischer, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 113 be amended by inserting the word "deck" after the word "li-

censed" where it appears in the first line of each of the Whereases and in the third line of the Resolve, the amended resolution to read.

Resolution No. 113—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Patrick Flynn, of the Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, The licensed officers of the Merchant Marine on the Pacific Coast having voted to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The licensed officers of the Atlantic Coast do not yet desire affiliation; and

WHEREAS, The licensed officers of the Pacific Coast have tried by all legitimate means to induce the licensed officers throughout the United States to affiliate themselves with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The licensed officers of the Pacific Coast realize that it would be to the best interest of all wage earners to be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The licensed officers of the Merchant Marine are amenable to certain laws and responsibilities that no other wage earners are subject to, which makes it necessary that they be granted autonomy, the same as now granted to all Internationals; and

WHEREAS, It is the intention of the licensed officers of the Pacific Coast to place themselves in a position to apply for a national charter under the name of the Marine Officers' Protective Association of the United States; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Board be instructed to give such aid and assistance to the licensed officers of the Pacific coast as shall be possible under the circumstances, and further that the Executive Board be requested to issue a charter as requested as soon as the necessary preparations therefor have been completed.

The committee recommended that the amended resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to, if possible, consolidate in one organization the licensed deck officers of the Atlantic and Pacific under a charter of the A. F. of L. Should the licensed deck officers of the Atlantic Coast refuse to become a part of such consolidated organization affiliated with the A. F. of L., then the Executive Council shall have the authority to issue a charter to the licensed deck officers of the Pacific Coast, giving them jurisdiction over this branch of the Marine industry.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 173—Presented by Delegates Duncan McDonald, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, United Mine Workers.

WHEREAS, There is an organization known as the Provincial Workmen's Association in existence in certain portions of Canada, said organization claiming jurisdiction over the coal miners employed in the coal mines of Nova Scotia and purporting to represent them in negotiating wage contracts for them in that territory; and

WHEREAS, The men employed in and around the mines in Nova Scotia by a large majority some years ago decided to become a part of the United Mine Workers of America, and repudiated the organization known as the Provincial Workmen's Association, its officers and agents; and

WHEREAS, This so-called organization through its officers have since joined hands with the employers in their efforts to destroy and disrupt the United Mine Workers of America in that section, and have assisted in furnishing scabs and strike breakers working under the protection of the detectives and thugs employed by the coal companies, thereby proving themselves traitors to the best interests of the workers; and

WHEREAS, This so-called organization through its officers is again attempting to represent the Mine Workers in formulating a scale of wages on a basis satisfactory to the coal companies and upon which no worker can hope to exist and live, as a worker should live; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention condemn the actions of the men in charge of this outlaw organization as a menace to a civilized community, and a band of traitors who are being paid for their dirty, nefarious work, and who by their action are helping to retard the work of the bona fide trades-unionists and who by co-operating with the thugs and detectives of the employers, are placing themselves on a plane lower than that of the meanest scab or strike breaker.

The committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 110—By Delegate W. E. Scoggan, of the Black Hills Trades Assembly:

WHEREAS, The Black Hills Trades Assembly did, under date of August 14th, 1911, send an appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, No response has been had to said appeal, and the needs of this district are very urgent and unless action is taken at a very early date the entire trade union movement will be wiped out in this District by the notoriously unfair mining corporation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the incoming Executive Council be instructed to make an immediate investigation of the situation and render such aid as in their judg-

ment the case will warrant; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That an organizer of the A. F. of L. be sent into this District to assist in reorganizing the entire field to the end that union men will be restored to their lawful rights.

The committee reported that the case had already been acted upon in Resolution No. 84, and therefore no further action was necessary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 15 and 107 covering the same subject, were reported on as follows:

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate Duncan McDonald, of the United Mine Workers:

**WHEREAS**, The employing class by joining together their companies and uniting together the various firms are gradually combining the wealth of the nation in trusts and syndicates, tending to the concentration of all industry; and

**WHEREAS**, This combination of wealth in this manner, being an economic necessity, places the employing interests in an advantageous position when it comes to an industrial conflict; and

**WHEREAS**, By our adherence to craft and trade autonomy, as we are at present organized, we are compelled to witness the defeat and disruption of the various small organizations, and are placed at an unfair disadvantage in every conflict with our employers; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we favor a policy of industrial unionism, as against craft and trades autonomy, and wherever possible we consolidate the smaller organizations into a more compact and perfect organization, that we may be the better able to protect our interests in the industrial conflicts yet to come.

Resolution No. 107—By Delegate A. W. Wright, of the Trades and Labor Council of Vancouver, B. C.:

**WHEREAS**, Considerable confusion, jurisdictional disputes, etc., arise from different local unions being organized by employees of one corporation; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, now in Convention assembled, go on record as favoring industrial unionism and proceed to organize all employees working for one company into one central body, consisting of at least five members from each department.

The committee recommended non-concurrence in both resolutions.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Fischer—That completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed by the committee.

JOHN MITCHELL, Chairman  
WM. B. MACFARLANE.  
MATT COMERFORD.  
ANDREW J. GALLAGHER.  
P. W. COLLINS.  
JAMES B. CASEY.  
T. L. LEWIS.  
JOHN T. TAGGART.  
THOS. J. WILLIAMS.  
HENRY KOCH.  
PATRICK FLYNN.  
JOHN C. SCHAFER.  
FRANK A. SCOPY.  
SANTIAGO IGLESIAS.  
JACOB FISCHER, Secretary.

#### Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate James P. Holland, Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor, as set forth in the preamble of its constitution, has recognized that a struggle is going on in all nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit, and it, therefore, behooves the representatives of the trade and labor unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled; and

**WHEREAS**, The decisions of the United States Supreme Court and of the State courts in injunction and labor cases have conclusively shown that there are constitutional provisions which have erected a wall for the protection of the capitalist interests as against the interests of the toiling millions, and that no really effective and beneficial labor legislation can be secured unless the constitution be so amended as to wipe out the two classes of master and servant; and

**WHEREAS**, the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated State Federations have devoted their energies to the enactment of national, state and territorial labor laws as well as to the embodying of provisions for the protection of labor in several state constitutions; and

**WHEREAS**, Logically and inevitably the next great step in the struggle of the oppressed to secure the recognition of rights to which the toiling millions of our country are justly entitled is the demand and propaganda for a labor amendment to the United States Constitution, ordaining that neither wage-slavery nor voluntary servitude shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction, and embodying all legislative demands of the American Federation of Labor, which shall bring about the indus-

trial emancipation of all toilers; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor in the Thirty-first annual convention assembled, That the time has arrived to crown the thirty-one years' work for labor legislation in our generation, as achieved by the American Federation of Labor, with the demand and propaganda for a labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States, to secure the industrial emancipation of all toilers; and

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and hereby is instructed to frame a labor amendment to the United States Constitution, and to inaugurate and encourage a movement leading to its adoption by the people of our country.

The committee recommended non-concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate T. Briggs, of the Calumet Joint Labor Council:

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on, and has been going on for years, in all the nations of the civilized world, between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries; a struggle between the capitalists and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the tolling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit; therefore, it behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles; first, reduction in hours of the work day; second, to secure equal pay for equal service for both men and women; third, municipal ownership of all public utilities; fourth, government ownership of national monopolies; fifth, the adoption of a constitutional amendment requiring the election of President and Vice-President and United States Senators by the direct vote of the people; sixth, and we further declare in favor of abolition of government by injunction in controversies between capital and labor.

Resolution No. 149—By Delegate B. A. Carter, of the Hammond, Ind., Trades and Labor Council:

**RESOLVED**, That the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Atlanta, Ga., go on record as being in favor of equal suffrage between men and women, we therefore recommend that the delegates to the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use their best endeavors to have such laws enacted as will place women on an equality with men at the ballot box.

The committee submitted as a substitute for Resolutions No. 124 and 149, the following:

**RESOLVED**, That this Thirty-first Convention of the American Federation of

Labor reaffirm the economic program previously adopted by the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 125—By Vallejo, Cal. Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The Secretary of the Navy recommends that a dry dock large enough to accommodate the greatest battleship, and approves of San Francisco bay as the proper site; and

WHEREAS, Mare Island is at present the Naval Base of the Pacific Coast, situated on San Francisco bay, and fully equipped to build and repair battleships; and

WHEREAS, This dock would complete the facilities to care for the government ships; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, endorse this resolution and urge our Congressmen to lend their support to this location.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee, not having sufficient information before it to warrant it in expressing any opinion as to the most available and suitable location for the construction of a dry dock in the vicinity of Vallejo or other Pacific points, therefore recommend that it is inadvisable for this Convention to favor one place in preference to other available localities.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 133 be amended by inserting after the last word in the first Whereas "with one exception and," the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 133—By Delegates Sol Polakoff, Alex. Bloch and Harry Kleinman, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The passport of all American citizens is honored in all civilized countries; and

WHEREAS, Russia, the only country among the great countries, discriminates against a certain class of American citizens; and

WHEREAS, There is a movement on foot in our country demanding the interference of our government to bring about an equal recognition of all Americans holding American passports in Russia; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the A. F. of L., in Convention assembled in Atlanta, Ga., express its hearty approval of such a movement; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, To pledge its influence to force the Russian government to fulfill its treaty obligations in honoring the passports of all American citizens regardless of race, creed or nationality.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 136—By Delegate J. A. Franklin, Louis Weyand, Joseph Flynn and James B. Casey, of the Boilermakers' Delegation:**

**WHEREAS,** At the last session of Congress there was enacted a Locomotive Boiler Inspection law, having for its object the protection of the travelling public and the employees of railroads; and

**WHEREAS,** The law requires that inspectors shall be men experienced in the construction and repair of boilers; and,

**WHEREAS,** The former occupation and experience of the inspectors appointed under the provisions of this law shows conclusively that due regard toward this provision was not observed by heads of the Locomotive Inspection Bureau and the Interstate Commerce Commission in selecting inspectors, and as a consequence men have been appointed to these responsible positions that have little, if any, practical knowledge of the duties of the position; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That we, the delegates to the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., in Convention assembled, do deplore this action which has prevented an effective enforcement of this inspection service which experience has demonstrated is essential to the protection of life and property, and therefore request the Executive Council and Legislative Committee of this Federation to do all in their power to have the provisions of this law providing for the selection of competent inspectors properly enforced.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 137—By Delegate G. E. Mikel, of the Arkansas State Federation of Labor:**

**WHEREAS,** The Central Labor Union of Hot Springs, Ark., and the individual members of the different unions affiliated therewith have undertaken to interest organized labor throughout the country in the building of a National Federation Sanatorium; and

**WHEREAS,** We believe such an institution would be one of the greatest helps toward the "uplift" of our people, and the greatest blessing that could be bestowed upon the sick or afflicted, an onward step in the progress of our movement; and

**WHEREAS,** We believe the "one spot" best fitted for such an institution would be the spot where the "God Blessed" waters flow, Hot Springs, Ark.; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That we, the delegates to the American Federation in Convention assembled, unanimously endorse the establishment of such a sanatorium and earnestly recommend that our national

officers and individual members look with favor upon this proposal and pledge our support, each and severally, to any practical plan that may be submitted for the raising of funds for such a purpose.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee while in full accord with the humanitarian object suggested in the resolution, believes that inasmuch as the American Federation of Labor is now overburdened by expenses incurred through injunction and contempt proceedings and other questions of vital importance to our movement, including the erection of an office building for the American Federation of Labor, it would be inadvisable at this time to adopt the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Mikel discussed the question briefly, and stated that he hoped that at some time the American Federation of Labor would carry out such a plan as suggested. The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

**Resolution No. 146—By Delegates Thos. V. O'Connor, Martin Cole, M. W. Kelleher and P. F. A. Vaccareli, of the International Longshoremen's Association:**

**WHEREAS,** The laws passed by the Senate and House of Congress, June 6, 1910, and covered and contained in department circular No. 207, changes the laws under which steamers of 65-foot may be operated; and

**WHEREAS,** This causes a hardship on the licensed tug-men and crews of fishing and pleasure steamers by placing lives in danger by having said steamers operated by incompetent pilots or engineers; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the above law is detrimental to the best interests of life and property, and we ask that this law be changed so that it will not include boats propelled by steam; be it further

**RESOLVED,** That the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. use all force at their command for the enactment of a statute repealing this vicious law.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 155—By Delegate A. W. Wright, of the Trades and Labor Council, of Vancouver, B. C.:**

**WHEREAS,** The handling of high potential wires and electrical appliances by incompetent workmen endangers the lives of the public; and

**WHEREAS,** Many companies are using unskilled and incompetent workmen



because they can secure such workmen at small wages; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, now in Convention assembled, introduce a Bill in the Legislature, through some member, establishing compulsory examination for all electrical workers handling high voltage currents.

The committee recommended that the resolution be amended to read:

**Resolution No. 155—By Delegate A. W. Wright, of the Trades and Labor Council, of Vancouver, B. C.:**

**WHEREAS**, The handling of high potential wires and electrical appliances by incompetent workmen endangers the lives of the public; and

**WHEREAS**, Many companies are using unskilled and incompetent workmen because they can secure such workmen at small wages; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, now in Convention assembled, recommend that the State and Provincial Federations of Labor prepare and have introduced in the several legislatures through some member, measures, establishing compulsory examination for all electrical workers handling high voltage currents.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 162—By Delegates Samuel Gompers, J. T. Smith and Thomas F. Tracy, of the Cigar Makers' International Union:**

**WHEREAS**, The Supreme Court of the United States has declared the American Tobacco Company to be a Trust, a monopoly operating in restraint of trade, and as now constituted is an illegal institution existing in violation of law, and therefore ordered its dissolution; and

**WHEREAS**, The Court gave this illegal monopoly eight months in which to dissolve and to reshape its component parts on a basis that will not be in violation of law or operated in illegal restraint of trade; and

**WHEREAS**, The President of the United States has recently said that the laws affecting monopolies, trusts and illegal organizations, such as the American Tobacco Company, will be enforced; and

**WHEREAS**, We are of the opinion that there are no legal means that can be adopted whereby the constituent parts of the illegal Tobacco Trust can be successfully reorganized and maintained on a working basis, that will not be in opposition to and antagonistic with existing laws; and

**WHEREAS**, The policy of all trusts has been opposed to organized labor, not hesitating to adopt any means, fair or foul, with which to crush the

organization of the workers; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor denounces the attitude of the American Tobacco Trust toward organized labor and pledges itself to do all that it consistently can, in keeping with its own laws and the laws of our common country, to create a healthy public sentiment in opposition to any plan being sanctioned by the Southern Division of the Circuit Court of New York, the Supreme Court of the United States, the Judicial Branch of the Federal Government, or any other constituted authority, that will permit the re-organization of this declared illegal monopoly in a way that may permit it to operate in opposition to existing laws and the decision of the United States Supreme Court; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled declares its unalterable opposition to any plan which will permit the declared illegal American Tobacco Company to reorganize by subterfuge, and thus under the guise of legal sanction, pursue its illegal and sinister method under a plan that will be in violation of existing laws.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 164—By Delegate Chas. T. Smith, of the Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C.**

**WHEREAS**, Honorable Samuel B. Donnelly, Public Printer of the United States, has indicated his disregard for the rules of the Civil Service by the employment of a man whom he must have known to be improperly and illegally registered; and

**WHEREAS**, He has accentuated his hostility to the principles of the merit system as exemplified by the Civil Service and tried to defeat its purpose by refusing to employ men who were instrumental in bringing the abuses to the attention of the Commission; and

**WHEREAS**, By the violation of established laws and rules of the Civil Service in this instance, his action tends to destroy the efficiency and demoralize the discipline of so large and important a plant as the Government Printing Office; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this Convention deplore the conditions now existing at the Government Printing Office and vigorously condemn the Public Printer for his attempt to defeat the rules of the Civil Service, and using his office to visit resentment upon men who had attempted to defend the rules of the Government under which they were employed; and, be it further

**RESOLVED,** That the Executive Council be directed to go over the data now available with reference to certain practices in the Government Printing Office, and if in their judgment the evidence is sufficient, to present the matter to the proper authorities with a view to the removal of Mr. Donnelly; and, be it further

**RESOLVED,** That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States, President Lynch of the Typographical Union and Local Union No. 6 of New York.

This resolution contains in its Whereases a request that the Convention first condemn Public Printer, Honorable Samuel B. Donnelly, and then that an investigation be made of his alleged acts. Inasmuch as the trade union movement is opposed to any decision being reached without thorough investigation, your committee offers as a substitute for the Whereases and Resolves the following:

**RESOLVED,** That the Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C., be advised by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor to prepare and submit to the proper authorities provided by the Civil Service Laws such evidence as it may have at its disposal.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 166—By Delegate Agnes Nestor, of the International Glove Workers Union of America:**

**WHEREAS,** The report of the Department of Commerce and Labor on the national investigation of conditions of work of women and children is being published in 19 volumes of the limited edition of 5,000 copies each; and

**WHEREAS,** The information contained in these volumes sets forth the individual and social menace of the industrial conditions under which thousands of young girls and women earn their living; and

**WHEREAS,** The value of this investigation, national in scope and authoritative in character, lies in reaching the general public, which is impossible with the present small limited edition; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That this Thirty-first convention of the American Federation of Labor do hereby request their Executive Council to call upon the Department of Commerce and Labor to publish a special edition of 100,000 copies of each volume.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 175—By Delegates Timothy Healy, William Brennan, M. J. Friel, of International Brotherhood of Firemen:**

**WHEREAS,** A policy of retrenchment is now going into effect in the steam plants of the Federal Buildings, which are under the control of the Secretary of the Treasury, this policy is cutting the wages of firemen and others in the various steam plants in the government buildings, which wages are not and never have been, up to the standard paid by private employers; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That this the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, request the Executive Council to immediately take this grievance up with the Honorable Secretary of the Treasury.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 172—By Hatters Delegation:**

**WHEREAS,** Owing to the death or disability of the husband and father, many women are left with dependent children to provide for; and

**WHEREAS,** This condition compels such women to enter the industrial world handicapped by their necessities which very often force them to work for less than others in order to support their children, thereby injuring their sisters and brothers in the economic struggle as they are often compelled to do work that should be done by men; and

**WHEREAS,** This deprives the children of such women of a mother's care, and denies the mother herself, to a large extent, the pleasure of her children's society; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That we, the representatives of the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, are of the opinion that in all such cases, the National Government should assume the support of the mother and children until it will be possible for them to become self-supporting; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That we hold this policy to be in line with the best principles of trade unionism. For years we have been trying, and to a large extent, succeeded in having laws passed by legislatures prohibiting the employment in factories of children of tender years and putting them in school where they properly belong; we should develop this policy a little further and take the mothers out of the economic struggle and put them where they properly belong, in the home. A law of this kind would lift a nightmare from the minds of millions of men. Every man with children would know that in case of his death, his family would be provided for by this great fraternal principle; and in our opinion if union labor is true to itself it will take this matter up with the same spirit and determination we have shown in the child labor prohibi-

tion. Nothing we could think of would bring home more forcibly to the minds of our non-union brothers how thoroughly in accord with the best interests of labor in general are the principles of trade unionism. It would bring this fact home to others than the working class. Lawyers, doctors, clergymen and others who might die poor would have their families provided for under this law. The adoption of this principle would place union labor on a higher moral plane than ever before, and would draw increased attention to us, and to our high purposes, with the result that we would be supported as we were never supported before in our noble mission to elevate mankind.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., that the object of the resolution be incorporated in the pension legislation pending before Congress.

The report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Boy Scout Movement," the committee reported as follows:

Your committee is in accord with the position assumed by the Executive Council, to thoroughly investigate the boy scout movement, and we urge that they continue their investigations and report to the American Labor movement upon the influences, economic and otherwise, of the boy scout movement.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of President Gompers dealing with the International Secretariat, and that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "International Secretariat—Budapest Congress," the committee reported as follows:

Your committee is in full accord with the instructions given by the Executive Council to Vice-President James Duncan before his departure for Europe as the delegate from this body to the Convention of the International Secretariat called at Budapest, Hungary, in 1911.

Without consultation with the chairman of the committee, Vice-President Duncan, and without ascertaining his sentiment in connection with the subject, your committee, in view of the action of this convention in giving him a unanimous vote of appreciation for his exceedingly valuable report, recommends that a

sufficient number of copies of his report to this convention be printed in pamphlet form to reach the demand which has already been manifested by the delegates to this convention since listening to the masterful presentation of the labor movement and industrial conditions in Europe which are contained in his report.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "New Mexico's Constitution" the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends a hearty endorsement of the action taken by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. in connection with the question of assisting the securing of a constitution for the State of New Mexico which would contain adequate provisions for a full and complete government of the people, by the people and for the people.

The report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Pure Food—Pure Drugs" the committee reported as follows:

Your committee commends the action of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. in connection with the efforts being made to secure the passage of laws and other enactments which would prevent the manufacture or sale of any articles of food or drugs which were adulterated or placed on sale under misleading labels or advertisements.

The report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Industrial Accidents" the committee reported as follows:

Your committee endorses the recommendation of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. that a national society for the prevention of railroad accidents should be organized along the lines suggested in this report. Your committee therefore recommends that the President and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be and are hereby instructed to use their influence towards the organization of such an association.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 174—By Delegate Chas. T. Smith, of C. L. U., Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, The Honorable Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, has awarded a contract involving an expenditure of possibly \$1,422,226, for the construction of a new building for the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, at Washington, D. C.; and

WHEREAS, The said contract has been awarded to the firm of J. Henry Miller, Inc., of Baltimore, Md., and

WHEREAS, The said firm of J. Henry Miller, is alleged to be unfair to organized labor; and

WHEREAS, It is alleged that the said firm of J. Henry Miller, has now contracts for the construction of government work that is fourteen months behind the time stipulated for the completion; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the A. F. of L., deplore this act of the Honorable Secretary of the Treasury, in ignoring the interest of the government, and the almost four thousand employes of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, by endangering a prompt completion of a new Bureau Building by awarding the contract for its construction to the said J. Henry Miller, Inc., and be it further

RESOLVED, That a communication be sent to the Honorable Secretary of the Treasury, from this convention remonstrating against awarding of the contract for the construction of the new Bureau of Engraving and Printing building to a firm that is notoriously unfriendly to organized labor and unreliable in the performance of its contractual obligations.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The Committee on Resolutions offered the following resolution:

Resolution No. 178—

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, adopts this method and opportunity of expressing its sincere appreciation for the generous spirit and cordiality of the welcome which was extended to us by the Honorable Hoke Smith, Governor of Georgia, by the Honorable Courtland S. Winn, mayor of Atlanta, and other distinguished public officials and citizens, and representatives of organized labor. That the local committee on arrangements and entertainments is justly entitled to an expression of unstinted approval on our part, for the arrangements which were made to provide ade-

quate conveniences for the comfort of the delegates while in session, and to fill the social hours with a bounteous variety of entertainment.

That the local committees and the wives and daughters of the Atlanta trades-unionists have earned our admiration for their ever thoughtful and kindly interest in the comfort and social enjoyments of our lady delegates and other ladies in attendance at this convention;

THAT the many social clubs and fraternal organizations of Atlanta, whose hospitality was so generously extended to our delegates have added to their already favorable reputation as hospitable and successful entertainers;

THAT we here record our appreciation for the spirit of fairness which has been indicated by the newspapers of Atlanta, and for their evident desire to convey an accurate account of our proceedings through their columns; and

THAT the delegates to this convention in their discussion of the subjects coming before them and in their action thereon, have indicated that our annual deliberations tend to develop the minds and broaden the vision of those who attend our conventions, fitting them to labor more effectively for the growth and success of our great movement in its efforts to secure equality of rights and opportunity for all and to elevate the American workman's standard of living.

The resolutions offered by the committee were adopted by unanimous vote.

Delegate Frey—That completes the report of the committee, which is signed,

JAMES DUNCAN, Chairman.  
B. A. LARGER,  
D. D. MULCAHY,  
JOHN T. SMITH,  
THOS. FLYNN,  
EDWARD J. MCGIVERN,  
JOS. N. WEBER,  
M. F. RYAN,  
W. D. MAHON,  
A. P. SOVEY,  
EDWARD F. WARD,  
SOL. SONTHEIMER,  
CHAS. P. FAHEY,  
JOHN A. VOLL,  
JOHN P. FREY, Secretary.

Delegate Mahon—There is one resolution I want to mention. The Secretary made mention of the licensing of men who handle high voltage in electrical

work. I disagree with the theory and the proposition, and want to be so recorded. I signed the report of the committee, but I did not agree with the resolution.

#### Report of Committee on Education.

Delegate Murtaugh, Secretary of the committee, stated that the section of the report of the committee approving the establishment of night schools had been referred back to the committee, and submitted the following amended report:

Atlanta, Georgia, November 15th, 1911.

Your Committee on Education believe it best to make recommendations on such live issues concerning education that confront not only the laboring people but all the people of the United States at the present time. Accordingly, we have considered the following topics and make the following recommendations on same:

First. The time has now arrived when compulsory education must be had. The different states should provide by proper legislation that all children between the ages of six and sixteen years should be provided with at least a common school education and given at least the ordinary opportunities for preparation in childhood to meet the duties of life.

We know from experience that existing economic conditions make it impossible for a large number of the best families among the workers to give their children the education they should have, and which they would like to give them, and also that a small number of our population are not sufficiently alive to parental duty to educate their children and, on the contrary, rather lean against same and prefer to use the physical efforts of their children for their own support rather than educate these children for the children's good in after life. This position or negation arises from three causes: 1st, lack of equitable economic conditions; 2d, lack of appreciation of parental obligations, and 3rd, remuneration received by said parents for child labor.

Therefore, as these people do not respond to the ordinary suggestions of parental love, the state must step in and provide a system by which these children shall be given at least a chance for their lives in the struggle for existence going on at the present time. The time is long since past when the ignorant and unedu-

cated stand any chance against the educated, active and well developed man. One begins this race of life at such a great advantage that the other one is never in the running with him. Without worrying the Convention with the benefits of education, suffice it to say that this great organization should present to the legislatures of the country their recommendation that strong, vigorous and effective legislation be had whereby statutes providing for compulsory education may be passed and enforced and we recommend accordingly.

Second. In line with the discussion just had, it must suggest itself to all minds that, inasmuch as the state is providing public schools, that is schools where tuition is free, it should also provide the children in such schools with books free of charge. There is no reason why the teacher should be supplied with books free of charge and the pupils should have to pay for their books. We know that the cost of books to men of large families constitutes one of the many reasons why children are taken from school at an early age and why others are not sent at all. We know that a great majority of the pupils come from homes whose parents are able to purchase books. These parents are also able to pay tuition for their children, but the state does not charge them tuition and their children sit side by side with those whose parents are incapable of paying their tuition. Hence the same situation would arise with reference to free books and if free tuition is good, free books are likewise good.

We recommend that free books in public schools be endorsed and the legislatures of the country be and they are hereby requested to provide that in all public schools books shall be furnished the children at the expense of the states.

We further recommend that the A. F. of L. go on record as approving the establishment of night schools (for persons over 16 years of age) in connection with the public school system.

We suggest that the Executive Council take this matter up with local, central, federal and state bodies, requesting them to use their influence in their respective communities to have such schools established.

Respectfully submitted,  
**WILLIS R. GOLDEN**, Chairman.  
**JOS. F. VALENTINE**,  
**ERNEST BOHM**,  
**JAS. J. FREEL**,  
**W. J. KELLY**,  
**S. POLAKOFF**,  
**M. B. CAIN**,  
**T. M. DALY**,  
**C. E. MAHONEY**,  
**JOHN MURTAUGH**,  
**DANIEL J. EVANS**,  
**GROCE LAWRENCE**,  
**G. E. SOYSTER**,  
**WM. A. McKENNA**, Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Report of Special Committee.

Delegate Tharp, for the committee, reported as follows:

Your Special Committee, appointed on the recommendation of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, have considered that part of the Executive Council's report under the caption "White Rats Actors' Union Benefit Performances" and the following resolution:

Resolution No. 42.—By Delegates Will J. Cooke, Harry DeVaux and Joseph Birnes, of the White Rats Actors' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The general membership is in full sympathy with the plans and procedure now being used to establish the innocence of the McNamara brothers and feel that the moral force of the White Rats Actors' Union should be used to strengthen and assist in the carrying out of their defense, and the fact that in all parts of this country, at all of the vaudeville theaters the largest percentage of vaudeville actors are members of the White Rats Actors' Union, ready and willing to do their share as a component part of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, It is the expressed desire of the members of the White Rats Actors' Union to have set aside each year one day all over the country when a series of theatrical performances may be given, the proceeds of which shall be donated to the duly accredited Trades Council of the city in which the entertainment shall be given; and

WHEREAS, The actors and actresses, members of our organization will give their services gratis at such entertainments, the Trades Councils to provide the theaters or halls with all necessary surroundings, music, etc., including the disposition of tickets; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Atlanta, Ga., instructs the Executive Council to make proper investigation at as early a date as possible, during the sitting of this Convention if possible, and

if it is found practicable to enter into the plan of entertainments at once for the McNamara defense fund to so report to the Convention for the purpose of having the seated delegates instructed to perfect the necessary details upon their arrival at home; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and the Executive Council shall, during the coming year, devise ways and means to have a day set aside throughout the United States and Canada to be known as "Labor Benefit Day" upon which theatrical performances may be given, the proceeds to be given to the affiliated Trades Councils, who shall conduct these benefit performances.

#### Your committee begs to report:

After carefully considering Resolution No. 42 introduced by the delegates of the White Rats Actors' Union of America, and the recommendation of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. pertaining to same proposition, we, your committee, deem it unwise to set aside a day in each year to be known as "Labor Benefit Day," upon which day, theatrical performances will be given, the actors and actresses, members of the White Rats Actors' Union, to give their services free of all cost at such entertainment, and on the other hand, the Trades Councils of each city, to bear all expenses necessary to provide the theater or halls, with all the necessary surroundings, music, etc., as well as including the disposition of tickets, the proceeds of which are to be donated to the duly accredited Central Trades Councils of the cities in which the entertainments shall be given.

But upon so much of the resolution as refers to setting aside a day to raise funds for the defense of the McNamaras, we recommend that the McNamara Ways and Means Committee be requested by President Gompers to set aside a day during the latter part of January, 1912, to be known as "McNamara Defense Day," on which day theatrical performances shall be given free of all cost for their services by the members of the White Rats Actors' Union of America, with the assistance of the Central Labor Bodies throughout the country, the proceeds of same to be forwarded to the Secretary of the A. F. of L.

We further recommend that President Gompers of the A. F. of L. notify all central bodies in regard to the foregoing, and that the delegates to this convention work to the end that the entertainments held on this day will result in a much desired success.

We further recommend that President Gompers communicate to the officers of the White Rats Actors' Union of America the appreciation of the delegates to this Convention for their generosity displayed in tendering their services gratis for the purpose of raising funds for the defense of the McNamara brothers.

E. E. THARP, Chairman,  
WM. W. RUSSELL, Secretary.  
A. J. KUGLER.

The report of the Special Committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Gompers—In the early part of the Convention a series of resolutions were introduced calling upon the President to cause an investigation to be made as to the accuracy of allegations made in the preambles of the resolutions. I immediately sent a night lettergram containing the preambles and resolutions to the organizer stationed in New York, Mr. Cal Wyatt, who replied:

Secretary Morrison read the following:

New York, Nov. 25, 1911.

"Samuel Gompers,  
Main Auditorium, Atlanta, Ga.  
"Investigation into strike of ash drivers which has been in effect in this city some days past fully justifies me in believing that statements contained in resolution forwarded me are correct in every particular.

"CAL WYATT."

Secretary Morrison read the following:

New York, Nov. 24, 1911.

Sam'l Gompers, Auditorium Armory,  
Atlanta, Ga.:

I am informed that the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia has determined that you and your associates must answer for an alleged contempt of that court. In the newspapers, before this determination, I read that the same court had appointed a committee to determine whether such contempt proceedings should be instituted against you and that one of the committee was Daniel Davenport, an attorney who had served in that case. Today in the Supreme Court of this state, application was made by the joint district council of Carpenters for an injunction enjoining and restraining the American Anti-boycott Association from practicing law and instituting baseless and vexatious litigation against the Carpenters in violation of Section 280 of the Penal Law of the State of New York. Daniel Davenport is one of the counsel for the American Anti-Boycott Association. In substance it was alleged on this application which was adjourned at the request of the defendants that it is an organized voluntary association composed of corporations, manufacturers and

attorneys engaged in the practice of law designed to destroy, if possible, workingmen's unions, and for that purpose has regularly employed counsel with officers, sending out circulars soliciting subscriptions and assessments from the corporations and firms who become members of the Association advertises in the newspapers, whenever successful, the result of its attacks upon organized labor and so on; all of which it is alleged constitutes a crime under the laws of this state. When this motion was made for an injunction against this association there gathered in court from all the hidden recesses and subterranean passages all the head devils opposed to organized labor throughout the country, to-wit: Ex-Congressmen Littlefield, of Employers Liability Fame, Daniel Davenport of Danbury Hatters Fame and a number of lesser moles who had heretofore hidden themselves in the secret recesses of the American Anti-boycott Association anxiously wondering whether the vast fees and associations which have heretofore been pouring into their pockets were suddenly about to be cut off and whether they must again go back to the ordinary toils of practicing attorneys. You thus see that we are with you in the fight against this American Anti-boycott Association and to the finish.

ELBRIDGE H. NEAL,

Sec'y Joint Dist. Council of Carpenters.

Delegate Weber—I almost feel like asking the pardon of the convention for bringing up this matter at this late hour, but circumstances over which we have had no control make it absolutely imperative that I should take the floor at this time and move that the Executive Council investigate at once the Hebrew trades of New York who are seating dual organizations. (Seconded by Delegate Holland and adopted by unanimous vote.)

Delegate Williams made a brief statement in which he protested against members of dual and seceding organizations being seated with the delegates during the sessions of the Convention and being included in the group photographs of the Convention, stating that they used these pictures to lead contractors and architects to believe they were part of the regular labor movement.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Williams, Delegate Landers and President Gompers.

Delegate Kelly (W. J.), moved that at future Conventions of the American Federation of Labor permission of the Executive Council shall be secured before literature will be distributed in the Convention hall, and that representatives of dual and seceding organizations be not

allowed to sit with the delegates.

Delegate Furuseth discussed the question briefly, and opposed censoring of any literature distributed in the Convention.

President Gompers declared the motion out of order as no new matter could be introduced in the Convention without unanimous consent.

Delegate Moorhouse stated that he had been requested by the lady delegates and visitors to extend or have the A. F. of L. extend through the Convention thanks to the ladies of Atlanta for their kindness towards the visiting ladies and the splendid entertainment they had given them. (Seconded and carried.)

President Gompers stated that Fraternal Delegate Crinion and Mrs. Crinion had been obliged to leave the Convention before the afternoon session, and stated that Fraternal Delegate Roberts would address the Convention before the parting.

Fraternal Delegate Roberts made a brief address in which he thanked the delegates and officers for the kindness and courtesy they had shown him while in the country, and expressed the hope that some day he might meet the delegates and renew his acquaintance with them.

Delegate Jones (Jerome) made a brief address in which he expressed his appreciation of the fact that the Convention had been held in Atlanta.

President Gompers—Just a minute before we adjourn. I desire to say on my own behalf that I appreciate very much the great courtesy extended to me as your presiding officer and the help you have given me in administering the affairs of this Convention. We have performed great work. Decisive lines of policy, constructive legislation, not only in the interest of union men and union women, but of man and woman and child, has been enacted. Brother Roberts, we wish you God speed and a safe return home to your family and your fellow workers. I need not say that we hope you will convey to the workers of Great Britain, the great democracy of Great Britain, the fraternal greetings of our workers.

Vice-President O'Connell—I move that this Convention adjourn sine die.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 7:10 p. m., Saturday, November 25th, the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was adjourned sine die.

FRANK MORRISON,

*Secretary, American Federation of Labor.*

W. G. GREDIG,

*Assistant Secretary of Convention.*



**APPENDIX TO PRESIDENT GOMPERS' REPORT, PAGE 52.1****ESSENCE OF LABOR'S CONTENTION ON THE INJUNCTION ABUSE.**

The crass ignorance of corporation lawyers and a hostile press is so rampant on the position and attitude of labor upon the abuse of the injunction process that we deem it a public service as plainly and concisely as possible to submit labor's attitude and contention. It will be seen that labor neither questions the integrity of nor desires to "shackle" the courts; that it stands for and insists upon absolute equality before the law—nothing more, nothing less. We believe we have the right to demand that the press, however hostile, shall not wilfully misrepresent or misinterpret Labor's position. We ask a careful consideration of Labor's contention upon this all-important question of our time, and we challenge a discussion of the points here submitted. Labor insists that:

The writ of injunction was intended to be exercised for the protection of property rights only.

He who would seek its aid must come into court with clean hands.

There must be no other adequate remedy at law.

It must never be used to curtail personal rights.

It must not be used ever in an effort to punish crime.

It must not be used as a means to set aside trial by jury.

Injunctions as issued against workmen are never used or issued against any other citizen of our country.

It is an attempt to deprive citizens of our country, when these citizens are workmen, of the right of trial by jury.

It is an effort to fasten an offense on them when they are innocent of any unlawful or illegal act.

It is an indirect assertion of a property right in men when these men are workmen engaged in a lawful effort to protect or advance their natural rights and interests.

Injunctions as issued in trade disputes are to make outlaws of men when they are not even charged with doing things in violation of any law of State or nation.

We protest against the discrimination of the courts against the laboring men of our country which deprives them of their constitutional guarantee of equality before the law.

The injunctions which the courts issue against labor are supposed by them to be good enough law today, when there exists a dispute between workmen and their employers; but it is not good law—in fact, is not law at all—tomorrow or next day when no such labor dispute exists.

The issuance of injunctions in labor disputes is not based upon law, but is a species of judicial legislation, judicial usurpation, in the interests of the money power against workmen innocent of any unlawful or criminal act.

The doing of the lawful acts enjoined by the courts renders the workmen guilty of contempt of court, and punishable by fine or imprisonment or both.

Labor protests against the issuance of injunctions in disputes between workmen and employers, when no such injunctions would be issued when no such dispute exists. Such injunctions have no warrant in law and are the result of judicial usurpation and judicial legislation rather than of Congressional legislation.

In all things in which workmen are enjoined by the process of an injunction during labor disputes, if those acts are criminal or unlawful, there is now ample law and remedy covering them. From the logic of this there is no escape.

No act is legally a crime unless there is a law designating it and specifying it to be a crime.

No act is unlawful unless there be a law on the statute books designating and specifying it to be unlawful; hence it follows that—

No act is criminal or unlawful unless there is a law prohibiting its commission.

It is agreed by all, friends and opponents alike, that the injunction process, beneficial in its inception and general practice, never should apply and legally can not be applied where there is another ample remedy at law.

We assert that Labor asks no immunity for any of its men who may be guilty of any criminal or unlawful act.

It insists upon the workers being regarded and treated as equals before the law with every other citizen; that if any act be committed by any one of our number, rendering him amenable to the law, he shall be prosecuted by the ordinary forms of law

and by the due process of law, and that an injunction does not lawfully and properly apply and ought not to be issued in such cases.

The injunction process as applied to men engaged in a dispute with employers includes the allegation of criminal or unlawful acts, as a mere pretext, so that the lawful and innocent acts in themselves may also be incorporated and covered by the blanket injunction. And the performance of the lawful and innocent acts in themselves despite the injunction renders them at once guilty of contempt of the court's order which is summarily punished by fine or imprisonment, or both.

In itself the writ of injunction is of a highly important and beneficent character. Its aims and purposes are for the protection of property rights. It never was intended, and never should be invoked, for the purpose of depriving free men of their personal rights, the right of man's ownership of himself; the right of free locomotion, free assemblage, free association, free speech, free press; the freedom to do those things promotive of life, liberty and happiness, and which are not in contravention of the law of our land.

We re-assert that we ask no immunity for ourselves or for any other man who may be guilty of any unlawful or criminal act; but we have a right to insist, and we do insist, that when a workman is charged with a crime or any unlawful conduct, he shall be accorded every right, be apprehended, charged, and tried by the same process of law as any other citizen of our country.

With our position so often emphasized and so generally known, it is nothing less than wilful untruth and misrepresentation for any one to declare that it is our purpose to obtain any special privilege, particularly the undesirable and unenviable liberty of creating a privileged class of wrongdoers.

When the real purposes and high aspirations of our movement and the legislation it seeks at the hands of the law-making power of our country shall be better understood by all our people, and the great uplifting work which we have already achieved shall find a better appreciation among those who now so unjustly attack and antagonize us, our opponents will be remembered for their ignoble work and course.

The injunctions against which we protest are flagrantly and without warrant of law issued almost daily in some section of our country and are violative of the fundamental rights of man. When better understood, they will shock the conscience of our people, the spirit and genius of our republic.

We shall exercise our every right, and in the meantime concentrate our efforts to secure the relief and the redress to which we are so justly entitled.

Not only in our own interest, but in the interest of all the people of our country, for the preservation of real liberty, for the elimination of bitterness and class hatred, for the perpetuation of all that is best and truest, we can never rest until the last vestige of this injustice has been removed from our public life.

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

## APPENDIX TO PRESIDENT GOMPERS' REPORT, PAGE 53.

62d Congress, } H. R. 11032.  
1st Session. }

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

June 2, 1911.

Mr. WILSON of Pennsylvania introduced the following bill.

## A BILL

To regulate the issuance of restraining orders and procedure thereon, and to limit the meaning of "conspiracy" in certain cases.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That no restraining order or injunction shall be granted by any court of the United States, or a judge or the judges thereof, in any case between an employer and employe, or between employers and employes, or between employes, or between persons employed and persons seeking employment, or involving or growing out of a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment, unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property or to a property right of the party making the application, for which injury there is no adequate remedy at law, and such property and property right must be particularly described in the application, which must be in writing and sworn to by the applicant, or by his, her, or its agent or attorney. And for the purposes of this act no right to continue the relation of employer and employe, or to assume or create such relation with any particular person or persons, or at all, or patronage or good-will in business, or buying or selling commodities of any particular kind or at any particular place, or at all, shall be construed, held, considered or treated as property, or as constituting a property right.

Sec. 2. That in cases arising in the courts of the United States or coming before said courts, or before any judge or the judges thereof, no agreement between two or more persons concerning the terms or conditions of employment or the assumption or creation or termination of any relation between employer and employe, or concerning any act or thing to be done or not to be done with reference to or involving or growing out of a labor dispute, shall constitute a conspiracy or other civil or criminal offense, or be punished or prosecuted, or damages recovered upon as such, unless the act or thing agreed to be done or not to be done would be unlawful if done by a single individual; nor shall the entering into or the carrying out of any such agreement be restrained or enjoined unless such act or thing agreed to be done would be subject to be restrained or enjoined under the provisions, limitations, and definitions contained in the first section of this act.

Sec. 3. That all acts and parts of acts in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

# INDEX.

	Page.
<b>A</b>	
American Federation of Labor Office Building.....	181, 182, 162, 208
Weekly News Letter.....	182, 162, 271
Resolution 85.....	269, 270
Addresses of welcome.....	1-7
American Federationist.....	79, 80, 98, 191, 192, 271, 275
Anti-Boycott Association.....	37-39, 362
Anti-Injunction movement, International unions to organize, Resolution 79.....	304, 305
Asbestos Workers' credential.....	12, 15, 105, 160
Assistant Secretary, appointment of.....	18
Atkins Saw Company, Indianapolis, Resolution 119.....	349
<b>B</b>	
Bailey, Edgar G., to seek pardon for, Resolution 177.....	343
Badges and souvenirs distributed.....	141
Bag, Box, and Envelope Workers, Resolution 140.....	188
Bakers' Union No. 48, Caguas, P. R., greetings from.....	164, 165
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' complaint against Bread Trust, Resolutions 102 and 168.....	200, 201, 348, 349
Label, Resolution 103.....	213
—Teamsters, Resolution 43.....	124, 125, 162, 319, 320
to assist in organizing, Resolution 105.....	201
Baldwin Strike, Philadelphia.....	76, 77, 277
Barrett, C. F., President Farmers' International Union, presented to convention.....	141
Battleship at Mare Island Navy Yard, for building of, Resolution 64.....	264
Benefits paid by International unions.....	91, 92
Black Hills, So. Dakota, Trades Assembly appeal, Homestake Mining Company lockout, Resolution 110.....	352, 353
Blacksmiths—Tunnel and Subway Constructors, Resolution 26.....	309
Blue Stone Cutters—Granite Cutters—Pavers and Rammermen.....	124
Boilermakers in dispute with Kewanee Boiler Company, to support, Resolution 9.....	216, 217
Boy scout movement.....	139, 162, 358
Bricklayers and Masons' International Union, effort to secure affiliation of, Resolution 19.....	108, 192, 193, 194
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers, Galesburg, Ill., against Purlington Paving Brick Company, to assist struggle of, Resolutions 8 and 76.....	196, 197, 316, 347
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta on state and municipal work, to assist in securing use of union-made, Resolution 66.....	308
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers—Steam Engineers, Resolution 132.....	326
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers extends thanks to organized labor for support in McNamara case, Resolution 25.....	228, 299
Brooklyn, N. Y., dual central body, locals affiliated therewith to be instructed to withdraw, Resolution 101.....	200
Building Trades Department report.....	16, 17, 24, 25
Carpenters—Steamfitters.....	108-112, 162, 335-341
Bureau of Engraving and Printing, contract for new building, Resolution 174.....	359
Burns, Detective.....	315-318

	Page.
Butcher Workmen, dual organization of, Resolution 12.....	300
menaced by unrestricted immigration, Resolution 11.....	298
request for assistance to organize, Resolution 13.....	193
Button Workers, Muscatine.....	185
to issue appeal to assist strike, Resolutions 48 and 49.....	302, 303
<b>C</b>	
California State Branch resolutions relative to President Gompers' Pacific Coast trip.....	296
Canada.....	28, 175-177, 276
attempt to classify United States labor as alien labor.....	176
Canadian Labor Congress legislation relative to industrial organization.....	145, 176
Canadian Congress to exchange fraternal delegates with British Labor Congress.....	145
Carpenters' resolutions relating to duty on supplies and representation of Brotherhood in Labor Congress.....	145
Eight-hour day for Government employes, effort to secure.....	177
Immigration.....	176
"Investigation of Combines" Bill, insertion of clause protecting labor unions.....	176
movement menaced by internecine disputes in building trades.....	144
political action of Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	176, 177
Canadian Provincial Workmen's Association, condemning, Resolution 178.....	211, 212, 352
Car Workers—Carmen, Resolution 122.....	323-325
surrender by President Richardson of charter of.....	384
Cards between all affiliated unions, interchange of paid-up union, Resolution 150.....	202
Carmen's credentials.....	11, 13-15
Carpenters be reinstated in Building Trades Department, recommendation that.....	388, 389
Carpenters—Carpenters, Resolution 82.....	116, 162, 310-315
Wood Workers.....	112-116, 320-322
Carpet Mechanics' Union, San Francisco, to affiliate with Upholsterers, Resolution 135.....	327, 328
Carriage and Wagon Workers—Blacksmiths—Upholsterers—Painters.....	126, 127
Carriage, Wagon, and Automobile Workers, to assist in organizing, Resolution 14.....	193
Cement block setting, Resolution 115.....	342
Cement Workers' complaint against Federal Labor Unions, Resolution 128.....	342
Cement Workers, to assist in organizing, Resolution 123.....	202
Central bodies—to make it mandatory upon internationals to instruct locals to join, Resolutions 100, 142, 152.....	210
to have right to discipline affiliated locals, Resolution 153.....	211
to make it mandatory upon local unions to organize, Resolution 154.....	211
and state branches introducing resolutions affecting locals of internationals should have same previously endorsed by internationals.....	217
Child labor and Children's Bureau.....	35, 285
Chinese Exclusion Act should be made to apply to all Asiatic races.....	306
"Christian Herald," New York lockout of members of Mailers' Union, Resolution 104.....	348
Cigarmakers' strike, Tampa.....	128, 129
Civic Federation, National, Resolutions 10, 18, 126.....	217-258
Civil Service employes, freedom of petition and organization, to urge enactment of legislation guaranteeing to, Resolutions 6 and 53.....	62, 63, 216, 258, 303
Collars and cuffs, Bell brand, union made, members to purchase, Resolution 127.....	214
Committees:	
Adjustment.....	19, 309, 318, 326
Auditing.....	100, 161
Boycotts.....	19, 346
Building Trades.....	19, 334, 341
Credentials.....	7-12
Education.....	19, 268, 300
Labels.....	19, 212
Law.....	19, 304, 309
Local and Federated Bodies.....	19, 186
Organization.....	19, 192, 361

# INDEX

389

## Committees—Continued.

	Page.
President's report .....	19, 374
Resolutions .....	19, 216, 259, 353
Rules and Order of Business .....	19, 105-107
Secretary's report .....	19, 271, 272
State organization .....	19, 203
Treasurer's report .....	19, 189
Special:	
White Rats Actors' benefit performances .....	140, 204, 361, 362
Conservation natural resources .....	139, 140, 162, 270
Constitution, labor amendment to U. S., Resolution 69 .....	353, 354
Contempt case, Gompers, Mitchell, Morrison .....	39-41, 278-284, 290, 291
Convict labor, Resolution 98 .....	63, 287, 288, 306, 306
Coopers' bona fide label, to support, Resolution 157 .....	215
dispute with Western Coopers Company, Resolution 156 .....	350, 351
Crinion, J., fraternal delegate, address of .....	165-169

## D

Denechaud, Chas. I., fraternal delegate, address of .....	184, 185
Department of Labor .....	62, 239
Departments .....	24-28, 276
Building Trades .....	16, 17, 24, 25
Metal Trades .....	25, 26
Railroad Employees .....	26
Union Label Trades .....	26-28
Dietz, Rev. P. E., fraternal delegate, address of .....	184
Donahue, Chas. J., President Connecticut State Branch, charges of Theatrical Stage Employees against, Resolution 74 .....	196
Donnelly, Saml. B., Public Printer, to investigate charges against, Resolution 164 .....	356, 357
Dry Dock located at Mare Island, Cal., request for influence to have new, Resolution 125 .....	354
Duncan, James, delegate to International Secretariat, report of .....	146-158, 358
Bavaria .....	156
Bulgarian movement, division in .....	150
Co-operative store system .....	156
European migration westward .....	175
French labor movement committed to low dues and the general strike .....	149
Germany:	
Berlin—contrasts in grandeur and misery .....	147
German trade unions leaders in compensation and insurance features .....	156
native workers charged with taking places of British workers during disputes .....	157
political movement .....	148
socialist movement requires craftsmen to be members of their trade unions .....	148
trade union movement .....	148
trade union system of life insurance .....	156
Great Britain:	
Burns, John .....	146
"Christian trade unionists" .....	148
Coal Mines Bill to eliminate female labor, tactics to prevent passage by House of Commons of .....	147
dock workers' strike .....	146
Irish Party and Labor Group, British Parliament .....	147
Labor Group, Parliament .....	146, 147
MacDonald, Ramsay, parliamentary leader Labor Group .....	146
socialist members, British Parliament .....	146
Steadman, Wm. C. ....	146
Hungary:	
civilization backward .....	154
habitations of poor and renting system .....	154
hours of labor reduced in past five years .....	155

Duncan, James, etc.

## Hungary—Continued.

	Page.
Hungarian Labor Congress, police officials in attendance at all sessions of.....	155
immigrants returning from America making influence felt.....	155
income determines right of suffrage.....	154
inhabitants, nearly 80 per cent illiterate.....	155
no workmen or their representatives in Parliament.....	154
Slavonic invasion menace to progress of working people.....	154
Socialist party—organized political protest against aristocracy, feudalism, militarism, etc.....	156
trade unions permitted to hold meetings with police surveillance.....	155
women hodcarriers and building laborers.....	155
International Secretariat Congress:	
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress not entitled to representation.....	152
countries represented—membership.....	149, 152
Esperanto, proposition for use rejected.....	152
favoured paid-up union cards being recognized in all countries.....	152
Financial report.....	150
I. W. W. representative's protest against recognition of A. F. of L. delegate.....	149, 150, 158
international federation of labor, trade union centers to discuss proposition of establishing.....	151
international financial assistance, appeals for.....	150, 151
invitation to Secretariat to meet in San Francisco, 1915, to be decided upon at next Congress.....	151
Legien, C., to deliver addresses in American industrial centers.....	154
municipal or state hospitality from official sources not accepted.....	149
meeting place, deferred selection of next.....	152
procedure in matter of attacks on any National Trade Center.....	151
report of Secretariat, A. F. of L. to purchase copies of.....	150
status of efforts to secure abolition of compulsory legitimization cards, introduced in some German States for workers of foreign nationalities.....	152, 153, 156
to prevent emigration of workers to countries where industrial depression or trade disputes exist.....	151
to abolish night work where not necessary.....	152
trade unions urged to join their respective national centers.....	152
international trade unionism.....	157
militarism is government in nearly all countries on continent of Europe.....	148
Paris women street scavengers.....	147
progressive movement among common people of European countries differs only in detail.....	156, 157
Slavonic migratory workers, controlled by Prussian syndicate—contract system.....	156
socialist movement, European—at present corresponds to movement for democracy.....	148
socialists and trade unionists, European—harmony prevails between.....	146, 148
Swedish strike secured many concessions for the membership.....	150
Vienna.....	148, 149

## E

Economic demands, Resolution 124.....	354
program, A. F. of L., re-affirmed.....	354
Education between ages of six and sixteen, compulsory.....	360
Eight-hour law extension.....	30-65, 287
Election of, convention city.....	346
fraternal delegates.....	344-346
officers.....	343, 344
Electrical workers' controversy, Resolution 109.....	116-121, 162, 341, 342, 362
credentials.....	12, 15, 16
handling high voltage currents, to require compulsory examination of, Resolution 155.....	355, 356, 360

# INDEX

371

Page.

Elkhart Paper Co., Elkhart, Ind., plan of co-operative ownership of paper mills, Resolution 188.....	850
Employers in A. F. of L. local unions, Resolution 41.....	205, 206, 211
Employers' liability, workmen's compensation.....	86, 87, 138-136, 162, 268, 267, 297, 298, 306
Encyclopedia Britannica produced under unfair conditions, Resolution 86.....	348
Enlisted men competing with civilian labor, to urge passage of legislation to prohibit, Resolution 81.....	260, 261
Entertainment.....	159, 190
Erdman act, to extend to apply to maintenance of way employes, Resolution 46.....	301

## F

Farmers, A. F. of L. to send fraternal delegate to next annual convention of.....	129-131, 162, 192
Federal Arbitration Law, to amend to cover all railroad employes.....	301, 302
Federal Council Churches of Christ Commission, campaign for one day's rest in seven endorsed, Resolution 50.....	262
Federal Labor Unions, to promote organization of and have representative upon Executive Council, Resolution 55.....	186
Federal Labor Unions, to organize unskilled workers in, Resolution 62.....	186, 187
Federal Labor Union No. 18184, Caguas, P. R., greetings from.....	164
Felt, Israel, greetings.....	160
Firemen employed in Federal buildings, wages of, Resolutions 17 and 175.....	296, 367
Fitzgerald, Annie, fraternal delegate, address of.....	191
Flour and Cereal Mill Employes, to endeavor to organize, Resolution 81.....	197
Flour bags, label to be supplied in form of rubber stamp for use on, Resolution 82.....	212, 213
Flour sacks, to arrange for printing of label on, Resolution 181.....	214
Flour sacks, to devise more practicable label for use on, Resolution 120.....	213, 214
Fraternal delegates, addresses of.....	165-180, 181-185, 191
presentation of gifts to.....	308
to British Trades Union Congress, to increase expense allowance for, Resolution 106.....	143, 210, 211

## G

Gallagher, J. J., called home.....	295
Garbage Teamsters, New York, strike of, Resolution 114.....	208, 204, 362
Gardner, Fred. W., souvenirs from.....	165
Garment Workers' District Council, New York, greetings from.....	106
Glockling, Wm., fraternal delegate, address of.....	175
Glove Workers' delegate seated.....	164
employed by Saranac Glove Company, to make effort to organize, Resolution 78.....	197
Gompers, President, Pacific Coast trip.....	67-69, 274, 275, 295
Government dredge work, for eight-hour day on, Resolution 68.....	265
employes compensation law, Resolution 1.....	268
navy yards to build battleships, Resolutions 64, 75.....	264, 265
to provide pension for retired employes, Resolution 2.....	268, 269
to provide support for widows and children deprived of means of subsistence by death or disability of husband and father, Resolution 172.....	357, 358
work on waterways and making of ordinance to be done on eight-hour basis, Resolution 80.....	266
Great Britain:	
act to open up and develop resources of country.....	174
Coal Mines' Act.....	147, 175
cost of living, increase in.....	170
eight-hour day, demand for.....	168
Irish party.....	147, 174
label not agitated, use of union.....	143
Labor and Socialist parties.....	146, 147, 171, 172, 174, 175
labor press.....	143, 167
old-age pension.....	172



Great Britain—Continued.		Page.
Railway Workers' Commission .....	142, 165, 166,	170
safety devices, textile industry .....		167
school children, bill for feeding necessitous .....		173
Shops' Bill to regulate hours of assistants .....		174, 175
Shops' Club Act, to make it illegal for employers to dismiss employes for membership in unions .....		143
taxation on necessities of life, to abolish .....		172, 173
textile workers, improved conditions of .....		167-169
workmen's compensation .....	169, 170, 172	

## H

Harriman, Job, Los Angeles, request to support candidacy for mayoralty of, Resolution 176 .....	189, 190, 307, 308
Harriman Railroad lines strike, Resolutions 94, 180 .....	268, 349
Harris Suspender Co., New York, deceptive label used by, Resolution 5 .....	212
Haskins, I., greetings .....	106
Hatters' Case, Loewe Co. suit .....	37-39, 278, 279
Hawaiian Islands, request for organizer to work among longshoremen of, Resolution 65 .....	196, 196
Hearst, Wm. R., connection with Homestake Mining Company, Lead, South Dakota, Resolution 84 .....	197-199
Hebrew trades, New York, greetings .....	160
Hebrew trades, New York, for investigation of .....	362
Hines, Martha, representing Button Workers, Muscatine .....	185
Hodcarriers and building laborers locals to be seated in New York Building Trades Council, Resolution 24 .....	342, 343
building trades councils to unseat seceding, Resolution 117 .....	188, 326
—Cement Workers, Resolution 161 .....	331-333
Hodcarriers and Building Laborers request for extension of jurisdiction over street, sewer and tunnel laborers, Resolution 129 .....	326
Homestake Mining Company blacklist, Resolutions 84 and 110 .....	197-199, 352, 353
Huber, Wm. D., declines to serve on Building Trades Committee .....	19, 20, 162, 163

## I

Industrial Workers of the World representative's protest against recognition of A. F. of L. delegate by International Secretariat .....	29, 149, 150, 158
Immigration laws to be enforced at Pacific and Northwest ports, Resolution 147 .....	306
menace of unrestricted, Resolution 11 .....	246
methods of restricting .....	66, 67, 287
Industrial accidents, to organize national society for prevention of .....	136, 162, 358
education .....	186, 187, 162, 270, 271
organization, Resolutions 15 and 107 .....	353
Initiative, referendum and recall .....	56-58, 288
Initiative and referendum vote, for adoption by A. F. of L., Resolution 97 .....	206-208
Injunction limitation—labor disputes .....	45-56, 286-291
Insurance laws and trade unions .....	64, 286
International trade unionism .....	157
International Secretariat—Budapest Congress .....	29, 30, 138, 139, 146-158, 162, 277, 358
International unions and all organizations striving to prevent occupational diseases and accidents, commending, Resolution 88 .....	266, 267

## J

Judicial usurpation of the functions of the legislative branch of Government .....	49-56, 280, 289-292
Judges not to be permitted to imprison any one except after trial by jury, Resolution 47 .....	302

## L

Label A. F. of L., counterfeiting of .....	131
day, union to designate a, Resolution 165 .....	215
law digest, union .....	131

Label—Continued.	Page.
leagues .....	131, 162, 205
Trades Department and label sections, to support and encourage, Resolution 89 .....	213
Trades Department report .....	26-28
uniform, commission to study feasibility of, Resolution 141 .....	214, 215
Labeled products, neglect to patronize condemned, Resolution 95 .....	206
Labels and cards, list of union .....	108
Labor Day and Labor Sunday .....	78, 275
to discontinue special matinees on, Resolution 72 .....	265, 296
group in United States Congress .....	58, 288, 289
press .....	79, 275
advertisements of unfair firms in, Resolution 67 .....	804
Labor Representation Committee's report .....	140, 162, 298, 307, 308
Labor's Memorial Day, recommending change of day for, Resolution 23 .....	269
Ladies' Garment Workers' credentials .....	11, 12, 15, 181
strike Cleveland, Resolution 70 .....	76, 277, 278, 347, 348
Laundry Workers, to assist in organizing, Resolution 169 .....	208
Laws, uniform, to protect human life .....	58, 59, 63, 64, 75, 76, 285, 286
Leather Workers on Horse Goods, Brotherhood, to assist in strengthening, Resolution 22 .....	194, 195
Legislative committees, to be provided by city centrals and state branches, Resolution 77 .....	804
Letter Carriers' National Association, effort to secure affiliation of .....	192
Literature in A. F. of L. convention, to secure permission for distribution of .....	362, 363
Locomotive boiler inspection law, Resolution 136 .....	37, 285, 355
Longshoremen—Seamen, to investigate claim that maritime law would be involved by settling controversy on President Gompers' decision, Resolution 145 .....	328, 329
Los Angeles situation .....	129, 307, 308

M

McNamara case .....	18, 48, 44, 71-75, 141, 180, 292-295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 315-318
McNamara, J. J., kidnapping of, Resolution 17 .....	296
"McNamara Defense Day," provision for .....	361, 362
Macfarland, Rev. Chas. S., fraternal delegate, address of .....	181-184
Machinists—Elevator Constructors .....	121-124, 162, 326, 327
Marble industry, to assist in organizing unorganized labor in, Resolution 151 .....	202, 203
Marine deck officers, licensed, re issuance of charter to, Resolution 118 .....	361, 362
Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, effort to secure affiliation of .....	108, 192
Maryland and District of Columbia, request for organizer for, Resolution 37 .....	195
Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, North Carolina to form district and for appointment of organizer, Resolution 116 .....	201
Marx and Haas adjustment of dispute with Garment Workers .....	164
Membership, growth in .....	101, 102
Messenger for Convention, appointment of .....	13
Metal Polishers, Buffers, etc., dispute with Ansonia Clock Company, Brooklyn, N. Y., Resolution 168 .....	351
dispute with Bishop & Babcock Co., Cleveland, Resolution 158 .....	351
Metal Trades Department report .....	26, 26
Michigan, request for organizer for, Resolution 118 .....	201
Migratory labor .....	69-71, 276
to organize, Resolutions 7 and 96 .....	192, 193, 305
Mineral Water Wagon drivers .....	329-331
Workers' Union 12674 delegate .....	181
Mine Workers would withdraw from A. F. of L., denial that .....	323
Miners' safety—United States Bureau of Mines .....	60, 61, 286
Mining Department, announcement of formation of .....	323
Montana, request for organizer for, Resolution 54 .....	209
Montana State Federation, greetings .....	105
Motion picture machine operators .....	127, 128, 162, 327
Musicians—Hotel and Restaurant Employees, for co-operation between, Resolution 83 .....	320

	Page.
New Mexico's Constitution .....	138, 162, 358
Newspaper and Mail Deliverers' Union, New York—Teamsters, Resolution 40 .....	318, 319
Solicitors' Union No. 12766—San Francisco; Publishers' Association, Resolution 29 .....	309, 310
Night schools in connection with public school system, to establish .....	360

## O

Occupational diseases.....	58-60, 266, 267, 286, 288
Old-age pensions, Resolutions 2, 4, and 57 .....	268, 269
One-cent letter postage, to oppose, Resolution 34 .....	299, 300
One organization, one trade.....	333, 334
Organizers .....	79, 99, 108, 161, 162, 204, 205, 275
referred to Executive Council, applications for .....	192
salary, providing for increase in, Resolution 87 .....	206

## P

Painters—Car Workers.....	124
Paper, official journals and labor press to arrange contracts calling for use of union-labeled .....	350
Paper-making industry, effort to secure Congressional Committee for investigation into conditions in, Resolution 139 .....	204
Paper money, bonds and checks by hand-roller process, to protest against repeal of law providing for printing of, Resolution 36 .....	261
Pension legislation for dependent widows and children, Resolution 172 .....	357, 358
Phosphorus in manufacture of matches, to prohibit use of .....	59, 60
Resolution 170 .....	189, 306
Photo-Engravers' strike and injunction .....	128
Photograph, convention.....	142, 165
Piloting of steamboats, to enforce proper, Resolution 146 .....	270, 355
Plumbers—Steamfitters, request for a convention of steamfitters, Resolution 144 .....	339-341
Plumbers, United Association, to be the one general association in the pipe-fitting industry .....	106-112, 335-341
Political changes affecting labor .....	56-58, 288
parties on labor's demands, to secure attitude of various, Resolution 112 .....	306
Porto Rico, American citizenship for people of, Resolution 39 .....	23, 29, 276, 277, 300, 301
Porto Rico, for the welfare of the people of, Resolution 52 .....	262, 263
request that President Gompers visit, Resolution 30 .....	299
Post-office clerks, to secure legislation regulating hours of labor of, Resolution 60 .....	263, 264
Post, C. W., suit against A. F. of L. ....	45, 278
President's report (see reports).....	21-60, 274-296
Printer Roller Makers' Union, dispute with Samuel Bingham Sons' Manufacturing Company, Resolution 27 .....	347
Prudential Life Insurance Company, to make effort to organize power plant of, Resolution 159 .....	203
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers' delegate .....	105
Pure foods, pure drugs.....	137, 188, 162, 358

## Q

Quarry Workers, to assist in organizing, Resolution 160 .....	203
---	-----

## R

Railroad Employees' Department report.....	26
disputes—arbitration, Resolution 61 .....	301, 302
Mechanist Helpers, Great Southern R. R., to assist organization of and permit representation in system federation, Resolution 21 .....	194
Railroad track inspection, Resolution 45 .....	64, 286, 301
transportation rates, Resolution 58 .....	263

	Page.
<b>Railway Clerks' greetings</b> .....	105
<b>employees' Harriman Lines strike, Resolutions 94 and 130</b> .....	267, 268, 349
<b>Freight Handlers' credentials</b> .....	169
<b>Reports of:</b>	
<b>Executive Council</b> .....	107-141
<b>A. F. of L. News Letter</b> .....	132, 162, 270, 271
<b>office building</b> .....	131, 132, 162, 298
<b>Building Trades Department:</b>	
<b>Carpenters—Steamfitters</b> .....	108-112, 162, 335-341
<b>Blue Stone Cutters—Granite Cutters—Pavers and Rammermen</b> .....	124
<b>Boy scout movement</b> .....	139, 162, 358
<b>Carpenters—Carpenters</b> .....	116, 162, 310-315
<b>Wood Workers</b> .....	112-116, 162, 320-322
<b>Carriage and Wagon Workers—Blacksmiths—Upholsterers—Painters</b> .....	126, 127
<b>Cigarmakers' strike, Tampa</b> .....	128, 129
<b>Conservation natural resources</b> .....	139, 140, 162, 270
<b>Counterfeiting A. F. of L. Label</b> .....	131
<b>Electrical Workers</b> .....	116-121, 162, 341, 342
<b>Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation Laws</b> .....	139-136, 162, 297, 298
<b>Farmers, organized</b> .....	120-131, 162, 192
✓ <b>Industrial accidents</b> .....	136, 162, 358
<b>education</b> .....	136, 137, 162, 270, 271
<b>International Secretariat—Budapest Congress</b> .....	138, 139, 162, 358
<b>Labor Representation Committee's report</b> .....	140, 162, 298
<b>Los Angeles situation</b> .....	129
<b>Machinists—Elevator Constructors</b> .....	121-124, 162, 326, 327
<b>Meetings</b> .....	107
<b>New Mexico's Constitution</b> .....	138, 162, 358
<b>New unions chartered—organization</b> .....	107, 108, 162,
<b>Organizers</b> .....	108, 162, 204, 205
<b>Painters—Car Workers</b> .....	124
<b>Photo-Engravers' strike and injunction</b> .....	128
<b>President's Report</b> .....	140
<b>Printers—Bookbinders—Single wrapping</b> .....	127
<b>Pure foods—pure drugs</b> .....	137, 138, 162, 358
<b>Sheet Metal Workers—Stove Mounters</b> .....	126
<b>Teamsters—Bakers</b> .....	124, 125, 162, 319, 320
<b>Theatrical Stage Employees—Electrical Workers—Motion Picture Machine Operators</b> .....	127, 128, 162, 327
<b>Transportation department</b> .....	129, 202
<b>Union Label Law digest</b> .....	131
<b>Union Label Leagues</b> .....	131, 162, 205
<b>Western Federation of Miners, charter granted</b> .....	125, 126
<b>White Rats Actors' Union—benefit performances</b> .....	140, 162, 204, 361, 362
<b>Fraternal delegates to—</b>	
<b>Canada</b> .....	144-146
<b>Great Britain</b> .....	142-144
<b>International Secretariat</b> .....	146-158
<b>President</b> .....	21-80, 274-296
<b>American Federationist</b> .....	79, 275
<b>Anti-trust and injunction limitation bills</b> .....	45-49, 289-291
<b>Baldwin strike</b> .....	76, 77, 277
<b>Canada</b> .....	28, 276
<b>Child labor and Children's Bureau</b> .....	35, 285
<b>Civil Service Employees' rights</b> .....	62, 288, 303
<b>Convicts, labor of</b> .....	63, 287, 288
<b>Department of Labor</b> .....	62, 289
<b>Departments, A. F. of L.</b> .....	24-28, 276

## Reports of:

President—Continued.	Page.
Efficiency system.....	77, 78, 287
Eight-hour law extension.....	80-85, 287
Employers' liability—workmen's compensation.....	86, 87, 287
Hatters' case.....	87-89, 278, 279
Immigration.....	66, 67, 287
Injunction—Contempt—Appeal—Retrial.....	39-41, 278-284, 290, 291
Insurance laws and trade unions.....	64, 286
International Secretariat.....	29, 80, 161, 277, 358
Judicial usurpation—Wilson bill.....	49-53, 291, 292
Labor Day and Labor Sunday.....	78, 275
Labor Group in Congress.....	58, 288, 289
Labor press.....	79, 275
Ladies' Garment Workers' strike.....	76, 277, 278
Locomotive boiler inspection.....	87, 285
McNamara-Otis campaign for revenge.....	71-75, 292-295
Migratory Laborers.....	69-71, 276
Miners' safety—United States Bureau of Mines.....	60, 61, 286
Occupational diseases.....	58-60, 286
Organization and growth.....	23, 24, 161, 274
Organizers.....	79, 161, 162, 275
Pacific Coast trip.....	67-69, 274, 275, 295
Police oppression—the third degree—extradition.....	41-45, 292
Political changes affecting labor.....	56-58, 288
Porto Rico.....	23, 29, 276
Post suit against A. F. of L.....	45, 278
Railroad track inspection—loading vessels regulation.....	64, 286
Seamen's rights.....	64, 286
Second-class postal rates.....	64-66, 288
The people—the judiciary—injunctions—defense.....	53-55, 290-294
Triangle shirt-waist factory fire.....	75, 76, 286
Uniform laws to protect human life.....	63, 64, 286
Women and child labor investigation.....	85, 284, 285
Secretary.....	17, 81-108, 271, 272
Receipts.....	81
Expenses.....	81, 82
American Federationist.....	96
Benefits paid by international organizations.....	91, 92
Charters.....	86, 101
Defense fund.....	100
Headquarters.....	98
Membership.....	101, 102
National and international union reports.....	92-97
Organizing expenses.....	99
Strike statistics.....	88-90
Union labels.....	108
Voting strength.....	86, 87
Treasurer's report.....	103, 104, 189
Roberts, G. H., fraternal delegate, address of.....	169-175, 363
Robins, Mrs. Raymond, fraternal delegate, address of.....	177-180
Russia to honor all American passports, Resolution 138.....	354, 355

## S

San Francisco Labor Council credential.....	12, 105
Sacramento, Cal., strike committee's greetings.....	106
Sanatorium, National Federation, Resolution 137.....	355
Sawsmiths' protest against Machinists' Union, Indianapolis, declaring Atkins Saw Company unfair, Resolution 119.....	349
"Scientific management".....	77, 78, 287

# INDEX

377

	Page.
Seamen's rights, Resolution 88.....	64, 261, 285
Seamen of Great Lakes, struggle of, Resolution 59.....	196
Seamen's delegate seated.....	105
Seattle for next convention, invitations from.....	164, 259
Seceding organizations being seated on floor of convention and photographed among delegates, protest against representatives of.....	362
Second-class postal rates.....	64-66, 288
Secretary's report (see reports).....	17, 81-108, 271, 272
Sergeant-at-Arms, appointment of.....	13
Sheet Metal Workers—Stove Mounters.....	126
Sherman Anti-Trust Law as applied to labor organizations.....	37, 38, 48, 49, 291, 292
Shirt-waist factory fire catastrophe, Triangle Waist Company, to hasten trial and penalty of those responsible for, Resolution 184.....	293, 349, 350
Socialist movement, European, corresponds at present to movement for democracy.....	148
movement, Germany, requires craftsmen to be members of their trade unions....	148
party, British, allied with trade unions.....	171
party's request to assist its election campaign in Los Angeles.....	189, 190, 307, 308
Socialists and trade unionists, European, harmony prevails between.....	146, 148
Southeastern States, request for organizer for, Resolution 71.....	196
Southern Conference on Women and Child Labor, endorsement of, Resolution 73.....	296
Spanish literature for organizing work, Resolution 58.....	303, 304
State federations to receive per capita from A. F. of L., Resolution 8.....	205
Steam shovel and dredgemen, to unite in one organization, Resolution 121.....	201, 202
Stenographers and typists, unions to make active campaign to increase their membership, Resolution 20.....	194
Stereotypers and electrotypers delegate.....	274
Strike statistics.....	88-90
Sunday work.....	185

## T

Tax, per capita, increase in.....	108, 162, 205
Resolution 167.....	205
Teamsters—Brewery Workers, Resolution 111.....	329-331
Texas, request for organizer for, Resolution 51.....	196
Text books to be furnished free in public schools.....	360
Thanks for courtesies and entertainment extended to delegates, Resolution 178.....	359, 363
Theatrical Stage Employees' resolution to be revised.....	141
vs. Spokane, Wash., Central Labor Council, re motion picture machine operators, Resolution 63.....	187, 188
organizations, allied, conference to outline plan of co-operation among, Resolution 93.....	190, 199, 200, 272
"Third degree," The.....	41-45, 292
Tip printers, Resolution 163.....	327
Tobacco Trust, to oppose any plan for reorganization of, Resolution 162.....	356
Tobacco Workers' label to be sought when purchasing tobacco and cigarettes, Resolution 85.....	312
Trade autonomy.....	333, 334
Transport Workers Department, Resolution 148.....	129, 202
telegrams relative to organizing a.....	164, 165, 259
Treasurer's Report.....	108, 104, 189
Triangle Waist Company fire catastrophe.....	349, 350
Typographical Union—Bookbinders, single wrapping.....	127

## U

Unskilled workers, for more thorough campaign for organization of, Resolution 62.....	186, 187
Upholsterers—Window Shade Workers, Resolution 171.....	192, 323

## V

Virginia State Federation and Farmers' Co-operative Union, joint greetings.....	160
---	-----

	Page.
<b>W</b>	
War denounced.....	264, 265
Washington, D. C., Central Body, greetings.....	160
Watered stock gambling enterprises, to inaugurate campaign for legislation against, Resolution 38.....	261, 262
Wearing Apparel Trades Department, to form a, Resolution 90.....	209, 210
Western Federation of Miners, charter granted.....	125, 126
White Rats Actors, jurisdiction of, Resolution 92.....	220
protest against alleged violation of law in licensing theatrical book- ing agencies, Resolution 90.....	267
proposition relative to labor benefit performances, Resolution 42.....	140, 204, 261, 262
—Theatrical Booking Agents, Resolution 16.....	259, 260
to be consulted in matter of appeals from members for assistance, Resolution 44.....	262
to render moral support to members of, Resolution 91.....	270
Window Shade Workers' Union, San Francisco, Resolution 171.....	338
Woman Suffrage, Resolution 149.....	364
Women and Child Labor investigation.....	35, 284, 285
to request Department of Commerce and Labor to print special edition of report on, Resolution 166.....	357
Women's International Union Label League, to give vote in Convention, Resolution 28.....	205
Women's Trade Union League, Boston, greetings from.....	18, 19
"Woodmen of the World" greetings.....	16
Workmen's compensation, for amendment to Federal Constitution legalizing, Resolu- tion 143.....	3

LABOR OMNIA VINCIT



REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION  
OF THE  
AMERICAN  
FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT ROCHESTER, NEW YORK,  
NOVEMBER 11 TO 23, INCLUSIVE,

1912

THE LAW REPORTER PRINTING COMPANY  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

1912



# OFFICERS

## OF THE

# AMERICAN FEDERATION

# OF LABOR

## 1913

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<i>Secretary,</i>		
FRANK MORRISON	- - - - -	Washington, D. C.

# DELEGATES

## TO THE

# Thirty-Second Annual Convention

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Asbestos Workers' International Association, Heat, Frost, General Insulators, and.....	1	8	Joseph A. Mullaney, 516 McDonald st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union.....	3	49	A. A. Myrup, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.
		49	Henry Koch, 72 Graham ave., Paterson, N. J.
		48	Jacob Goldstone, 12 Harrison ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen.....	4	75	Frank X. Noschang, Box 397, Albany, N. Y.
		75	Jacob Fischer, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		75	W. E. Klapetzky, Box 616, Los Angeles, Cal.
		74	Ed. Anderson, 176 North Union ave., Pueblo, Colo.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of.....	1	14	James Labralco, care of Star Theatre, Toronto, Can.
Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of.....	3	31	James W. Kline, 1270-1285 Monon Building, Chicago, Ill.
		31	Wm. F. Kramer, 1270-1285 Monon Building, Chicago, Ill.
		31	Charles N. Glover, 6655 Paulina st., Chicago, Ill.
Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders, Brotherhood of.....	4	42	J. A. Franklin, Room 9, Law Building, Kansas City, Kans.
		42	M. J. McGuire, 308 Fourteenth st., San Francisco, Cal.
		42	T. J. Garvey, 414 S. Bird st., Richmond, Va.
		41	George W. Pring, Valley Junction, Iowa.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....	1	85	Edward C. Strelle, 261 Herman st., Buffalo, N. Y.
		67	John F. Tobin, 246 Summer st., Boston, Mass.
		67	Charles L. Baine, 246 Summer st., Boston, Mass.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	5	67	Miss Mary Anderson, 166 W. Washington st., Room 610, Chicago, Ill.
		66	Alvin C. Howes, Middleboro, Mass.
		66	Daniel Harrington, 20 Everett st., Brockton, Mass.
		90	Joseph Proebstle, Station E, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		90	Louis Kemper, Vine st., near Hollister, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Brewery Workmen, International Union of United.....	5	90	Ed. F. Ward, 1117 Columbus ave., Boston, Mass.
		90	A. J. Kugler, Station E., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		90	John Sullivan, 25 Third ave., New York, N. Y.
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, International.....	1	34	Frank Butterworth, 409-160 N. Fifth ave., Chicago, Ill.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association of.....	3	34	Daniel J. O'Shea, Ericson Place, Niagara Falls, N. Y.
		33	Frank E. Thoman, 653 King Place, Chicago, Ill.
		33	Joseph E. McClory, 4721 Franklin ave., N. W., Cleveland, Ohio.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Carpenters and Joiners, United Brotherhood of.....	7	275 275 275 275 275 274 274	Wm. D. Huber, Carpenters' Building, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind. Frank Duffy, Carpenters' Building, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind. Fred C. Wheeler, 1301 Waterloo st., Los Angeles, Cal. A. M. Swartz, 1410 Sandusky st., N. S. Pittsburgh, Pa. D. F. Featherston, Box 1374, Jacksonville, Fla. Wm. J. Kelly, Union Labor Temple, Washington and Webster aves., Pittsburgh, Pa. W. E. Hemsell, 1616 S. Main st., Wilkes-barre, Pa.
Carriage and Wagon Workers' International.....	1	27	James R. Crozier, Box 123, Station A. Boston, Mass.
Cement Workers, American Brotherhood of.....	3	30 30 30 84 84	Frank C. Gengenback, 646 W. Sixty-seventh st., Chicago, Ill. Martin Goellnitz, Second ave., Woodside, Long Island, N. Y. Frank Shilf, 363 W. Madison st., Chicago, Ill. Samuel Gompers, 801 G st. N. W., Washington, D. C. Thos. F. Tracy, 708 Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
Cigarmakers' International Union.....	5	84 84 84 84	J. Mahlon Barnes, 232 N. Ninth st., Philadelphia, Pa. W. H. Fitzgerald, 799 Division st., Portland, Oreg. Phil. H. Mueller, 615 Chestnut st., St. Louis, Mo.
Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail.....	1	150	H. J. Conway, Lock Box 248, Lafayette, Ind.
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, United.....	1	28	Max Zuckerman, 228 E. Seventh st., New York City.
Commercial Telegraphers' Union.....	1	10 23	Miss Mary McCauley, Lockport, N. Y. Frank A. Scoby, 2801 N. Third st., Minneapolis, Minn.
Coopers' International Union.....	2	22 3	James J. Doyle, 29 Lawn st., Roxbury, Mass. Andries Meyer, 323 Washington st., Brooklyn N. Y.
Diamond Workers' Protective Union.....	1	49 49 49 49	F. J. McNulty, Pierlk Building, Springfield, Ill. Frank B. Glynn, 32 South ave., Rochester, N. Y. J. W. Yount, Howard and Western aves., Rogers Park, Chicago, Ill. Chas. P. Ford, Pierlk Building, Springfield, Ill.
Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of.....	4		
Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	1	23	Frank Feeney, 708 S. Fifty-second st., Philadelphia, Pa.
Engineers, International Union of Steam.....	4	45 44 44 44 38 38 38 29 29 29	Matt Comerford, Temple Bar Building, Brooklyn, N. Y. James G. Hannahan, 6303 Harvard ave., Chicago, Ill. R. G. Moser, 3795 Meade st., Denver, Colo. T. J. Dolan, Fort Dearborn Building, Chicago, Ill. Timothy Healy, 158 E. Twenty-seventh st., New York City. M. J. Friel, 156 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill. Wm. J. Brennan, 126 Market st., Newark, N. J. T. W. Rowe, 930 Ohio Building, Toledo, Ohio. William P. Clarke, 928 Ohio Building, Toledo, Ohio. Charles F. Green, 806 Buckeye st., Toledo, Ohio.
Firemen, International Brotherhood of Stationary.....	3		
Flint Glass Workers' Union, American.....	3		
Foundry Employes, International Brotherhood of.....	1	5	James B. Conroy, 200 S. Broadway, St. Louis, Mo.

# DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION

v

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Freight Handlers, Brotherhood of Railroad.....	1	25 9 3	P. J. Flannery, 816-24 Harrison st., Chicago, Ill. T. A. Rickert, Room 324, 219 S. Dearborn st., Chicago, Ill. B. A. Larger, 117 Bible House, New York City.
Garment Workers of America, United....	5	93 93 92 117	Miss Margaret C. Dally, 117 Bible House, New York City. V. Altman, 11 N. Ashland ave., Buffalo, N. Y. Maler Schwarz, 21 Milk st., Cincinnati, Ohio. Abraham Rosenberg, 32 Union Square, New York City.
Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies.....	5	117 117 116 34	John A. Dyche, 32 Union Square, New York City. Aldo Cursi, 79 E. Tenth st., New York City. John F. Pierce, 7 W. Twenty-first st., New York City. Meyer Rosenberg, 2051 Wakeman st., Toledo, Ohio. D. A. Hayes, 930 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association.....	3	33 33	Charles E. Heritage, Room 8, Merritt Building, Woodbury, N. J. Edward J. Marx, 463 Carbon st., Mt. Oliver, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Glass Workers' International Association, Amalgamated.....	1	11	David Ring, 416 W. Fifteenth st., Kansas City, Mo.
Glove Workers' Union, International....	1	11	Miss Agnes Nestor, 506 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
Granite Cutters, International Association of.....	3	45 45 45 29	James Duncan, Hancock Building, Quincy, Mass. James Garvey, 2 Bailey st., S. Lawrence, Mass. Alex. Archie, 508 Seventh st., Wausau, Wis. Martin Lawlor, 11 Waverly Place, New York City.
Hatters, United, of North America.....	3	28 28 42	H. C. Shalvoy, Danbury, Conn. Michael F. Green, 52 Freeman st., Orange, N. J. Dominick D'Alessandro, Drawer 597, Albany, N. Y.
Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union, International.....	3	42 41	Joseph D'Andrea, Drawer 597, Albany, N. Y. Joseph B. Etchison, 25 Old Board of Trade Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
Horseshoers, International Union of Journeymen.....	2	26 26	Hubert S. Marshall, 908 Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. Roady Kenehan, 1464 Winona Court, Denver, Colo.
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League.....	5	96 95 95 95	Edward Flore, 469 Oak st., Buffalo, N. Y. Jere L. Sullivan, 610 Commercial Tribune Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. Thomas S. Farrell, 1120 Prospect ave., Cleveland, Ohio. George Miller, 3204 Lucas ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of.....	2	23 22	Otto Pattberg, 24 Witte st., Glendale, Long Island, N. Y. Judson O'Neal, 831 N. Third st., Terre Haute, Ind. John Williams, Room 506 House Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire, and Metal.....	2	25 25	Wm. J. McSorley, 401 Superior Building, Cleveland, Ohio. John T. Taggart, 320 Highland ave., Mount Vernon, N. Y.
Laundry Workers, International Union	1	26	Charles F. Bailey, 604 Second ave., Troy, N. Y.
Leather Workers on Horse Goods, United Brotherhood of.....	1	20	W. E. Bryan, 209 Postal Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Leather Workers' Union of America, Amalgamated.....	1	6	Dennis Healey, 101 Whipple st., Lowell, Mass.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Lithographic Pressfeeders, International Protective Association of.....	1	9	Wm. A. Coakley, 43 Centre st., New York, N. Y.
		59	Thos. V. O'Connor, Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
Longshoremen's Association, International.....	4	59	A. J. Chiopek, 3224 Lagrange st., Toledo, Ohio.
		59	George E. Neesham, Lock Box 407, Pittsburgh, Pa.
		58	Thomas Harrison, 618 Phillip st., New Orleans, La.
		120	Wm. H. Johnston, Room 405 McGill Building, Washington, D. C.
Machinists, International Association of.....	5	120	B. F. Lamb, Howard Building, St. Louis, Mo.
		120	Thos. Van Lear, 2395 University ave., St. Paul, Minn.
		119	A. O. Wharton, Howard Building, St. Louis, Mo.
		119	P. W. Buckley, care of Room 360 Albark Block, Oakland, Cal.
Maintenance of Way Employes, International Brotherhood of.....	3	31	A. B. Lowe, 3900 Olive st., St. Louis, Mo.
		30	M. J. Powers, 3900 Olive st., St. Louis, Mo.
		30	C. C. Allen, 3900 Olive st., St. Louis, Mo.
Marble Workers, International Association of.....	1	28	Walter V. Price, 406 E. One Hundred and Forty-ninth st., New York City.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, Amalgamated.....	1	40	Homer D. Call, Lock Box 212, Syracuse, N. Y.
		34	T. M. Daly, 408 Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers' International.....	3	33	George Leary, 408 Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		33	Thomas Rumsey, 2772 Monroe st., Toledo, Ohio.
		42	M. O'Sullivan, 407 Nelson Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet.....	4	42	John D. Crane, 407 Nelson Building, Kansas City, Mo.
		41	John J. Hynes, 407 Nelson Building, Kansas City, Mo.
		41	Thos. Walsh, 39 S. Fifth ave., Chicago, Ill.
		382	John P. White, 1111 State Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		382	John Mitchell, 3 Claremont ave., Mount Vernon, N. Y.
		382	Frank J. Hayes, 1120 State Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
Mine Workers of America, United.....	7	381	John H. Walker, 508 Farmers' National Bank Building, Springfield, Ill.
		381	T. L. Lewis, Bridgeport, Ohio.
		381	Duncan McDonald, 505 Farmers' National Bank Building, Springfield, Ill.
		381	William Green, Coshocton, Ohio.
		127	John C. Williams, Grass Valley, Cal.
		127	M. J. Scanlan, 605 Railroad Building, Denver, Colo.
Miners, Western Federation of.....	4	126	Edwin Young, care of B. & M. Smelter, Great Falls, Mont.
		126	Joseph D. Cannon, 238 N. Grand ave., Los Angeles, Cal.
		125	Joseph F. Valentine, Commercial Tribune Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Molders' Union, International.....	4	125	John P. Frey, Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		125	R. H. Curran, 107 Hobart st., Rochester, N. Y.
		125	Jack L. Lanigan, Labor Temple, Vancouver, B. C., Can.
		125	Joseph N. Weber, 1370 Broadway, Room 2, New York, N. Y.
Musicians, American Federation of.....	4	125	Owen Miller, 3535 Pine st., St. Louis, Mo.
		125	D. A. Carey, 170 Montrose ave., Toronto, Can.
		125	Joseph F. Winkler, 175 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Painters, Decorators, and Paper-hangers, Brotherhood of.....	6	115	George F. Hedrick, Drawer 99, Lafayette, Ind.
		114	J. C. Skemp, Drawer 99, Lafayette, Ind.
		114	Jacob Tazelaar, 43 E. Twenty-second st., New York City.
		114	W. E. Rodriguez, 1058 N. Kedzie Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
		114	Thos. Wright, 746 Coney Island ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		114	Emil Arnold, 5023 Strong st., Chicago, Ill.
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of.....	1	28	J. T. Carey, 44-45-46 Benson Building, Albany, N. Y.
Pattern Makers' League of North America.....	2	30	James Wilson, Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		30	James L. Gernon, 411 Albemarle Road, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of.....	1	15	Edward I. Hannah, 223 E. Fifty-ninth st., New York, N. Y.
Paving Cutters' Union.....	1	35	John Sheret, Lock Box 27, Albion, N. Y.
Photo-Engravers' Union, International	1	40	Matthew Woll, 6111 Bishop st., Chicago, Ill.
Plate Printers' Union of America, Steel and Copper.....	1	12	William D. Clark, 220 Eighth st., S. E., Washington, D. C.
Plasterers' International Association, Operative.....	3	53	Edward J. McGivern, 1414 Bluehill ave., Boston, Mass.
		52	Peter G. Cook, 269 W. One Hundred and Fourteenth st., New York City.
		52	Joseph J. McDermott, 843 S. Harvey ave., Oak Park, Ill.
Plumbers, Gasfitters, Steamfitters, and Steamfitters' Helpers, United Association of.....	4	65	John R. Alpine, 411-16 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
		65	William J. Tracey, 337 W. Logan st., Philadelphia, Pa.
		65	E. W. Leonard, 411-16 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
		65	Patrick Murphy, 103 E. One-Hundred and Twenty-fifth st., New York City.
Post-office Clerks, National Federation of.....	1	18	Oscar F. Nelson, 219 S. Dearborn st., Room 735, Chicago, Ill.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	2	33	Edward Menge, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
		32	E. J. Whitehead, Box 770, Trenton, N. J.
Printing Pressmen's Union, International.....	4	48	George L. Berry, Rogersville, Tenn.
		48	W. G. Halpine, 551 Hayward ave., Rochester, N. Y.
		47	L. Hart, 17 Saxton st., Rochester, N. Y.
		47	Harry Wilson, 369 Exchange st., Rochester, N. Y.
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers, International Brotherhood of.....	1	35	John H. Malin, P. O. Drawer K, Fort Edward, N. Y.
Quarry Workers' International Union	2	20	Fred W. Sultor, Scampini Building, Barre, Vt.
		20	P. J. Dacey, Milford, Mass.
		63	H. B. Perham, Star Building, St. Louis, Mo.
		63	W. T. Brown, Star Building, St. Louis, Mo.
		62	J. F. Miller, 2916 Huntington ave., Baltimore, Md.
Railroad Telegraphers, Order of.....	4	62	T. J. Gallagher, 4 Longwood ave., New York City, N. Y.
		72	Martin F. Ryan, 503 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo.
		72	Edwin W. Weeks, 507 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo.
		72	Wm. J. Adames, 505 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Railway Carmen, Brotherhood of.....	4	71	Frank Paquin, 638 1/2 E. Sixty-sixth st., Chicago, Ill.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Railway Employees, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.....	1	402	Ben. Commons, 1011 Poland st., New Orleans, La.
		54	A. Furuseth, 44-46 East st., San Francisco, Cal.
Seamen's Union, International.....	3	53	T. A. Hanson, 570 W. Lake st., Chicago, Ill.
		53	I. N. Hylen, 93 Steuart st., San Francisco, Cal.
Shingle Weavers' Union of America, International.....	1	15	J. G. Brown, 306 Maynard Building, Seattle, Wash.
Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, International.....	1	5	George M. Huddleston, 601 Fourth st. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Stage Employees' International Alliance, Theatrical.....	3	37	Charles C. Shay, Room 1511, 1547 Broadway, New York City, N. Y.
		37	John Suarez, 16 S. Sixth st., St. Louis, Mo.
		36	James Lemke, care of 34 Canal ave., Troy, N. Y.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International.....	2	22	James J. Freel, 1839 Eighty-fifth st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		21	Charles A. Sumner, 403 Scanett Arcade, Kansas City, Mo.
Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen.....	3	30	James A. Short, Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
		30	Octave Jette, 628 Garnier st., Montreal, Que., Canada.
		29	William McKay, Box 507, Victoria, B. C., Canada.
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	1	11	Frank Grimsshaw, 1210 Jefferson st., East, Detroit, Mich.
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	3	29	S. E. Heberling, 326 Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
		29	M. R. Welch, 326 Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
		29	J. B. Connors, 707 E. Fortieth st., Chicago, Ill.
Tailors' Union, Journeymen.....	3	40	E. J. Brals, Box 597, Bloomington, Ill.
		40	D. G. Biggs, Box 597, Bloomington, Ill.
		40	Hugh Robinson, 3 Kent st., Hamilton, Ont. Can.
Teamsters, International Brotherhood of.....	5	83	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		83	Thomas L. Hughes, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		83	Wm. A. Neer, 175 Washington st., Room 301, Chicago, Ill.
		83	John M. Gillespie, Suite 35, 455 Columbus ave., Boston, Mass.
		83	J. J. Morris, 200 Guerrero st., care of Walter Duryea, San Francisco, Cal.
Textile Workers of America, United.....	2	55	John Golden, Box 742, Fall River, Mass.
		54	James Starr, Box 1168, Paterson, N. J.
Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union, Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic.....	1	24	Thomas J. Williams, Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Tip Printers, International Brotherhood of.....	1	2	Thomas J. Carolan, 6 Plum st., Newark, N. J.
Tobacco Workers' International Union.....	1	37	E. Lewis Evans, Rooms 50 and 51 American National Bank Building, Louisville, Ky.
Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers' International Union of America.....	1	8	Edw. E. Shilling, 522 S. Halsted st., Chicago, Ill.
Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.....	1	18	Thomas J. Curtis, 178 E. Seventy-eighth st., New York City.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Typographical Union, International.....	5	110	James M. Lynch, 650 Newton Claypool Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		110	Frank Morrison, Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
		109	Hugh Stevenson, 176 McPherson ave., Toronto, Ont., Can.
		109	Max S. Hayes, 979 Parkwood Drive, Cleveland, Ohio.
		109	T. W. McCullough, 2028 Maple st., Omaha, Nebr.
Upholsterers' International Union.....	1	28	John Hanley, 159 E. Fifty-seventh st., New York City.
White Rats Actors' Union of America.....	3	37	William J. Cooke, 227-231 W. Forty-sixth st., New York City.
		37	Abner All, 28 N. Fifth ave., Chicago, Ill.
		36	Joe Birnes, 1553 Broadway, New York City.
Arkansas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Fred W. Holt, McAlester, Okla.
California State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Andrew J. Gallagher, 316 Fourteenth st. San Francisco, Cal.
Colorado State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Charles Moyer, 605 Railroad Building, Denver, Colo.
Connecticut State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Jeremiah A. Keane, 40 Sheridan st., Danbury, Conn.
Florida State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Jackson W. Holder, 17 East Beaver st., Jacksonville, Fla.
Georgia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. L. Corley, 112 Trinity ave., Atlanta, Ga.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Stephen Sumner, 6644 Bishop st., Chicago, Ill.
Indiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	William J. Pfeiffer, 210½ N. Delaware st., Indianapolis, Ind.
Iowa State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. J. O'Brien, 202 W. Fifth st., Muscatine, Iowa.
Kansas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	W. B. Shaughnessey, 820 Delaware st., Leavenworth, Kans.
Maine State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Henry M. Donnelly, 58½ Arsenal st., Augusta, Me.
Maryland State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	P. J. Ryan, 212 F st. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Emmet T. Walls, 53 Elm ave., Brockton, Mass.
Michigan State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Joseph Smith, 623 Birney st., Bay City, Mich.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	W. F. McGrath, 20 N. Twelfth st., Minneapolis, Minn.
Missouri State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	E. T. Behrens, 315 S. Lamine st., Sedalia, Mo.
Montana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	M. M. Donoghue, 1115 W. Park st., Butte, Mont.
Nebraska State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	C. L. Shamp, Rooms 2-4, 2502 N. Eighteenth st., Omaha, Nebr.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Henry J. Vanderveld, 121 Paterson ave., Paterson, N. J.
New York State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Henry Prinz, 311 Church st., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James P. Egan, 119 Twentieth st., Toledo, Ohio
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	William Young, Jr., 131 N. Fifteenth st., Philadelphia, Pa.
Rhode Island State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	O. L. Preble, 98 Weybosset st., Room 19, Providence, R. I.
Tennessee State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Clarence E. Swick, Memphis, Tenn.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	William L. Hoefgen, P. O. Box 1113, San Antonio, Texas.
Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James J. Creamer, 619 China st., Richmond, Va.
Washington State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	W. J. Coates, 311 Sprague ave., Spokane, Wash.



ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
West Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	H. P. Corcoran, 1577 Washington st., Charles ton, W. Va.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	F. C. Brockhausen, 553 Orchard st., Milwaukee, Wis.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James Scrivner, 805 Emerson st., Sheridan Wyo.
Albany (N. Y.) Central Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas D. Fitzgerald, 210 Jay st., Albany N. Y.
Atlanta (Ga.) Federation of Trades.....	1	1	O. A. Cone, 13 Howard st., Kirkwood Atlanta, Ga.
Baltimore (Md.) Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James H. Sullivan, 502 E. Fayette st., Baltimore, Md.
Belmont County (Ohio) Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	E. E. Tharp, 3026 Belmont st., Bellaire, Ohio
Birmingham (Ala.) Trades Council.....	1	1	R. H. White, Box 180, Birmingham, Ala.
Bloomington (Ill.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	John B. Lennon, Bloomington, Ill.
Boston (Mass.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank H. McCarthy, 97 Union Park st., Boston, Mass.
Brockton (Mass.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James H. Collins, 757 Center st., Brockton, Mass.
Brooklyn (N. Y.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John P. Coughlin, 135 Adelphi st., Brooklyn N. Y.
Chicago (Ill.) Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Joseph Morton, 1748 North Whipple st., Chicago, Ill.
Cincinnati (Ohio) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Walter Mullen, 856 Hathaway st., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Cleveland (Ohio) Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank Smith, 310 Prospect ave., southeast Cleveland, Ohio.
Cohoes (N. Y.) Central Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. P. McGinley, 263 Elm st., Albany, N. Y.
Denver (Colo.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Harvey Garman, 721 Ernest & Cranmer Building, Denver, Colo.
Dunkirk (N. Y.) United Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	James G. Sause, 317 Lion st., Dunkirk, N. Y.
Evansville (Ind.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John J. Keegan, 2333 Central ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
Geneva (N. Y.) Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Michael F. Tracy, 135 W. North st., Geneva N. Y.
Granite City (Ill.) Tri-City Central Trades Council (Granite City, Madison, Venice, Ill.).....	1	1	T. M. Cavanaugh, 2121a E st., Granite City Ill.
Hamilton (Ont., Can.) District Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	S. L. Landers, 39 Charles st., Hamilton Ont., Can.
Hartford (Conn.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Sol. Sontheimer, 40 Charter Oak place, Hartford, Conn.
Huntington (W. Va.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	George W. Gillispee, 1836 Sixth ave., Huntington, W. Va.
Indianapolis (Ind.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Chas. A. Hays, 3534 N. Illinois st., Indianapolis, Ind.
Jacksonville (Fla.) Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	J. C. Privett, 301 E. Tenth st., Jacksonville Fla.
Jamestown (N. Y.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	J. M. Kane, Falconer, N. Y.
Kansas City (Mo.) Industrial Council.....	1	1	John T. Smith, Labor Temple, 1402 Woodland ave., Kansas City, Mo.
Kensington (Ill.) Calumet Joint Labor Council.....	1	1	Herman C. Diehl, 11518 Princeton ave., Chicago, Ill.
Lincoln (Nebr.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Clarence R. Elyea, 522 N. Fourteenth st., Lincoln, Nebr.
Logansport (Ind.) Trades Assembly.....	1	1	Edwin S. Burns, 408 1-3 Market st., Logansport, Ind.
Los Angeles (Cal.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	L. W. Butler, Room 202, Labor Temple, Los Angeles, Cal.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Cincinnati (Ky.) United Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Peter Campbell, 813 S. Hancock st., Louisville, Ky.
Meriden (Conn.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Geo. W. Chance, P. O. Box 341, Meriden, Conn.
Milwaukee (Wis.) Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	Frank J. Weber, 1223 Locust st., Milwaukee, Wis.
Mobile (Ala.) Central Trades Council	1	1	P. J. Doherty, Mobile, Ala.
Nashville (Tenn.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	C. P. Fahey, 703 Main st., Nashville, Tenn.
Newark (N. J.) Essex Trades Council.....	1	1	Morris R. Welch, 30 N. Third st., Newark, N. J.
New York (N. Y.) Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity.....	1	1	James P. Holland, 158 E. Twenty-seventh st., New York City.
Niagara Falls (N. Y.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Joseph P. Hunter, Niagara Falls, N. Y.
Olean (N. Y.) Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Elmer E. Evans, Olean, N. Y.
Omaha (Nebr.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	George E. Norman, 1817 Chicago st., Omaha, Nebr.
Ottawa (Can.) Allied Trades (and Labor Association).....	1	1	P. M. Draper, Drawer 515, Ottawa Can.
Philadelphia (Pa.) Central Labor Union, of, and vicinity.....	1	1	Frank O. Bryan, 735 Sloan st., Philadelphia, Pa.
Pittsburgh (Pa.) Iron City Central Trades Council.....	1	1	R. J. McGrath, 426 Diamond st., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Poughkeepsie (N. Y.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	James C. Brower, 23 Washington st., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Richmond Borough (N. Y.) Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	William J. Bonner, 41 Whittaker place, Rosebank P. O. Staten Island, N. Y.
Richmond (Va.) Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	John Hirschberg, 209 N. Twenty-fifth st., Richmond, Va.
Rochester (N. Y.) Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Emanuel Koveleski, 19 Windsor st., Rochester, N. Y.
Sacramento (Cal.) Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	W. P. Hannon, 1005 Fourth st., Sacramento, Cal.
St. Louis (Mo.) Central Trades and Labor Union of, and vicinity.....	1	1	Louis P. Philippi, 1930 Sidney st., St. Louis, Mo.
St. Paul (Minn.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Charles E. James, 309 Wabasha st., St. Paul, Minn.
St. Thomas (Ont., Can.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	William Stokes, 69 Flora st., St. Thomas, Ont., Can.
Salem (Mass.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Silas N. Lapham, 8 Central st., Salem, Mass.
San Francisco (Cal.) Labor Council.....	1	1	Paul Scharrenborg, 316 Fourteenth st., San Francisco, Cal.
Savannah (Ga.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	J. J. Keane, 549 Park ave., east, Savannah, Ga.
Schenectady (N. Y.) Trades Assembly.....	1	1	John J. Henley, 215 Park place, Schenectady, N. Y.
Sharon (Pa.) United Labor League of, and vicinity.....	1	1	David Niven, 12 Porter st., Sharon, Pa.
South Chicago (Ill.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	James C. Fello, 9508 Commercial ave., South Chicago, Ill.
Springfield (Ill.) Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James F. Morris, 304 Pierik Building Springfield, Ill.
Syracuse (N. Y.) Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Edward Vincent Wood, 305 S. Warren st., Syracuse, N. Y.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Toronto (Ont., Can.) District Labor Council.....	1	1	James Simpson, 54 High Park Boulevard Toronto, Ont., Can.
Troy (N. Y.) Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas J. Purcell, 73 Albany ave., Green Island, N. Y.
Utica (N. Y.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Edward A. Bates, 256 South st., Utica, N. Y.
Waco (Tex.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John R. Spencer, 209 1-2 S. Fifth st., Waco, Tex.
Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Milton Snellings, 919 E st. S. W., Washington, D. C.
Watertown (N. Y.) Central Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	Stephen English, 508 Cooper st., Watertown, N. Y.
Wilkes-Barre (Pa.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. J. Youhon, 17 1-2 Regent st., Lee Park, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Yonkers (N. Y.) Federation of Labor.....	1	1	H. Wildberger, Jr., 48 W. Grand st., Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
Zanesville (Ohio) Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	John A. Voll, 134 Hamline ave., Zanesville, Ohio.
Badge, Banner, Regalia, Button, and Novelty Workers' Union No. 14065..	1	1	Alice O'Rourke, 612 Kosciusko st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Badge, Banner, Regalia, Button, and Novelty Workers' Union No. 14297..	1	1	Miss Kathryn M. Duffy, 395 Exchange st., Rochester, N. Y.
Bookkeepers, Stenographers, and Accountants' Union No. 12646.....	1	1	Miss Elizabeth C. Morris, 3 Claremont ave., Mount Vernon, N. Y.
Commercial Portrait Artists' Union No. 14286.....	1	1	Charles V. Lawler, 21 N. Forty-first ave., Chicago, Ill.
Egg Inspectors' Union, No. 8705.....	1	2	Edward Lampa, 631 Montecello ave., Chicago, Ill.
Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union, No. 11959.....	1	3	J. J. McAndrews, 175 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
Elevator Operators' Union, No. 14214.....	1	1	John J. Cunningham, 10 Haverford st., Jamaica Plains, Mass.
Federal Labor Union, No. 12362.....	1	1	Charles Woodhouse, 16 School st., Galeson, Pa.
Fish Splitters and Handlers' Union, No. 14270.....	1	2	John Sinclair, 6 Cross st., Gloucester, Mass.
Grain Workers' Association, No. 11407.....	1	1	Ernest Bohm, 210 E. Fifth st., New York City.
Laborers' Protective Union, No. 8079.....	1	6	George Waldron, Mineville, Essex County, N. Y.
Mineral Water Workers Union, No. 12674.....	1	1	Samuel Lebowitz, 151 Clinton st., New York City.
Newsboys' Union, No. 9077.....	1	2	Thomas J. Mulkern, 16 S. Russell st., Boston, Mass.
Newspaper and Mail Deliverers' Union, No. 9463.....	1	10	John R. Dunne, Room 912, New York World Building, New York City.
Railroad Helpers and Laborers' Union, No. 14075.....	1	1	J. E. Johnson, Princeton, W. Va.
Riggers' Protective Union, No. 11561.....	1	2	I. Beckman, 63 Sand st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Sugar Refinery Employees' Union, No. 13053.....	1	4	Manny Weiss, Box 127, Yonkers, N. Y.
Theatrical Tailors' and Dressers' Union, No. 12719.....	1	1	Louis Gold, New York City.
British Trades Union Congress.....	2	1	J. A. Seddon, Laurel Dene, St. Helens, Lancashire, England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	1	1	R. Smillie, Miller st., Larkhall, Scotland.
National Women's Trade Union League.....	1	1	John W. Bruce, 669 Carlaw ave., Toronto, Ont., Can.
			Mrs. Raymond Robins, 1437 W. Ohio st., Chicago, Ill.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Women's International Union Label League.....	1	{	Anna B. Field, Harting Block, Elwood, Ind.
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ.....	2		Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, 1611 Clarendon Building, 215 Fourth ave., New York, N. Y.
American Federation of Catholic Societies.....	1		Rev. Henry A. Atkinson, 19 S. La Salle st., Chicago, Ill.
Church Association for Advancement of Labor.....	1		Rev. Peter Dietz, 503 Murray ave., Milwaukee, Wis.
			Rev. James Bishop Thomas, St. Andrew's Church, Averill ave. and Ashland st., New York City.

Number of Unions.	NAMES.	Number of Delegates.	Number of Votes.
90	National and International.....	231	17,202
30	State.....	30	30
67	Central.....	67	67
18	Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	18	41
7	Fraternal Organizations.....	9	3
212		355	17,343

## List of Fraternal Delegates.

### To British Trades Union Congress.

1895	Samuel Gompers.
	P. J. McGuire.
1896	J. W. Sullivan.
	Adolph Strasser.
1897	Martin Fox.
	Geo. E. McNeill.
1898	James Duncan.
	Harry Lloyd.
1899	James O'Connell.
	Thomas F. Tracy.
1900	J. M. Hunter.
	Sidney J. Kent.
1901	Daniel J. Keefe.
	Eugene F. O'Rourke.
1902	Patrick Dolan.
	Henry Blackmore.
1903	Max S. Hayes.
	Martin Lawlor.
1904	W. D. Ryan.
	D. D. Driscoll.
1905	John A. Moffitt.
	James Wood.
1906	Frank K. Foster.
	James Wilson.
1907	John T. Dempsey.
	W. E. Klapetzky.
1908	Andrew Furuseth.
	James J. Creamer.
1909	John P. Frey.
	B. A. Larger.
1910	W. B. Wilson.
	T. V. O'Connor.
1911	Wm. B. Macfarlane.
	Daniel J. Tobin.
1912	George L. Berry.
	John H. Walker.
1913	Chas. L. Balne.
	Louis Kemper.

### To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

1898	Thomas I. Kidd.
1899	James H. Sullivan.
1900	W. D. Mahon.
1901	John R. O'Brien.
1902	D. D. Driscoll.
1903	John Coleman.
1904	John H. Richards.
1905	Frank Feeney.
1906	Thomas A. Rickert.
1907	Robert S. Maloney.
1908	Hugh Frayne.
1909	Jerome Jones.
1910	John J. Manning.
1911	Wm. J. Tracy.
1912	John T. Smith.
1913	Wm. J. McSorley.

### From British Trades Union Congress.

1894	John Burns.
	David Holmes.
1895	Edward Cowey.
	James Mawdsley.
1896	Sam Woods.
	John Mallinson.
1897	Edward Harford.
	J. Havelock Wilson.
1898	William Inskip.
	William Thorne.
1899	James Haslam.
	Alexander Wilkie.
1900	John Weir.
	Pete Curran.
1901	Frank Chandler.
	Ben Tillett.
1902	M. Arrandale.
	E. Edwards.
1903	William Mullin.
	James O'Grady.
1904	William Abraham.
	James Wignall.
1905	William Mosses.
	David Gilmour.
1906	Allen Gee.
	J. N. Bell.
1907	David J. Shackleton.
	John Hodge.
1908	John Wadsworth.
	H. Skinner.
1909	A. H. Gill.
	J. R. Clynes.
1910	W. Brace.
	Ben Turner.
1911	G. H. Roberts.
	J. Crinlon.
1912	J. A. Seddon.
	R. Smillie.

### From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

1898	David A. Carey.
1899	David A. Carey.
1900	David A. Carey.
1901	P. M. Draper.
1902	John H. Kennedy.
1903	James Simpson.
1904	John A. Flett.
1905	William V. Todd.
1906	Samuel L. Landers.
1907	W. R. Trotter.
1908	P. M. Draper.
1909	F. Bancroft.
1910	R. P. Pettipiece.
1911	Wm. Glocking.
1912	John W. Bruce.

# CONSTITUTION

## OF THE

# AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

### 1913

#### PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the tolling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in Convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

#### CONSTITUTION.

##### ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This Association shall be known as **THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR**, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

##### ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

**SECTION 1.** The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

**SEC. 2.** The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

**SEC. 3.** The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be

governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

**SEC. 4.** An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

**SEC. 5.** To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

##### ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

**SECTION 1.** The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a. m., on the second Monday in November, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention.

**SEC. 2.** At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

**SEC. 3.** The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local or Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organizations; eleventh, Boycotts; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades).

**SEC. 4.** The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the Convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

**SEC. 5.** Resolutions of any character or propositions for changes in this Constitution can not be introduced in the Convention after the fourth day's session, except by unanimous consent.

**SEC. 6.** The Convention shall have

power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 7. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the Convention or read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

SEC. 8. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populist, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 9. The rules and order of business governing the preceding Convention shall be in force from the opening of any Convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the Convention.

SEC. 10. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a Convention.

SEC. 11. No grievance shall be considered by any Convention that has been decided by a previous Convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

#### ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in, other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions.

SEC. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary of this body immediately after their election.

SEC. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof he represents, but no City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than September 30 preceding the Annual Convention.

SEC. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled, by the American Federation of

Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

SEC. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

#### ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, eight Vice Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention on the last day of the session, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

SEC. 2. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

SEC. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the first day of January succeeding the Convention.

SEC. 5. The President and Secretary shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

SEC. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

#### ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the Annual Convention; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council.

SEC. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary, and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services such sum as the Annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resigna-

tion, or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

#### ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY.

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary shall be to take charge of all books, papers, and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the Annual Convention, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of secretaries and organizers.

SEC. 2. The Secretary shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the Annual Convention may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation and pay them to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor; provided, that he may retain in his hands a sum not exceeding \$2,000 for current expenses, which money shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

SEC. 3. The Secretary shall submit to the Auditing Committee, for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on September 30 of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall publish a financial report monthly in the "*American Federationist*," and send one copy to each affiliated body, and such additional number of copies as may be ordered and paid for by any organization connected with the Federation.

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall give a bond of \$2,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive such sum as the Annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. The Secretary shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations, containing a statement of their membership in good standing, and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

#### ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF TREASURER.

SECTION 1. The Treasurer shall receive

and take charge of all moneys, property, and securities of the Federation delivered to him by the Secretary or other officers of the American Federation of Labor. All funds of the American Federation of Labor exceeding fifteen thousand dollars shall be deposited by the Treasurer in bank, or banks, on interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Treasurer, the President, and Secretary of the Federation. The Treasurer shall collect the interest on all such certificates or other deposit at the expiration of each six months and pay the same over to the Secretary. The Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank, or banks, in the name of the American Federation of Labor as Treasurer, all amounts in his possession not on certificates of deposit, and before any money thus deposited can be drawn each check shall be signed by him as Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

SEC. 2. The Treasurer shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President and countersigned by the Secretary, as required by this Constitution, and none others.

SEC. 3. The Treasurer shall submit to the Annual Convention, through the report of the Executive Council, a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the Federation under his control; and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be \$500.

#### ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

SEC. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the Convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the Convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.



Sec. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

Sec. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

Sec. 7. The remuneration for loss of time by members of the Executive Council, organizers, or speakers engaged by them, shall be \$6.00 per day, hotel expense and actual railroad fare.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

Sec. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council, other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

Sec. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council, the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

Sec. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National, or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided, that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union

when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll-call vote.

#### ARTICLE X.—REVENUE.

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of two-thirds of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, ten cents per member per month, five cents of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout; Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen (18) years of age, two cents per member per month; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

Sec. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the Annual Convention unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in Section 1 of this Article has been paid in full to September 30 preceding the Convention.

Sec. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in Section 2 of this Article.

#### ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES.

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with, a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next Convention.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

Sec. 3. Where there are one or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Trades Assembly or Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where

none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

SEC. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, on strike, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organization have been consulted and agreed to such action.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have authority or power to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies indorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm, or corporation on an unfair list until the Local Union desiring the same has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation, and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement. Violation of this section shall forfeit charter.

SEC. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

SEC. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions, affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

SEC. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

#### ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten

weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

SEC. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

#### ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The money of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

SEC. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such Union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such Union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

SEC. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the president of the Local Union interested shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of said Union, "of which every member shall be regularly notified," to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute; what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

SEC. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said defense fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

SEC. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor

shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to four (\$4) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safe-keeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

Sec. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

Sec. 7. Any Union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

Sec. 8. In case of lockout the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their action or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

Sec. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits, and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

Sec. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off, a special meeting of the Union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

Sec. 11. In the event of the defense fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of ten cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand (\$5,000) dollars in the defense fund.

Sec. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than fifty (50) cents per month.

Sec. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than five cents a month from each member.

#### ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 2. Seven wage-workers of good character, following any trade or calling, who are favorable to Trade Unions, whose trade or calling is not organized, and are not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this Constitution, shall have the power to form a local body to be known as a "Federal Labor Union," and they shall hold regular meetings for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the Trade Union movement, and shall have power to make their own rules in conformity with this Constitution, and shall be granted a local certificate by the President of this Federation; provided, the request for a certificate be indorsed by the nearest Local or National Trade Union officials connected with this Federation, but not more than three Federal Labor Unions shall be chartered in any one city. Employers who are working for wages, may, upon regular ballot, be admitted to membership in Federal Labor or Local Unions, directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, subject to the approval of the President of the American Federation of Labor. Such members shall not attend meetings of the union or have a vote in controlling the affairs of the unions; they must comply with the scale of wages and rules adopted by the union of which they are members. The President of the American Federation of Labor shall have authority to appoint any person who is a member of any affiliated union to audit the accounts of such Federal Labor or Local Trade Unions as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct and report the result thereof to the President of the American Federation of Labor. The books and accounts of each Federal Labor and Local Trade Union shall be at all times open to the inspection of auditors appointed under this section.

Sec. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five (\$5) dollars, payable to the Secretary of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

Sec. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

Sec. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

Sec. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

#### ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, such departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor or of its Executive Council may be deemed advisable. Each Department is to manage and finance its own business.

Sec. 2. To be entitled to representation in any Department, organizations eligible to join must first be, and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor, and to be entitled to representation in Local Councils of Departments, Local Bodies shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 3. The fundamental laws of each Department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as, the laws governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department or Local Council of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with laws of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws of the latter, Departments and Local Councils are to change their laws to conform thereto.

Sec. 4. Each Department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting that portion of its business.

Sec. 5. All Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall have their headquarters located in the City of Washington, D. C., and, if possible, in the same building with the Federation headquarters.

Sec. 6. All Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their Conventions, whether annually or less often, during or immediately before or after the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and in the same city where the Conventions of the Federation are held.

Sec. 7. The Officers of each Department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor what

action, if any, has been taken by the Department, either through its Executive Council or through Conventions upon any and all matters that have been referred to the Department by the Federation.

Sec. 8. The officers of the various Departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their Department, and its general conditions.

Sec. 9. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor there shall be present during some period of the Council meeting either the President or Secretary, or both, of each Department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

Sec. 10. A page of each issue of the "American Federationist" to be available to, and to be used by each Department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the Department.

Sec. 11. National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall also become affiliated with any Department in which they may be eligible. This section does not apply to the Union Label Trades Department.

#### ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention, and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.



# THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR 1912

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## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

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### First Day—Monday Morning Session

The Convention Hall, Rochester, N. Y.,  
November 11, 1912.

Pursuant to law, the regular meeting of the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order at 10 a. m. by President Samuel Gompers.

Mr. Richard H. Curran, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, was presented to the convention by President Gompers.

Chairman Curran—Mr. President and Fellow Delegates: In behalf of the Committee of Arrangements I have been requested to extend to the delegates a hearty, sincere and cordial welcome to our beautiful city. The Committee of Arrangements has taken considerable pains to properly entertain you while you are in our midst. We have arranged for a number of entertainments, and we wish to assure you that the sole purpose of the twenty thousand trades unionists of the City of Rochester is to look after the welfare and the pleasure of the men who have been elected by the different organizations as delegates to this convention. I realize that you have a great deal of work to do and will not detain you except to say that while you are in the

city if any of you have any troubles or if there is anything you wish the committee to do for you, if you will call at Room 1 we will see that you are properly taken care of.

Hon. H. H. Edgerton, Mayor of Rochester, was introduced to the convention by President Gompers, and in welcoming the delegates to the convention said in part:

It has been my pleasure and duty as the chief executive of Rochester to extend the greetings of my fellow citizens to a great many conventions and gatherings of people. This is always a pleasure. This morning I feel more than usually interested in this convention, and I not only wish to extend the greetings of the citizens of Rochester, but also my personal welcome and offer to you my services as a public official and as a citizen for anything I can do for you to make your stay here pleasant and agreeable.

I cannot imagine a city that would be more appropriate for you to gather in than the City of Rochester. We have a splendidly organized city. The whole population of Rochester is a committee of boosters for this town. The different divisions are organized. That is what makes things go. I find that I can accomplish but very little alone; it is only with the help of the organizations that are back of me that I can do the work that is necessary. We have a very leau-

tiful city here and we are proud of it. We are proud of the men of brains and brawn that have made it what it is. We have here, I think, a much higher class of citizenship than you will find in most cities. There is a great variety of manufacturing interests; we are not confined to any specialty whatever, and they all employ skilled labor. When our factories close at night you will see on the streets none but contented faces. We have little trouble here; everybody seems to be prosperous, and there is no poverty here except what misfortune brings.

I wish again to extend to you the heartiest welcome we can extend, and to offer to you as far as I can the freedom of our city. I thank you for inviting me to come here. I trust your deliberations will not only be agreeable, but profitable and that you will want to come back again.

President Gompers—Hon. John A. Dix, Governor of the State of New York, hoped that he might be here in person to extend a welcome to this convention to the Empire State of the Union. His business engagements and official duties have interfered and he has advised me, and I take pleasure in communicating it to you, that he has requested the Commissioner of Labor of the State of New York, Mr. John Williams, to appear here and speak the welcome he himself would have extended. I take pleasure in presenting to you John Williams, the Commissioner of Labor of this State.

Commissioner Williams in welcoming the convention to the State said in part:

It is a genuine pleasure to me to be privileged to come here to extend to the convention of the American Federation of Labor the greetings of the State of New York. I appear not only as a representative of that branch of government which is charged with certain duties in regard to conditions of labor within the State, but also as the special envoy of His Excellency, Governor John A. Dix, who on behalf of all the people welcomes the convention to the State.

Our Governor has evidenced, as many of you know, his concern in the welfare of the toiling masses of this Commonwealth by approving important legislation enacted in their interests; therefore, when he expresses a wish for the continued progress of the great American labor movement and for the fullest measure of wisdom in the conduct of the business of this convention, such words may be taken at their full face value. And may I say, in parenthesis, as it were, that the legislation approved by the Governor of our State was written in our statute books upon the urgent request, the insistent demand of the representatives of labor within the State. And I feel it is but proper for me to say at this time that the toiling masses of the State of New York

owe to the State Federation of Labor a debt of gratitude which they never can repay. I say this because I know there are representatives of other states present in this gathering, and I would like to inspire them so that when they return to their respective states they may catch some of the fire, some of the spirit of the State Federation of Labor of New York and go forth and accomplish for their constituents what has been accomplished in this state.

It would be presumptuous for me to occupy much of your time. You have been called from far and near to consider and to transact business which is of vital concern to your constituents and those who follow in their train.

The American Federation of Labor is a mighty force in the industrial affairs of our country, and yet it may be truly said that its work is but begun. Its record of achievements is a score to be proud of. It has written and is writing pages of contemporary history the full significance of which we cannot appreciate, because we are too close to the scenes of activity. But we sense the trend. We know the direction of the movement. It is toward higher and better things. Men, we have every right to be proud of our connection with a movement that is so freighted with matters of intense human interest. Mistakes have been made. Yes. Men have gone wrong. Yes. But let those who condemn a movement because of occasional errors or departures from the straight course, reflect that there never has been a movement of any breadth or scope anywhere in the world that did not suffer in the same manner.

In military campaigns, general officers fall into error both in their plans and in their execution of plans. Deserters and traitors have to be dealt with. But such errors and the presence of unworthy men in the ranks have never been accepted as grounds for indiscriminate and unreasoning condemnation of such military movements, neither should the great movement of the men and women who live by the sweat of their brow be condemned because here and there is found an unworthy or ill-balanced mind in action.

Much is heard in these days about the conservation of natural resources. Conventions to agitate the subject are frequently held. This convention also represents a conservation movement. The conservation of natural resources is important, but it pales to insignificance beside the purpose of such a gathering as this. You are engaged in conserving human life, human resources, human interests. A nobler purpose never brought men and women together.

I said that each and every one of us ought to be proud of this movement. We ought to be proud of it. And when I say "we" I want you to know that I am part and parcel of the great American labor movement. This may be news to some of you, but I still carry a card of membership in the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and there is no fact of which I am prouder than the fact that I am in a position to say when my affilia-

tions are questioned than I am a member of one of the largest organizations of skilled mechanics in the world.

The people of the state of New York are proud to receive this convention. May your presence be a source of enlightenment and inspiration and may you at the close of the convention return to your respective homes stronger in purpose, higher in resolve to serve the cause of humanity.

**President Gompers**—It falls to my lot and it is my great pleasure to introduce to you now the President of the New York State Federation of Labor for many years, the active, fighting veteran of the trades union movement, with all the energy, physical and mental, of a youthful warrior, Dan Harris.

**President Harris**, in welcoming the convention on behalf of the State Federation of Labor of New York, said in part:

You cannot conceive the pleasure it gives me to greet the representatives of the labor movement of this great continent of ours. As your chairman said, I have been in this movement a number of years and I intend to die in the harness.

When we look back over the history of this organization we realize the almost unsurmountable obstacles that have been overcome. This movement for the last twenty-six years has stood for progress. Its achievements demonstrate that fact and refute the statements of our adversaries. When I see the men who represent the labor unions of this country here to-day I know that labor's confidence has not been misplaced. Your President and I worked side by side four decades ago, and I know he is the right man in the right place, and you realize that as well as I do.

The Commissioner of Labor spoke of the laws we placed on the statute books of this State. One of the laws is the fifty-four hour week for women and children. For fifteen years we struggled for that law before we secured it. We are reaching forth now for a compensation law for the men who toil. We believe this year we are going to put upon the statute books of the State of New York a compensation act for the men and women of this State who are employed in all trades that will be of great benefit to them and theirs.

We take pride in the Empire State in the fact that we have the oldest State federation in existence. It was organized in the year 1864 by a few men who came together for that purpose, and we have gone on until the present time making progress. And we are proud of being a part of the grandest organization on earth, the American Federation of Labor.

**President Gompers**, in replying to the addresses of welcome, said in part:

On behalf of the convention I want to express to you our deep appreciation of your words of welcome and your words of commendation. This organization of ours is just as you find it. We are made up of men and women and therefore are

human, and being human we possess the weaknesses and shortcomings of the human. But in our movement we also possess the strength of character which finds its expression in the effort to make this life and this world better than we found it when we entered upon our duties.

It has been well said here this morning that the shortcomings or the errors of men in our movement are exaggerated. No such general application is made to any other institution on earth. In business we take the honest man, the earnest man and say "This is the general type of the business men of our day." In the professions, in the law, in finance, in the church, in all other vocations the highest and the best is taken as the type. But in the labor movement the effort is made to find some derelict and hold him up as the type of what is termed the labor agitator, the labor organizer, the labor leader. Against such a designation or calumination we enter our most emphatic protest. Grant you there are some who may fall by the way; grant you that some fail to perform their full duty; but taking man for man in the labor movement they will compare with any set of men in any walk of life for unselfishness, for altruism, for high motives and purposes. And they propose to meet the obstacles that seem almost unsurmountable and apply themselves to see to it that wrongs are righted and rights established; to see to it that the home is made better and brighter; to see to it that labor is made lighter and improved; to see to it that man shall conceive that at last he must help to bear his brother's burden and make the burdens of all so much the lighter.

**President Gompers** spoke at some length of the struggle of organized labor and its history. He also spoke of the work of the labor unions in connection with the new citizens of the republic, stating that there is no factor and no influence in all the country so potent in Americanizing the new comers as the trades union movement. In concluding his address, **President Gompers** said

Again I want to thank you, Mr. Mayor, and you gentlemen representing organized labor of the State of New York and of the magnificent city of Rochester, Rochester which is the alma mater and the mecca of my first convention of any sort in my life. We are glad to have an opportunity of visiting your beautiful city and noting its growth and development, its new civic pride, its splendid organized labor movement, its spirit of cleanliness and honesty. We are glad to have an opportunity of visiting your city and holding our convention therein, and we thank you again for your offers of hospitality, which we know will be unbounded.



I now declare this Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor duly open and ready for the transaction of business.

President Gompers requested the members of the Executive Council to occupy seats on the stage.

Mr. Emanuel Koveleski, President of the Central Trades and Labor Council, stated that President Huber, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, had a presentation to make in behalf of the District Council of that organization. President Huber stated that a handsome rosewood gavel, union made, had been presented to the District Council of the Carpenters by Mr. Hopkins of Rochester, with the request that it be given to the chairman of the convention.

President Gompers made a brief address in which he thanked the donors of the gavel, and stated that a smaller gavel of ivory had been presented to him by the President of the Rochester Central Labor Union.

Mr. Duncan McDonald, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials, read the following report:

#### **Report of Committee on Credentials.**

Rochester, New York, Nov. 11, 1912.  
To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-Second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Gentlemen:

Your Committee on Credentials beg leave to report that they have examined the credentials of 357 delegates, representing 85 International and National Unions, 30 State Branches, 76 Central Bodies, 19 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 8 fraternal delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, 8 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—A. A. Myrup, Henry Koch, Jacob Goldstone, 146 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—Frank X. Noschang, W. E. Klapetzky, Jacob Fischer, Ed Anderson, 299 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—James Labralco, 14 votes.

Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of—James W. Kline, William F. Kramer, Charles N. Glover, 93 votes.

Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America, Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, M. J. McGuire, T. J. Garvey, George W. Pring, 167 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—Edward C. Strelle, 85 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—John F. Tobin, Charles L. Baine, Mary Anderson, Alvin C. Howes, Daniel Harrington, 333 votes.

Brewery Workmen, International Union of the United—Joseph Proebstle, Louis Kemper, Ed. F. Ward, A. J. Kugler, John Sullivan, 450 votes.

Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, International—Frank Butterworth, 34 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association of—Daniel J. O'Shea, Frank E. Thoman, Joseph E. McClory, 100 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—Wm. D. Huber, Frank Duffy, Fred C. Wheeler, A. M. Swartz, D. F. Featherston, William J. Kelly, W. E. Hemsell, 1,923 votes.

Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers of North America, International Union of—James R. Crozier, 27 votes.

Cement Workers, American Brotherhood of—Frank C. Gengenback, Martin Goellnitz, Frank Shif, 90 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—Samuel Gompers, Thomas F. Tracy, J. Mahlon Barnes, W. H. Fitzgerald, Phil. H. Mueller, 420 votes.

Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, United—Max Zuckerman, 28 votes.

Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America, The—Wesley Russell, 10 votes.

Coopers' International Union of North America—Frank A. Scoby, James J. Doyle, 45 votes.

Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America—Andries Meyer, 3 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—F. J. McNulty, Frank B. Glynn, J. W. Yount, Charles P. Ford, 196 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Frank Feeney, 23 votes.

Foundry Employees, Brotherhood of—Jas. B. Conroy, 5 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Steam—Matt Comerford, James G. Hannahan, R. G. Moser, T. J. Dolan, 177 votes.

Firemen, International Brotherhood of Stationary—Timothy Healy, M. C. Friel, Wm. J. Brennan, 114 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—T. A. Rickert, B. A. Larger, Margaret C. Daley, V. Altman, Maler Schwarz, 464 votes.

Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies—Abraham Rosenberg, John A. Dyche, Aldo Cursi, John F. Pierce, Meyer Rosenberg, 584 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—D. A. Hayes, Charles E. Heritage, Edward J. Marx, 100 votes.

Glass Workers' International Association, Amalgamated—David Ring, 11 votes.

Glove Workers' Union of America, International—Agnes Nestor, 11 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The—James Duncan, James Garvey, Alex Archie, 135 votes.

Hatters of North America, United—Martin Lawlor, H. C. Shalvoy, Michael F. Green, 85 votes.

Hod Carriers and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—Dominick D'Alessandro, Joseph D'Andrea, Joseph B. Etchison, 125 votes.

Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen—Hubert S. Marshall, Roady Keneshan, 52 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders International League of America—Edward Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Thomas S. Farrell, George Miller, Otto Pattberg, 476 votes.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of—Judson O'Neal, John Williams, 45 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—William J. McSorley, John T. Taggart, 50 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—Charles F. Bailey, 26 votes.

Leather Workers on Horse Goods, United Brotherhood of—W. E. Bryan, 20 votes.

Leather Workers' Union of America, Amalgamated—Dennis Healey, 6 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—Thomas V. O'Connor, A. J. Chlopek, George E. Neisham, Thomas Harrison, 235 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—William H. Johnston, B. F. Lamb, Thomas Van Lear, A. O. Wharton, P. W. Buckley, 598 votes.

Marble Workers, International Association of—Walter V. Price, 28 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—Homer D. Call, 40 votes.

Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America—T. M. Daly, George Leary, Thomas Rumsey, 100 votes.

Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet—M. O'Sullivan, John D. Crane, John J. Hynes, Thomas Walsh, 166 votes.

Mine Workers of America, United—John P. White, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, John H. Walker, T. L. Lewis, Duncan McDonald, William Green, 2,670 votes.

Miners, Western Federation of—John G. Williams, Daniel Holland, Edwin Young, Joseph D. Cannon, 506 votes.

Molders' Union of North America,

International—Joseph F. Valentine, John P. Frey, R. H. Curran, Jack L. Lanihan, 500 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Joseph N. Weber, Owen Miller, D. A. Carey, Joseph F. Winkler, 500 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—George F. Hedrick, J. C. Skemp, Jacob Tazelaar, W. E. Rodriguez, Thomas Wright, Emil Arnold, 685 votes.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of—J. T. Carey, 28 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—James Wilson, James L. Gernon, 60 votes.

Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of—Edward I. Hannah, 15 votes.

Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada—John Sheret, 35 votes.

Photo-Engravers' Union of North America, International—Matthew Woll, 40 votes.

Plate Printers' Union of North America, International Steel and Copper—William D. Clark, 12 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—Edward J. McGivern, Peter G. Cook, Joseph J. McDermott, 157 votes.

Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of United States and Canada, United Association of—John R. Alpine, William J. Tracey, James F. Malley, Patrick Murphy, 260 votes.

Postoffice Clerks, National Federation of—Oscar F. Nelson, 18 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—Edward Menge, E. J. Whitehead, 65 votes.

Printing Pressmen's Union, International—George L. Berry, W. G. Halpine, L. Hart, Harry Wilson, 190 votes.

Quarry Workers' International Union of North America—Fred W. Sutor, P. J. Dacey, 40 votes.

Railroad Telegraphers, Order of—H. B. Perham, C. A. Mulhall, J. F. Miller, T. J. Gallagher, 250 votes.

Railway Carmen of America, Brotherhood—Martin F. Ryan, Edwin W. Weeks, William J. Adames, Frank Paquin, 287 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—W. D. Mahon, Ben Commons, William Taber, 402 votes.

Seamen's Union of America, International—A. Furuseth, T. A. Hanson, I. N. Hylen, 160 votes.

Shingle Weavers' Union of America, International—J. G. Brown, 15 votes.

Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, International—George M. Huddleston, 5 votes.

Stage Employees' International Alliance, Theatrical—Charles C. Shay, John Suarez, James Lemke, 110 votes.

- Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—James J. Freel, Charles A. Sumner, 43 votes.
- Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—James A. Short, Octave Jette, William McKay, 89 votes.
- Stovemounters' International Union—Frank Grimshaw, 11 votes.
- Switchmen's Union of North America—S. E. Heberling, M. R. Welch, J. B. Connors, 87 votes.
- Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen—E. J. Brais, D. G. Biggs, Hugh Robinson, 120 votes.
- Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, William A. Neer, John M. Gillespie, J. J. Morris, 415 votes.
- Textile Workers of America, United—John Golden, James Starr, 109 votes.
- Tile Layers' and Helpers' International Union, Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic—Thomas J. Williams, 24 votes.
- Tip Printers, International Brotherhood of—Thomas J. Carolan, 2 votes.
- Tobacco Workers' International Union—E. Lewis Evans, 37 votes.
- Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers' International Union of America—Edward E. Shilling, 8 votes.
- Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union—Thomas J. Curtis, 18 votes.
- Typographical Union, International—James M. Lynch, Frank Morrison, Hugh Stevenson, Max S. Hayes, T. W. McCullough, 547 votes.
- Upholsterers' International Union of North America—John Hanley, 28 votes.
- White Rats Actors' Union of America—William J. Cooke, Abner All, Joe Birnes, 110 votes.
- Arkansas State Federation of Labor—Fred W. Holt, 1 vote.
- California State Federation of Labor—Andrew J. Gallagher, 1 vote.
- Colorado State Federation of Labor—Charles Moyer, 1 vote.
- Connecticut State Federation of Labor—Jeremiah A. Keane, 1 vote.
- Florida State Federation of Labor—Jackson W. Holder, 1 vote.
- Georgia State Federation of Labor—R. L. Corley, 1 vote.
- Illinois State Federation of Labor—Stephen Sumner, 1 vote.
- Indiana State Federation of Labor—William J. Pfeleger, 1 vote.
- Iowa State Federation of Labor—J. J. O'Brien, 1 vote.
- Kansas State Federation of Labor—W. B. Shaughnessy, 1 vote.
- Maine State Federation of Labor—Henry M. Donnelly, 1 vote.
- Maryland State Federation of Labor—P. J. Ryan, 1 vote.
- Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—Emmet T. Walls, 1 vote.
- Michigan State Federation of Labor—Joseph Smith, 1 vote.
- Minnesota State Federation of Labor—W. F. McGrath, 1 vote.
- Missouri State Federation of Labor—E. T. Behrens, 1 vote.
- Montana State Federation of Labor—M. M. Donoghue, 1 vote.
- Nebraska State Federation of Labor—C. L. Shamp, 1 vote.
- New Jersey State Federation of Labor—Henry J. Vanderveld, 1 vote.
- New York State Federation of Labor—Henry Prinz, 1 vote.
- Ohio State Federation of Labor—James P. Egan, 1 vote.
- Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—William Young, Jr., 1 vote.
- Rhode Island State Federation of Labor—O. L. Preble, 1 vote.
- Tennessee State Federation of Labor—Clarence E. Swick, 1 vote.
- Texas State Federation of Labor—William L. Hoefgen, 1 vote.
- Virginia State Federation of Labor—James J. Creamer, 1 vote.
- Washington State Federation of Labor—W. J. Coates, 1 vote.
- West Virginia State Federation of Labor—H. P. Corcoran, 1 vote.
- Wisconsin State Federation of Labor—Fred Brockhausen, 1 vote.
- Wyoming State Federation of Labor—James Scyner, 1 vote.
- Alamosa, Colo., Trades and Labor Council—C. F. Darling, 1 vote.
- Albany, N. Y., Central Federation of Labor—Thomas D. Fitzgerald, 1 vote.
- Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—O. A. Cone, 1 vote.
- Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor—James H. Sullivan, 1 vote.
- Beaumont, Texas, Trades and Labor Assembly—F. S. Laurence, 1 vote.
- Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council—R. H. White, 1 vote.
- Elcomington, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—John B. Lennon, 1 vote.
- Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—Frank H. McCarthy, 1 vote.
- Brockton, Mass., Central Labor Union—James H. Collins, 1 vote.
- Brooklyn, N. Y., Central Labor Union—John P. Coughlin, 1 vote.
- Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—Joseph Morton, 1 vote.
- Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council—Walter Mullen, 1 vote.
- Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor—Frank Smith, 1 vote.
- Cinton and Lyons, Iowa, and Fulton, Ill., Tri-City Labor Congress—George C. Campbell, 1 vote.
- Cohoes, N. Y., Central Federation of Labor—J. P. McGinley, 1 vote.
- Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly—Harvey Garman, 1 vote.

Dunkirk, N. Y., United Trades and Labor Council—James G. Sause, 1 vote.

Fort Edward, N. Y., Trades Assembly Elmer Glidden, 1 vote.

Geneva, N. Y., Federation of Labor—Michael F. Tracy, 1 vote.

Granite City, Ill., Tri-City Central Trades Council (Granite City, Madison, Venice, Ill.)—T. M. Cavanagh, 1 vote.

Hamilton, Ont., Can., District Trades and Labor Council—S. L. Landers, 1 vote.

Hartford, Conn., Central Labor Union—Sol Sontheimer, 1 vote.

Haverhill, Mass., Central Labor Union—Patrick J. Burke, 1 vote.

Herrin, Ill., Trades and Labor Council—Abe Hicks, 1 vote.

Huntington, West Va., Trades and Labor Assembly—George W. Gillispee, 1 vote.

Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union—Chas. A. Hays, 1 vote.

Jacksonville, Fla., Central Trades and Labor Council—J. C. Privett, 1 vote.

Jamestown, N. Y., Central Labor Council—J. M. Kane, 1 vote.

Kansas City, Mo., Industrial Council—John T. Smith, 1 vote.

Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council—Herman C. Diehl, 1 vote.

Logansport, Ind., Trades Assembly—Edwin S. Burns, 1 vote.

Los Angeles, Cal., Central Labor Council—L. W. Butler, 1 vote.

Louisville, Ky., United Trades and Labor Assembly—Peter Campbell, 1 vote.

Meriden, Conn., Central Labor Union—George W. Chance, 1 vote.

Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council—Frank J. Weber, 1 vote.

Mobile, Ala., Central Trades Council—P. J. Doherty, 1 vote.

Nashville, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council—C. P. Fahey, 1 vote.

Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council—Morris R. Welch, 1 vote.

New York, N. Y., Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity—James P. Holland, 1 vote.

Niagara Falls, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council—Harvey C. Berry, 1 vote.

Olean, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council—Elmer E. Evans, 1 vote.

Omaha, Neb., Central Labor Union—George E. Norman, 1 vote.

Oneida, N. Y., Trades Assembly—Wm. R. Ferguson, 1 vote.

Ottawa, Canada, Allied Trades and Labor Association—P. M. Draper, 1 vote.

Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union of and vicinity—Frank O. Bryan, 1 vote.

Pittsburgh, Pa., Iron City Central Trades Council—R. J. McGrath, 1 vote.

Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council—James C. Brower, 1 vote.

Raleigh, N. C., Central Labor Union—Edward R. Pace, 1 vote.

Richmond Borough, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council—William J. Bonner, 1 vote.

Richmond, Va., Central Trades and Labor Council—John Hirschberg, 1 vote.

Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council—Emanuel Koveleski, 1 vote.

Roundup, Mont., Central Trades and Labor Council—W. H. Morgan, 1 vote.

Sacramento, Cal., Federated Trades Council—W. P. Hannon, 1 vote.

St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union of, and vicinity—Louis P. Philippi, 1 vote.

St. Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly—Charles E. James, 1 vote.

St. Thomas, Ont. Can., Trades and Labor Council—William Stokes, 1 vote.

Salem, Mass., Central Labor Union—Silas N. Lapham, 1 vote.

San Francisco, Cal., Labor Council—Paul Scharrenberg, 1 vote.

Savannah, Ga., Trades and Labor Assembly—J. J. Keane, 1 vote.

Schenectady, N. Y., Trades Assembly—John J. Henley, 1 vote.

Slaron, Pa., United Labor League of, and vicinity—David Niven, 1 vote.

South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—James C. Felio, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—James F. Morris, 1 vote.

Syracuse, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—Edward Vincent Wood, 1 vote.

Toronto, Can., District Labor Council—James Simpson, 1 vote.

Troy, N. Y., Federation of Labor—Thomas J. Purcell, 1 vote.

Utica, N. Y., Trades and Labor Assembly—Edward A. Bates, 1 vote.

Waco, Texas, Central Labor Union—John R. Spencer, 1 vote.

Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—Milton Snellings, 1 vote.

Watertown, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—Stephen English, 1 vote.

Wilkes Barre, Pa., Central Labor Union—J. J. Youhon, 1 vote.

Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor—H. Wildberger, Jr., 1 vote.

Zanesville, Ohio, Central Trades and Labor Council—John A. Voll, 1 vote.

Badge, Banner, Regalla, Button and Novelty Workers' Union No. 14065—Alice O'Rourke, 1 vote.

Badge, Banner, Regalla, Button and Novelty Workers' Union No. 14237—Kathryn M. Duffy, 1 vote.

Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646—Elizabeth C. Morris, 1 vote.

Commercial Portrait Artists' Union No. 14286—Charles V. Lawlor, 1 vote.

Egg Inspectors' Union No. 8705—Edward Lampa, 2 votes.

Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union No. 11559—J. J. McAndrews, 3 votes.

Elevator Operators' Union No. 14214—John J. Cunningham, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 12362—Charles Woodhouse, 1 vote.

Fish Splitters and Handlers' Union No. 14270—John Sinclair, 2 votes.

Grain Workers' Association No. 11407—Ernest Bohm, 1 vote.

Laborers' Protective Union No. 8079—George Waldron, 6 votes.

Newsboys' Union No. 9077—Thomas J. Mulkern, 2 votes.

Newspaper and Mail Deliverers' Union No. 9463—John R. Dunne, 10 votes.

Railroad Helpers and Laborers' Union No. 14075—J. E. Johnson, 1 vote.

Riggers' Protective Union No. 11561—L. Beckman, 2 votes.

Sugar Refinery Employees' Union No. 13053—Manny Weiss, 4 votes.

Stenographers and Typists Association No. 12755—L. Plasterer, 1 vote.

Theater Employees' Union No. 14089—M. R. Labbee, 1 vote.

Theatrical Tailors and Dressers' Union No. 12719—Louis Gold, 1 vote.

British Trades Union Congress—J. A. Seddon, R. Smillie, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—John W. Bruce, 1 vote.

National Women's Trade Union League—Mrs. Raymond Robins.

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ—Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, Rev. Henry A. Atkinson.

American Federation of Catholic Societies—Rev. Peter Dietz.

Church Association for the Advancement of Labor—Rev. James Bishop Thomas.

**EDWARD J. MARX, Chairman.**

**W. A. NEER,**

**DUNCAN McDONALD, Secretary.**

Secretary McDonald—Certain credentials have been protested. These will be taken up by the committee. We will meet the delegates concerned in the committee room.

A motion was made by Secretary McDonald that the report as read be adopted. (Seconded).

Mr. John Mangan—May I be permitted to ask a question? In view of no mention having been made concerning the creden-

tials of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers, may I ask what disposition has been made of them by the committee?

President Gompers—The question is upon the report of the Committee on Credentials of delegates entitled to seats. Any other matter will be acted on later.

Mr. Mangan—May I be permitted to ask the committee through the chair what disposition has been made of the credentials?

Secretary McDonald—The committee will give that question a hearing later.

The motion to adopt the partial report of the committee was carried.

Secretary McDonald—I desire to have representatives of the following organizations meet with the committee later:

The International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers, J. T. Kinsella, John Mangan. Protested by the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters Helpers.

The American Flint Glass Workers Union, T. W. Rowe, William P. Clarke, Charles F. Green. Protested by the International Association of Machinists.

Hudson County, N. J. Central Labor Union, Edward H. Mead. Protested by the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters Helpers.

Evansville, Indiana, Central Labor Union, John J. Keegan.

President Gompers—The chair desires to submit the following names for the respective offices of this convention and as assistants to us in our work:

Assistant Secretary, Peter Bohrer, Jr., Typographical Union No. 15; Sergeant-at-Arms, James Patterson, Sheet Metal Workers' Union No. 46; Messenger, John H. Baker, Painters and Decorators Union No. 150.

No objection being offered to the appointments, the chair stated that they were confirmed.

At 12 o'clock the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2 p. m. of the same day.

## First Day—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 p. m., Monday, November 11th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Noschang, Baine, Thomas, Wheeler, Goelintz, Barnes, Zuckerman, Russell, McNulty, Feeney, Daley (Margaret), Altman, Dyche, Pierce, Rosenberg, Lawlor, O'Neal, Williams (John), McSorley, Taggart, Bryan, Healey (Dennis), O'Connor, Price, Call, Daly (T. M.), Leary (Geo.), White, Hayes (F. J.), Lewis, Green (Wm.), Holland, Curran, Weber (J. N.), Winkler, Carey (J. T.), Woll, Murphy, Nelson, Whitehead, Halpine, Hart, Wilson (Harry), Mulhall, Miller (J. F.), Gallagher (J. T.), Huddleston, Freely, Sumner, Grimshaw, Welch (M. R.), Brals, Biggs, Starr, Donnelly, Ryan (P. J.), Behrens, Young, Swick, Fitzgerald, McCarthy (Frank), Smith (Frank), Campbell, Glidden, Burke, Hicks, Kane, Doherty, Berry (H. C.), Ferguson, Draper, McGrath (P. J.), Pace, Morgan, James, Stokes, Henley, Morris (J. F.), Bates, Snellings, English, O'Rourke, Lawler (C. V.), Cunningham, Waldron, Plasterer, Labbee, Gold.

President Gompers—This morning the chair called attention to the fact that a letter had been received from the Governor of the State of New York. The Secretary will read the letter.

Secretary Morrison read the following letter:

State of New York, Executive Chamber,  
Albany, November 8, 1912.

Hon. Samuel Gompers, President, American Federation of Labor, Rochester, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Gompers—Official business compels me to forego the pleasure of being present at your important meeting, which I had looked forward to with the idea of presenting to the delegates here present, some suggestions on the importance of the relation between the employer and the employee. I am able, therefore, only to offer a few suggestions for lines of thought in your deliberations.

In our land there is no honest and efficient worker who is not inspired by the vision of opportunity and ambition—especially when we consider the tremendous significance of the fact that the difference between America and other nations is that our contemporary countries are confronted with problems and evils that grow out of the hopeless and grinding poverty of the ill-paid and ill-fed masses of their population, while the problems with which we are confronted grow out of the boundless and ever-increasing industrial wealth of our people.

Our country still holds for the poor man a horizon not bounded by a vista of inevitable dependence on charity. Here any man can speak to another man without a lurking feeling of condescension, and a civil word from a poor man is not always a covert hint for a gratuity.

This Commonwealth has enacted laws pursuant to an enlightened public opinion giving to the toiler at the shuttle and spindle, at forge and loom better conditions and hours, and a better place of abode. The relations of capital to labor is a well-worn phrase. Yet capital and labor are, if not synonymous, at least interblending terms, for the capitalist is a toiler, even if only with his brain, and the laborer is a capitalist, even if his sole capital is that of brawn.

Employer and employee are coming to a better understanding. Industrial peace through arbitration is coming to be the rule, whereas a few years ago it was the exception. Neither employer nor employee can to-day say we have nothing to arbitrate. Public sentiment will not tolerate it, and public sentiment is, in such matters, common sense codified. Peaceful arbitration of industrial disputes is the demand of our day. Human conditions are rarely ideal; but we are making conditions better, and we must make them still better. For the wise solution of our economic and industrial problems depends upon the well-being and contentment of society; and we can look forward to the future with confidence; we can look the world in the face and promise a peaceful solution of every economic problem and a just settlement of every pressing social question.

With every good wish for the success of your meeting, and the hope that only good will result from the coming together of this representative body, I am,

Very truly yours,

JOHN A. DIX.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

"Atlanta, Ga., Nov. 11. 1912.

"Samuel Gompers, President A. F. of L., Convention Hall, Rochester, N. Y.

"Greetings to the delegates to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the hope of the men and women of labor, the bulwark of democracy, the only militant organization demanding for the workers absolute political and industrial freedom, and the truest exponent of the Magna Charta.

"JEROME JONES."

New York, N. Y., Nov. 11, 1912.

"The American Federation of Labor,  
Convention Hall, Rochester, N. Y.

"United Hebrew Trades of New York are sending their hearty congratulations. We are happy to note your growing power and influence. We shall endeavor in the future as we have done in the past to group the Jewish workers under the glorious banner of the American Federation of Labor. Long live organized labor.

"B. WEINSTEIN, Secretary."

#### Appointment of Committees.

**President Gompers**—In compliance with the provisions of our law the President makes the following appointments for the respective committees, subject to the ratification of this convention.

Secretary Morrison read the following list of committee appointments:

**Committee on Rules and Order of Business**—T. A. Rickert, Jacob Fischer, W. J. Pfeiffer, John Sullivan, E. T. Walls, C. F. Bailey, C. C. Shay, M. M. Donoghue, J. T. Carey, D. G. Biggs, M. F. Green, M. F. Tracy, H. P. Corcoran, T. J. Carolan, H. M. Donnelly.

**Committee on President's Report**—A. Furuseth, Frank Duffy, G. L. Berry, James Wilson, W. D. Clark, Charles L. Baine, Owen Miller, William Green, Thomas F. Tracy, James J. Creamer, Hugh Stevenson, T. V. O'Connor, Homer D. Cail, Martin Lawlor.

**Committee on Secretary's Report**—R. H. Curran, Wesley Russell, D. F. Featherston, John M. Gillespie, I. N. Hylen, J. P. Miller, James F. Malley, Wm. McKay, Edw. E. Shilling, J. P. McGinley, S. L. Landers, John J. Henley, J. F. Morris, Chas. E. James, L. W. Butler.

**Committee on Treasurer's Report**—J. W. Kline, T. J. Dolan, T. J. Gallagher, William J. Adams, Daniel Harrington, Frank B. Glynn, Thomas L. Hughes, Harry Wilson, Joseph B. Etchison, Geo. E. Neisham, M. R. Welch, Jeremiah A. Kane, Clarence E. Swick, Geo. C. Campbell, C. W. Woodman.

**Committee on Resolutions**—James Duncan, John P. Frey, B. A. Larger, W. D. Mahon, M. F. Ryan, E. F. Ward, Joseph N. Weber, John T. Smith, John A. Voll, J. A. Franklin, E. C. Strelle, C. P. Fahey, Sol. Sonthelmer, Matt Comerford, Jas. R. Crozier.

**Committee on Laws**—John B. Lennon, J. C. Skemp, Daniel J. Tobin, Roady Kenehan, T. A. Hanson, S. E. Heberling, James P. Eagan, James H. Sullivan, Joseph Morton, Harvey Garman, Thomas Rumsey, Stephen Sumner, Chas. A. Sumner, Dennis Healey, James Starr.

**Committee on Organization**—James M. Lynch, John P. White, John Williams, T. M. Daly, Joseph Proebstle, John T. Taggart, John A. Dyche, A. J. Gallagher, Thos. D. Fitzgerald, A. A.

Myrup, John Hanley, Frank A. Scoby, Henry Prinz, Fred C. Wheeler, Charles E. Pfeil.

**Committee on Labels**—John F. Tobin, Jere L. Sullivan, Louis Kemper, M. Swartz, H. J. Conway, E. J. Brais, J. M. Barnes, F. X. Noschang, Max S. Hayes, Max Zuckerman, Henry Koch, Wm. L. Hoefgen, J. Birnes, J. J. Morris, Fred Brockhausen.

**Committee on Adjustment**—John Mitchell, Matthew Woll, John Goluen, T. W. McCullough, Frank H. McCarthy, E. Lewis Evans, Edward Flore, W. H. Fitzgerald, Ed. Anderson, Victor Altman, George Leary, Hugh Shalvoy, Hugh Robinson, W. E. Bryan, Wm. Taber.

**Committee on Education**—Joseph F. Valentine, James J. Freel, D. A. Carey, Ben Commons, John H. Walker, Paul Scharrenberg, James L. Gernon, Phil Mueller, Agnes Nestor, John F. Pierce, John D. Crane, Thomas Wright, C. A. Mulhall, Fred W. Sutor, Edwin W. Veeke.

**Committee on State Organizations**—John R. Alpine, Edward A. Bates, Wm. J. Kelly, P. J. Ryan, H. S. Marshall, Chas. P. Moyer, Chas. N. Glover, George W. Pring, Frank Butterworth, Judson O'Neal, Walter Price, J. L. Lanigan, Thomas Van Lear, Abraham Rosenberg, A. J. Chlopek.

**Committee on Local and Federated Bodies**—H. B. Perham, Oscar F. Nelson, James G. Hannahan, John J. Hynes, James F. Holland, Alvin C. Howes, Chas. E. Heritage, Martin Goellnitz, Thos. Harrison, Frank Grimshaw, Edw. Menge, L. Hart, J. W. Holder, Geo. Miller, Andries Meyer.

**Committee on Building Trades**—W. D. Huber, James A. Short, George Hedrick, Frank Feeney, W. J. Tracy, M. O'Sullivan, Wm. J. McSorley, F. J. McNulty, Frank E. Thomas, D. D'Alessandro, E. J. McGivern, W. H. Johnston, James Garvey, F. C. Gengenback, Thos. J. Williams.

**Committee on Boycotts**—D. A. Hayes, James B. Connors, Margaret C. Daley, Timothy Healy, Thomas S. Farrell, Frank J. Hayes, A. J. Kugler, J. F. Winkler, Alex. Archie, A. M. Schwartz, Frank O'Brien, Jos. Smith, T. M. Cavanaugh, William J. Cook, B. F. Lamb.

On motion, duly seconded, the committee appointments were confirmed by the convention.

#### Reports of Officers.

First Vice-President Duncan presided during the reading of the report of President Gompers. At the conclusion of the report the chairman stated that the report, following the usual custom, would be referred to the Committee on President's Report, and that printed copies would be distributed to the delegates.

President Gompers in the chair.

Secretary Morrison and Treasurer Lennon read portions of their reports, omitting the tabulated financial statements. The reports were referred to the Committee on Secretary's Report and the Committee on Treasurer's Report, and later printed copies were distributed to the delegates.

The Convention Committee distributed handsome souvenir badges to the delegates.

The chairmen of the various committees announced places of meeting for the purpose of organizing immediately upon the adjournment of the convention.

At 5 p. m. the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9 a. m. Tuesday, November 12th.



## PRESIDENT GOMPERS' REPORT.

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ROCHESTER, N. Y., November 11, 1912.

*To the Officers and Delegates to the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:*

**FELLOW TRADE UNIONISTS:** The past year has been one of steady, undeterred advances toward better conditions and a position of greater influence, despite severe trials. The events of the year have brought out the reasonableness and practicability of our methods and aims. What at the time our critics and antagonists declared to be the forerunner of our ultimate disintegration, only served to bring out the devotion and the tenacity of purpose of the membership of organized labor, the honesty and stability upon which our movement is builded. We have ever made progress surely and safely, undeceived by beguiling crusades that, like a will-o'-wisp, allure the unwary into treacherous bogs. It is no easy matter to maintain an open mind, aware of new forces and tendencies, able and alert to detect the real from the spurious, the lasting from the ephemeral, in a day when the minds of all mankind are pondering the problems of society and straining after solutions. With the progress of the ages has come a widening of men's thoughts and social vision, a new appreciation of the meaning of life with its attendant responsibilities and obligations. Among men and women of all walks of life has come this awakening; all manner of social solutions are urged; all kinds of associations for the promotion of special reforms have arisen. The accumulated momentum of all these activities has swept away the mental atmosphere generated by the old individualistic philosophy, made way for broader, more generous sympathies and impulses, and enlightened, scientific efforts to achieve the highest development industrially, politically, socially, and morally. In starting the forces that have led to these changes, our much misrepresented organized labor movement has wielded an influence previously little understood outside our ranks. As is just, we profit also by the changes we have created, for this wider social vision has enabled men to see the justice of our work and of our fundamental principles and purposes. Today we find innumerable organizations working independently, or willing to co-operate with us, to the end that workers shall be enabled to have better working conditions, a shorter working day and better wages, that our life may be wholesome, clean, and uplifting. All of these things are stepping-stones by which the toilers climb upward and onward—each step revealing a wider horizon and an increasing conception of human possibilities.

In reviewing the progress of Labor, two viewpoints are necessary to present the whole development: A dynamic examination to show advancement, tendencies, causes, etc.; a static examination, or a cross-section of the present civilization, to show relations with present conditions, problems, and needs. Contemplation of the progress of Labor reveals the journey upward through the centuries from the status of slavery to serfdom, to villanage, and finally to freedom, opening the road to a new plane of battle—legal, individual freedom did not as such secure industrial and social freedom. The struggle to secure for the individual, opportunity for development of mental, physical, and moral powers that he might enter into his rightful heritage, joy in life and work, began with juristic freedom and is the inspiration of our present activities. To show what progress we have made, one has only to turn the pages of history. The organized workman of today enjoys comforts of which feudal barons never dreamed—comforts of home, heating, furnishing, sanitation, food, and clothing; his children receive in the public schools an education more comprehensive than medieval universities could bestow; his opportunities for intellectual stimulation and social amusement have increased a thousandfold; his advantages in transportation and communication have revolutionized living. These same pages of history tell the story of how those who labor have been able to secure so much greater proportion of the social wealth. Wherever the working people have made progress, some form of organization has been the agency that has transformed individual impotency into collective strength—fraternities, lodges, merchant guilds, craft guilds have been helpful, but the labor unions, trade unions, have been the most potent factors in the forward movement. A survey of methods shows that the forms of "labor war"

have been constantly refined; free workmen do not employ the methods of revolting slaves. As the workers' organizations were strengthened, more benefits were secured; as a result of these benefits, the workers developed physically and mentally and were able to produce more wealth; with a broader outlook and increased self-appreciation, new demands were formulated—so the cycle of progress continues. This dynamic examination presents achievements of which we are justly proud, affords encouragement for continuation of the struggle. The setbacks have been temporary; what seemed at the time disasters, the historic perspective reveals as incentives to new methods and activities; increased well-being has been permanent.

The static examination deals with the movement at close range, endeavors to present forces, relations, activities of a single epoch—as it were, snap-shots of the movement in action. Such a view enables one to take readings of our various records that indicate our progress at that time; allows us to get our bearings, sense our strength, our opportunities. Often dangers loom up large and threatening; injustice, suffering, sorrow on all sides, warn us that the fight is not yet ended. But these phenomena can not be estimated apart from their relations to the past in which they have their origin, and the satisfaction from the glance backward encourages us for the work before us.

The demand for higher wages represents our conviction that a constantly greater share of increased social wealth should go to those who create it. The progress of humanity results from the elimination of poverty. Poverty means degrading environment and influence that result in intellectual and moral degeneration. Permanent amelioration of the human lot must have as its basis material resources. The next step is to distribute these products so that the greatest number may fairly benefit thereby. As an element in the forces determining distribution, the trade union has been most potent. A comparison of conditions prevailing among unorganized with those that have employed collective bargaining, reveals unmistakable proofs of the beneficent results due to trade unionism. Higher wages mean better homes, better clothing, better food, better bodies and minds, recreation, a higher standard of life.

The aim for a higher standard of life is the incentive for the demand for a shorter workday. The verdicts of modern scientists are confirming the fundamental importance of this demand which the trade union has so long been pressing. These scientists are warning us against the danger to the race from the continuous industrial strain and concentration of energy in modern industry. Commerce and industry can be allowed to exploit the leisure of the workers only at the expense of national well-being. The shorter workday means increased efficiency of the worker in the shop, better, longer, and happier living, and development of the higher emotions and feelings. It increases the productive period of the worker, lengthens his life, and enables him longer to provide for those dependent upon him, that the children may have an opportunity to taste of the pleasures of child life before assuming the burdens of the human "struggle for existence."

This more efficient, more human worker, demands better working conditions, the aim being to conserve human resources. Much has been done to let pure air and sunshine into working places, to exclude conditions breeding organisms injurious to life, but ever-increasing knowledge and the widening of our conception forbid us to stop or stay in the crusade for human welfare. Among all the organizations on the American continent working upon the various phases of this great problem, the American Federation of Labor is the leader, and has often been the pioneer blazing the way.

These three demands of organized labor are comprehended in this larger and ultimate ideal—to enrich, enlarge, and magnify humanity. The influence and the potency of the American Federation of Labor are so well appreciated by the thinkers and leaders in our nation's affairs, that almost every considerable movement for humanitarian, economic, or political reform has endeavored to enlist our approval and support. Men of labor, we play an honorable and important part in the affairs of this great nation. We are daily helping to determine its destiny.

But in spite of many alluring proposals, many new prophets proclaiming, "Lo! here," and "Lo! there," the American Federation of Labor has ever cleaved to the old and tried fundamental propositions upon which we have builded our organization. We have not been deluded by fads or impractical visions, but have ever examined each new one to see whether it contained that one essential quality—furtherance of human welfare. We have been wedded to the cause and to the movement for the pro-

tection, development, and advancement of the people. We have ever endeavored to maintain an alertness, an awareness of the needs and tendencies of the times that members of our organizations and our fellow-workers might profit thereby. In the political field we have taken advantage of every opportunity, and often created opportunities, which, in a fair degree, promised tangible results in the interests of the workers, the masses of our people. In our movement the political methods and instrumentalities are of less consequence than the attainment of the objects which we seek. There has been no factor in all our land so effective in establishing the initiative and referendum as the American Federation of Labor, because we believe that through that system a safer method would exist by which, with a well organized labor movement, real democracy shall be realized. Here, as in all political problems, we realize that democracy will not come to pass automatically as a result of the machinery, but only as a result of political education and aroused sense of responsibility. Hence, the American Federation of Labor has ever endeavored to direct, warn, and rouse the voters of the country to the designs and activities of the forces that would sacrifice social welfare to individual, industrial, commercial, and political profits. When political machinery renders officialdom responsive to public opinion and humanitarian interest, an alert, educated, interested electorate will achieve democracy.

As a result of the recent awakening of the workers of the United States, this growing realization of their political power and influence, more progress in remedial, constructive legislation has been made this year than in the decade previous. We do need new devices and new methods of political expression, but not half as much as we need to realize and to use the power that we now possess, to consecrate ourselves and our ability to humanity's cause.

As labor organizations have been able to secure advantages for their members, they have endeavored as far as possible to share these with the workmen not enrolled in their ranks. We have endeavored to help them to help themselves, to organize, federate, and educate their fellow-workers so that we shall hasten the time when poverty, with its fear and degradation, shall be eliminated, and the way opened for lasting progress. Rights and privileges that are today entrusted to our care, are the fruits of past struggles. We are obligated to preserve inviolate the things entrusted to our keeping, and to account for them with interest to the next age.

As is my privilege and duty, I shall now present for your consideration some of the various phases of the activities of the American Federation of Labor not covered by the report of the Executive Council, which will be presented later. The phases dealt with were chosen as representative and distinctive. Study of them will reveal many reasons for encouragement and good cheer. Though shadow and darkness have passed over us, yet we have not lost in strength, influence, or organization. We are planning to enter upon big and difficult problems and undertakings.

### ORGANIZATION AND GROWTH.

It is exceedingly gratifying to report the extension and growth of the American Federation of Labor, as well as the membership of affiliated organizations. The American Federation of Labor issued 260 certificates of affiliation (charters) during the fiscal year ending September 30, 1912, as follows:

Department.....	1
International unions.....	2
State federations.....	2
City central bodies.....	57
Local trade unions.....	149
Federal labor unions.....	49

At the close of the fiscal year there were affiliated to the organization:

Departments.....	5
International unions.....	112
State federations.....	41
City central bodies.....	560
Local trade unions.....	434
Federal labor unions.....	156

The average membership reported and upon whom per capita tax was paid by the affiliated organizations to the American Federation of Labor during the past year, was 1,770,145, an increase over the number reported for 1911, which was 1,761,835. On September 30, 1912, the membership of affiliated organizations was 1,841,268.

Perhaps it would be well to again repeat that our international organizations each have jurisdiction over the classes of work performed by their respective memberships within the American continent. Each international is composed of various local unions. Affiliated to the 112 internationals belonging to our Federation, are 20,964 local unions.

The success and the growing appreciation of the value of organization along international lines has been particularly gratifying during the past year. This progress is discussed under the section on Canada in this report and in the *American Federationist* for June and September, 1912.

The State and city central bodies are composed of representatives from various local organizations; such organizations are intended to secure for the workers advantages impossible of achievement by isolated organizations or those who often call themselves "independent." It is an isolation and independence on a par with the position of impotency of the non-union "independent" wage-worker.

The city central bodies and State federations have been of tremendous importance in securing for the workers in the local unions and for all wage-earners, improved conditions in all the affairs and interests of the working people.

Our international unions and our American Federation of Labor can do the cause of Labor no greater benefit than by encouraging and assisting, in strengthening and extending, the power and influence of the State federations and central bodies, and by seeing to it that the spirit, as well as the letter of our laws, shall be enforced requiring that local unions shall be represented in these bodies.

It will be seen that there are now 112 international unions affiliated, and from that bare statement a wrong inference may be drawn that there is a smaller number of organized workers in international unions. The fact is, that during the past few years there has been a process of amalgamation. Then, again, others have had their charters either revoked or suspended, as will be shown in Secretary Morrison's report.

### CANADA.

The year 1912 marks a new epoch in the development of the international trade union movement in Canada. From the Atlantic to the Pacific there has been an awakening to the value of organization under international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The marked difference between the condition of members of trade unions and that of unorganized workers has induced thousands of indifferent workers, who had never identified themselves with the movement, to seek admission to the organizations of their craft or calling. In all the chief industrial centers unsolicited applications for membership were received by the business agents and secretaries of the different labor organizations. Government statistics show that wages have increased during the past ten years. These statistics also show that where increases in wages have been obtained they were almost entirely the result of the organization of the workers into international trade unions.

Reports from every industrial center indicate that by either collective bargaining or the use of the strike, remarkable progress has been made in shortening hours of labor and increasing wages. Statistics compiled by union officials show that wage increases in some cases have been as much as two hundred and fifty dollars a year and reduction in working time as much as twelve hours a week. Viewing the question of trade union membership from the standpoint of investment in dues and assessments, the returns for the year show the payment of dividends anywhere from 260 to 2,777 per cent. These splendid results, coming at a time when public attention has been constantly drawn to the surprising increase in the cost of living, have contributed to the widespread interest in the organized labor movement, while the value of international affiliations has been emphasized by that solidarity which alone can command the respect of the employing interests.

The organizers of the American Federation of Labor, the international unions, and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, have worked harmoniously to build up trades and labor organizations wherever the workers could be brought together

for that purpose. The consensus of opinion among these organizers is that this year has been the best in the history of the labor movement in Canada. On the other hand, there is every indication that the attempts to develop the purely Canadian type of trades unionism isolated from the general American movement, are doomed to failure. In the Province of Quebec, where the boot and shoe workers have been organized upon national lines, there has been a sudden breaking away from the Independent United Shoe Workers of America in Montreal so that only a remnant of that movement exists in the city of Quebec. This weakening of the forces of the nationalists was also emphasized at the recent convention of the "Canadian Federation of Labor" when a mere handful of delegates met to represent a few scattered local organizations of miners, boot and shoe workers, and miscellaneous trades. The International Boot and Shoe Workers' Union is now in complete control in Montreal, and has established unions in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland.

The convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, held at Guelph, Ontario, September 9-14, inclusive, was the most successful in the history of the Congress, and revealed remarkable development. Over 240 delegates, from Victoria, B. C., in the West, to Glace Bay on Cape Breton Island in the East, were present to represent between 60,000 and 70,000 international trade unionists directly, and over 140,000 indirectly. The report of the secretary-treasurer showed growth in the numerical strength and a surplus of about \$5,500 in the treasury. Matters of great importance to the trade union movement of the Dominion were considered at the convention, including the preparation of Labor's case to be presented to the special committee on old-age pensions, appointed by the Canadian Federal Government; the report of the special committee on workmen's compensation for the Province of Ontario; the demand for the repeal of the Lemieux Industrial Disputes Act; strong opposition to the relaxation of restrictions on immigration; and an urgent demand for the appointment of a Royal Commission to investigate labor conditions among the mine and steel workers of Nova Scotia.

Owing to the method of intimidation used by the Dominion Coal and Steel Corporation to break up the international trade union movement, it was urged that a determined effort be made by the international unions interested to defeat the purpose of this powerful corporation. The president of the Congress and organizer O'Dell of the boot and shoe workers, while performing their duties as organizers, stated that in the coal and steel districts they were not only shadowed by the company's special police, but were prevented from holding meetings among the mine and steel workers in some districts. On this question the Congress took very definite action, and through its Executive Council will demand a thorough investigation by a Government commission. One serious phase of the situation in the Nova Scotia coal districts is the attitude of the Provincial Workmen's Association, an organization of miners acting as an ally of the coal and steel corporation and in bitter opposition to the bona fide international miners' organization. To unite the Provincial Workmen's Association and the United Mine Workers of America is the task to which the leaders in the international movement must apply themselves to effect a thorough and speedy organization of the mine and steel workers.

Through the joint action of the Ontario executive of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and the officers of the Toronto Street Railway Employees' Union, the Provincial Legislature has passed an act guaranteeing to all employees of the street and electric railway companies one day off each week and a working day not to exceed ten hours. For violation of the provisions of this act the penalty imposed upon the employers is a fine of \$250 for each offense. Similar legislation will be asked by the street and electric railway employees in the other Provinces of the Dominion. Obtaining such legislation by organized labor has been the means of strengthening the organizations of street railway employees. The Toronto union alone added over 500 new members to its roll during the past year, and obtained annual wage increases amounting to \$140,000 under a three years' agreement.

Significant victories for organized labor were achieved by the garment workers of Montreal; by the freight handlers in the employ of the Canadian Northern Railway Company at Fort William, Ontario; and by the construction men on the Grand Trunk Pacific and Canadian Northern Railway in Western Canada. The Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education, a member of which is ex-Vice-President Simpson of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, is now completing its report. The result of the work of this commission will be presented to

the Minister of Labor in the early part of December so that the Parliament of Canada may deal with it in the approaching session. The commissioners not only made a thorough survey of Canada with a view to ascertaining what the country had in equipment, what was needed and how these needs were to be met, but also visited the best industrial and technical schools of the United States and several countries in Europe investigating the system of industrial and technical education in operation. The findings of the Commission will be a valuable contribution to industrial and technical education.

The Quebec executive committee of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has been successful in obtaining legislation abolishing property qualification for those running as candidates for municipal honors in the Province. This legislation will remove one of the most serious obstacles to working class representation in municipal councils. Several accounts of this splendid progress in Canada, furnished by Mr. James Simpson, have been published in the *American Federationist*, and have enabled the trade unionists in the Dominion to follow this significant development in the labor movement.

The trade unionists of Canada witnessed a wonderful development in the labor press during the past year, supplementing and aiding the development in organization. There is today a chain of well-edited labor papers from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

With the widening of commercial organization and the development of world-wide markets, has come the identification of the aims and purposes of the working-men of the countries on this continent and the breaking down of artificial boundaries.

### PORTO RICO.

Statistics collected in Porto Rico show that from November, 1901, up to the present time, 290 local, federal, and central unions have been organized under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor and the various internationals. The record shows that there are 160 unions with 9,000 members in good standing at the present time. Last year 23 unions were organized in different towns of the Island. One daily labor paper is published, three weekly papers and bulletins for several local unions. This is indeed a creditable showing when the backward industrial conditions of the Island and the brief time that organized labor has been operating in that field, are taken into consideration.

Working conditions have been steadily improving as the trade and industry of the Island have increased, and with them organization of the workers. During the past year the external trade of Porto Rico reached a total of \$92,000,000; nearly 90 per cent of this trade was with the United States. The Island brought from the mainland markets, during the past year, over \$40,000,000 of manufactured products and supplied our markets with about an equal amount of products.

Legislation that the citizens of Porto Rico are extremely desirous of obtaining from the Congress of the United States includes the following measures: Citizenship for Porto Rico; Department of Labor and Agriculture, and a new Organic Law for the Island.

A sentiment of earnest and sincere loyalty for the United States has been developing upon the Island. The Islanders are rapidly becoming Americans in sympathy, ideals, and customs, and to no factor is this sentiment more due than to the American Federation of Labor and its organized fellow-unionists of the Island. During the year the representative of the labor organizations of Porto Rico, Mr. Santiago Iglesias, in co-operation with the American Federation of Labor, has been insistently pressing upon the attention of the members of Congress a bill which would grant citizenship to the people of Porto Rico. Progress made toward this end is taken up under the section on legislation in this report.

During the month of September, the first Bureau of Labor in Porto Rico was established. The second chief of the Bureau is a member of a carpenters' union at Mayaguez. This Bureau will be of special value to the labor people of the Island, as it will afford them a clearing house for the discussion of economic conditions and needs within the Island. Tactful work on the part of the Labor Bureau will bring about many needed reforms. Wages, hours, and misemployment of women and children are the grievances that need most immediate relief.

The public school system has been extended throughout the Island. Attendance has increased from 20,000 to 160,000. Although the system of education has been

improved, there is a most evident need on the part of the school to connect intimately with the social needs of the Island. The system used in America has been introduced, with very little attempt to adapt it to the social and industrial conditions prevailing in Porto Rico. To produce most effective results, the school system should take into consideration the backward industrial conditions, the most immediate needs of the people for instruction in the practical things in life, that they may learn how to live and work. Since the greatest need of the Island from the vocational standpoint is improvement in agricultural methods and mechanical pursuits, the greatest service the school could perform for the country would be along these lines.

A most illuminating report of educational conditions was made at the request of Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War, and George R. Colton, Governor of Porto Rico, by Meyer Bloomfield, Director of the Vocational Bureau of Boston. Mr. Bloomfield states that while the present schools may result in better citizenship, Americanizing the children and lessening illiteracy, that there has been no corresponding progress in safe-guarding the economic welfare of the children by fitting them to cope with their environment. There does not seem to be that creative localization of the school which Porto Rican conditions require, and the standard of living of the masses and the probable future of the majority of the children demand. There is an immediate need of provision for adequate vocational training through the public schools of the Island. The economic needs are home makers, producers, skilled workers, self-reliant, and efficient bread winners. American teachers have done much during the time of occupation in purely intellectual instruction, and this is a notable achievement, but there is a larger and a wider function the school may serve, corresponding to the movement for the socialization of our own schools. Each American school on the Island, Mr. Bloomfield thinks, should be made a home center, from which all manner of social influences could emanate. The instructors in the school, by fitting up model homes adapted to local needs, could give the people instructions in home making, home sanitation, cooking, and all other practical necessities. The teaching of hygiene is most important in that tropical climate. Hence, the teachers must also give instruction in the conservation of health. This should include proper food, clothing, personal cleanliness, and disinfectants. Such an educational policy would result in substantial development of the Island population, socially and economically.

The delegates from Porto Rico introduced in the Atlanta Convention of the American Federation of Labor, a resolution petitioning that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed, when possible, after the adjournment of the convention, to make a tour of inspection of Porto Rico, because the Island was less favored by visits of high officials than any other part of the labor movement, and because such a visit would awaken sincere enthusiasm and give needed impetus to organization. This resolution was adopted by the convention, but at no time during the past year has it been possible for me to make the trip as instructed. Circumstances have so shaped themselves that it has been impossible for me to be out of touch with headquarters for any considerable length of time, and in addition was the trial in the contempt proceedings against Mr. Morrison, Mr. Mitchell, and myself, the continuation of the Hatters' case, and the situation of legislation in Congress.

### CITIZENSHIP FOR PORTO RICANS.

The bill H. R. 20048, providing for citizenship for the people of Porto Rico, passed the House on March 4, 1912, and has since been before the Senate Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico. The chairmanship of that committee was held by former Senator Lorimer of Illinois, who during the session of Congress was so thoroughly absorbed in his personal defense that he had but little or no time to give to public affairs; hence this important measure failed to obtain a favorable report by the committee, although, from a careful poll made, it is known that the sentiment of the members of the committee is favorably disposed toward the bill. The new chairman, Senator Poindexter, of Washington, has given assurance that he will call a meeting of the committee for the special purpose of considering this bill immediately upon the convening of the next session of Congress. It is known that the administration, including the Secretary of War and the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, together with the Governor of Porto Rico, are all actively co-operating with the American Federation of Labor for the early granting of citizenship to the Porto Ricans.

**BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT.**

William J. Spencer, secretary-treasurer of the Building Trades Department, reports the following principal features of the work in his department for the past year:

Notwithstanding the fact that there has been considerable friction between affiliated organizations during the past year, there has been made an unusual degree of progress in solving the problems that have confronted these allied trades. While there have been many differences to be considered and harmonized, this condition does not indicate lack of progress, but on the other hand it is the normal result of progress and of the necessity of adopting methods and organization to meet new conditions and new methods within the industry, and to make mechanical inventions react for the betterment of the workers. The chief cause of differences in the building trades growing out of questions of jurisdiction, is the invention of machinery and methods for cheapening production by eliminating high priced skilled labor.

Perhaps the best evidence of steady and continuous development in the Building Trades Department is found in the fact that it has succeeded in promoting a higher type of contractual relationship between the employing interests of the building trades and the affiliated internationals. This condition has been produced by the activity and energy of the department and the affiliated organizations in removing the cause for trade conflict between allied bodies, thereby necessarily decreasing the number of sympathetic strikes. They have been able to reduce the number of sympathetic strikes and to settle effectually and with little friction grave and complex problems which a few years ago would have resulted in radical action. The department has served as a sort of general clearing house where the dissatisfied members might confer in regard to the conflicting trade jurisdiction and reach some mutually agreeable understanding, or at least postpone contemplated action, hoping that time and reason would meanwhile work out a solution. It is gratifying to report that several cases of this nature have been so disposed of during the year. There is a growing feeling of responsibility for the maintenance of contracts with the builders and contractors.

Healthy progress in the internal affairs of the department during the past year is unmistakably indicated by the following summary of affiliated bodies taken from the annual report of the secretary-treasurer to be presented to the convention of these allied trades which will convene upon the adjournment of that of the American Federation of Labor. Affiliated with the department are 19 international unions, 173 local councils, 2 State councils. The total number of organizations in good standing August 31, 1912, was 194. A gratifying increase in membership is indicated by the report. On the 31st of August, the total membership of the department was 476,238, an increase over the last year of 181,892. The financial resources of the department are equally encouraging. The balance on hand for September 1, 1911, was \$3,235.96. The total receipts during the year were \$23,592.44. The total disbursements during the year were \$18,487.77, leaving a balance on hand September 1, 1912, of \$8,340.63.

Several dual organizations were considered and acted upon during the year. Because of failure on the part of the organization to accept and abide by the terms of consolidation stipulated by the executive body of the American Federation of Labor, the American Federation of Labor revoked the charter of the Amalgamated Carpenters. In accordance with this action of the American Federation of Labor the Department notified the several local councils and advised them that locals of the Amalgamated Society were no longer eligible to membership. In several instances the instructions of the department have not yet been complied with. This is due principally to the negligence of the locals of the United Brotherhood in not affiliating with the councils. These cases are being taken up as rapidly as possible and the policy of the American Federation of Labor enforced. Effective maintenance of discipline in such cases requires unusual tact, firmness, and good judgment in order to secure voluntary and helpful co-operation.

The same course of conduct has been followed in the case of the electrical workers. So uniform and general has been the co-operation that few locals of the seceding body are identified with the local councils in good standing in this department.

Similar co-operation existed in the case of the steamfitters. Since the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor prescribed the terms and conditions under which the organization named is privileged to hold membership in the Federa-



tion and its subordinate bodies, the department has uniformly complied with the decision.

The Executive Council deemed it expedient to extend jurisdiction over the marble mosaic workers to the Ceramic, Mosaic, and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union. This arrangement will prevent the development of new jurisdictional disputes and will accord the workmen affected greater protection under a more resourceful organization.

With a single exception, all the eligible organizations of the building trades industry identified with the American Federation of Labor are in affiliation and hearty accord with the department. The only dissenting body is the Operative Plasterers' International Association. For more than a year this organization has failed to keep up its dues and has therefore been suspended. Since all overtures by the department and the Federation have been of no avail, it is the general opinion that the law governing departments should be invoked in the case of the Operative Plasterers' International Association.

### METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT.

The secretary-treasurer of the Metal Trades Department, Albert J. Berres, has prepared a statement of the progress made by his department, the substance of which is herewith incorporated in this report:

The Los Angeles strike continued for a period covering more than twenty-one months. At the beginning of the fight organization among the workers of that city was in a deplorable condition. During the struggle, at the suggestion of this Department, the different internationals sent representatives to the coast and carried on an active and successful organizing campaign. In a short time, the number of strikers numbered 1,400; while the great majority of this number were new recruits in the labor movement, the report received from the secretary-treasurer of the strike committee shows that there were but twelve deserters during the long strike. It is generally conceded by those who were on the ground that our fight for the shorter workday would have been won, had it not been for the deplorable calamity in connection with the destruction of the Los Angeles Times building. Even with this handicap, after the public declaration of Labor's position and attitude toward the alleged crime, there was still a chance of winning, up to the time when the guilt of the McNamaras was established by their confession. Then it was recognized that there was no chance of winning the strike, or persuading the employers to make concessions. For the purpose of holding Los Angeles organizations together, in the latter part of February, 1912, at a conference between the California Metal Trades Association and the representatives of the Metal Trades, a resolution officially declaring the strike off was endorsed by all parties concerned. This department appealed to its various international organizations, having members employed in trades in Los Angeles, to render every assistance possible to keep the organizations there intact, and to extend them so that the fight for the eight-hour day might again be taken up at a more opportune time. Through these efforts the movement in Los Angeles has resulted in a healthier condition.

The Iron Trades Council of San Francisco and the California Metal Trades Association have so far been unable to agree upon terms regulating hours of labor and rates of wages in that city. Several conferences have been held by committees representing the Iron Trades Council and the California Metal Trades Association since the expiration of the last agreement. On July 12, 1912, the conferees representing both organizations agreed to recommend an agreement to their respective organizations. The agreement contained the following terms: A five-year contract on an eight-hour basis with the present wage-scale and the privilege to conform to shop conditions prevailing in the East. Grievances not relating to hours and wages covered by the agreement to be presented in writing by either party. A committee was to endeavor to settle the difficulty immediately. Grievances not settled in this manner to be referred to a conference. The agreement provided that the minimum wage of the craft should be raised from \$3.50 per day to \$3.75 per day, to continue at that rate for a period of twelve months, when the minimum should be raised to \$4 per day. This agreement was submitted to both the Metal Trades Association and the Iron Trades Council for ratification, but received endorsement only by the Iron Trades Council. Since the rejection of the agreement by the employers, although much correspondence has passed between the two organizations, with the last report the whole

matter was still in the hands of the San Francisco industrial conciliation board. The department is determined that nothing shall permanently deprive the Metal Trades of San Francisco of conditions which they enjoyed under the agreement which has expired.

Greater progress has been made since the last convention in securing the establishment of an eight-hour workday than has ever been achieved in any similar period. (This progress is enumerated under the caption "The New Eight-Hour law," in this report.)

It has been the conviction of this department that joint efforts are necessary to attain greater progress in organizing industries. During the year of 1911 the executive board decided to make a joint effort to organize the manufacturers of ice and refrigerating machinery. A number of affiliated organizations had made separate efforts to organize locals of their crafts among the men employed by the York Manufacturing Company, located at York, Pa. These separate efforts had failed. After conferring with the general superintendent of the plant in regard to organizing the plant, the various internationals responded readily to the call for assistance. A great enthusiasm among the men was stimulated, but the unusual progress alarmed the officials, who initiated a policy of intimidation of the employees. The department has met with considerable success in some localities in carrying out this work. We feel sure that persistent continuation of our policy will ultimately result in organization of these employees. The campaign has not been in vain, for it instilled into the men the spirit of co-operation, a conception of what can be attained through joint effort.

In accordance with the action of the Atlanta convention this department refused the per capita tax from the International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers of America, and has instructed all of its affiliated councils to comply with this decision of the American Federation of Labor. Only one council has refused to comply with the decision of the convention, and should it continue to maintain that position the department will take the necessary steps to require compliance.

Since the Atlanta convention of the Metal Trades Department the affiliation of the United Association of Plumbers, Gasfitters, Steamfitters, and Steamfitters Helpers of the United States and Canada has been secured. With the exception of one international organization, International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, the department now has secured the affiliation of all eligible. So far, efforts to secure the co-operation of this international have not been successful. It is hoped that some action will be taken by the next convention of the American Federation of Labor relative to the affiliation of internationals that have been declared eligible to the department.

The Atlanta convention of the Metal Trades made a change in representation and voting strength in the conventions. For several years efforts had been made to secure to local councils representatives to the convention. After much discussion, the Atlanta convention agreed to grant local councils this representation. The internationals will have the same voting strength as they have in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor; each local council will vote, as do the central bodies and State federations of labor in the American Federation of Labor convention. In view of this change, the local councils given representation are required to pay dues to the amount of \$12 per year, payable monthly. Since the majority of the metal trades are already affiliated with numerous labor organizations to which they pay dues, it is doubtful whether many of them can continue to pay this additional sum.

Another change determined upon by this convention was that of making the office of president of the department a salaried one. Since it was believed that more extensive and effective work could be performed if the president were enabled to give all of his time to this department, and since there was sufficient amount of funds on hand to give trial to the idea without increasing the per capita, the convention determined to pass the amendment.

The greatest weakness and hindrance in successfully carrying out joint movements result from the low dues prevailing in their organizations. Since joint effort is the special function for which this department was created, it has been carrying on a continuous campaign of education among the internationals. A high rate of dues and per capita adequate to carry on the work successfully, is necessary to co-operation with other trades, for the correction of bad conditions. The machinists, the metal polishers, the blacksmiths and boilermakers, have all enacted legislation for this

purpose. Efforts will be continued until a higher rate of dues and per capita exists among all affiliated international unions as the basis for future success and progress.

From all reports an unusual condition exists in the ship-building industry. Every ship-building plant in the country is running at full speed. Some employers are trying to give the impression that it is impossible to get a sufficient number of mechanics for the operation of their plant. While the metal trades men are uniformly busy, there still remain some men unemployed who would accept work if the corporations paid a fairer rate of wages. Upon such a plea the Fore River Ship Building Company within the last few months has been granted permission by the Department of Commerce and Labor to import alien labor into this country, namely, template makers and loftsmen. This department and the other organizations of the metal trades protested against the granting of this privilege. The protest resulted in further investigation by the Department of Commerce and Labor to ascertain whether this corporation had made every effort to secure this kind of labor in this country under fair conditions. The effect of the department's activity and protest will prevent future recurrences of such permissions.

The Department of Commerce and Labor may be justified in criticizing the labor organizations on the ground that they do not give proper co-operation and assistance to that department. There should be more activity and watchfulness on the part of all organizations to prevent corporations from bringing in alien labor when the workers of this country are unemployed. The Metal Trades Department aims to inculcate individual responsibility so that workmen in all localities shall ascertain from immigrants what prompted them to come to this country, and under what conditions they came. Such individual efforts, especially in the centers where most of the immigrants are employed, will enable all organizations and the Department of Commerce and Labor to discover many of the schemes of the corporations. By joint effort and co-operation the law can be much more vigorously enforced.

During the past year charters to local councils have been issued in the following cities:

Belleville, Ill.; Kokomo, Ind.; Charleston, Mass.; Sacramento, Cal.; Akron, Ohio.

The total membership of the department on September 30, 1911, was 214,468. This represented a membership of eleven international organizations that were affiliated with this department. On September 30, 1912, the membership of the department was 222,012, showing an increase over the previous twelve months of 7,544. There had been deposited in the banks on September 30, 1912, \$4,428.05. It is the earnest desire of this organization to educate metal trades men of the United States and Canada to the realization that sooner or later they will be compelled to take advantage of an organization which will enable them to cope with the present industrial conditions through joint effort. There is a growing inclination in the metal trades to unite for common progress and betterment.

### **MINING DEPARTMENT.**

At the Atlanta Convention it was announced that the United Mine Workers of America and the Western Federation of Miners had organized a Mining Department and had presented their by-laws and constitution to the Executive Council asking for a charter. The charter was granted by the Executive Council. The secretary-treasurer of the department, Edwin Perry, reports that up to the present time the Mining Department has held two executive board meetings and extended invitations to the Longshoremen's and Iron Workers' organizations to affiliate with them. He reports that there is every reason to believe both of the organizations named will in the near future become a part of the department. The department had on hand a fund of \$2,450. Their expenses so far have been purely nominal.

### **RAILROAD EMPLOYES DEPARTMENT.**

H. B. Perham, chairman of the Railroad Employees Department, presented the following report:

"The work of the department for the past year has been principally along the lines of legislation and the advancement of the federation idea among railroad men.

"It has not assumed the protective phase as yet, but strong indications point to that as the next development. Up to the present time each

organization affiliated has carried on its own work under its own laws as it did in the past, and there has been no interference between one organization and another.

"Democracy in action and fellowship have characterized its work, with the result that railroad employes are now closer together and better acquainted than they have ever been before. The unaffiliated organizations and those in the department are on good terms on every railroad system in the country, and the path towards perfect co-operation has been made easy wherever and whenever it may be needed.

"Amendments to the Federal arbitration law—commonly known as the Erdman Act—agreed upon and unanimously endorsed by the department, were introduced in the House of Representatives and referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, from which body a favorable report is expected. It is altogether probable that Congress will adopt these amendments at the next session. They provide that all classes of employes on railroads engaged in interstate commerce may come under the act which in its present form only applies to engineers, firemen, conductors, brakemen, and telegraphers. Besides extending the scope of the law, the amendments provide for striking out the court features, which experience proved were ineffective in action and caused much vexatious delay and needless expense. The amendments will make the law a model of its kind, as experience with the old law has pointed out the weak clauses and the necessity for the additions which we hope to have inserted.

"The department unanimously endorsed amendments to the Hours of Service bill which affects telegraphers and signalmen, and provides for a straight eight-hour day for that class of employes. After exhaustive hearings before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, the bill containing the amendments was recommended for passage and is now on the calendar for consideration at the next session of Congress.

"There were several other bills affecting railroad employes that received attention, but owing to peculiar political conditions in the House and Senate they did not make the progress expected.

"Attention of railroad men is called to the recent decision of the Supreme Court of Kansas anent the 'Coercion Act' of Kansas. The act prohibits any employer, agent, etc., from demanding or influencing any person or persons to enter into any agreement, either written or verbal, not to join or become or remain a member of any labor organization or association as a condition of securing employment or continuing in the employment of such employer.' The decision of the Supreme Court of Kansas upheld this law. Legislative committees in all the States of the Union should now interest themselves in the matter and get a similar law enacted in every State in the Union."

### UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT.

Thomas F. Tracy, secretary-treasurer of the Union Label Trades Department, presented the following review of the work performed during the fiscal year ending September 30, 1912:

"At the close of the fiscal year we have in affiliation with the department, 38 national and international unions, and with an approximate membership of 370,000. During the year three international unions affiliated with the department—the Leather Workers on Horse Goods' International Union, the Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, and the United Powder and High Explosive Workers of America.

"We have continued the work of organizing local departments as ordered by previous conventions, and during the year seventeen local departments, located in Scranton, Pa.; Cleveland, Ohio; Lancaster, Pa.; Kansas City, Mo.; St. Paul, Minn.; La Crosse, Wis.; Spokane, Wash.; Steubenville, Ohio; Springfield, Mass.; Birmingham, Ala.; Birmingham, N. Y.; Toronto, Canada; Danville, Ill.; Houston, Texas; Springfield, Ill.; Pittsburg, Pa., and Newark, N. J., were organized and affiliated, making a total of fifty local departments now in existence.

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

"While the number of local departments affiliated with us may appear to be a small number, yet when it is realized that practically every one of them was organized through correspondence, it can be seen that we have done fairly well in this direction in the last two years.

"The publication and issuance of a directory containing the names of manufacturers who are in agreement with our various affiliated organizations and who use the label of the same—which is really in fact what might be termed a fair list—has been continued by direction of the last convention. Three issues of this directory have been published during the year, a total of 55,000 directories in all.

"This directory has a wide circulation, and is sent to all local unions of international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. There is a constant demand for it, not only from local unions, local departments and central labor unions, but from business men in various sections of the country who are desirous of purchasing union-made products.

"Several circular letters have been issued to all local unions, and other circular letters have been issued to central labor unions as well. In the work of publicity and distributing information that is of value and interest to our members and friends, during the year we have sent out from this office upwards of 150,000 pieces of mail and express matter, besides the regular correspondence of the office.

### Union Labels.

"The increase in the output of union labeled products for the year 1912 as above the output for the year 1911 as compiled from reports received from the executive officers of our affiliated organizations is indeed gratifying, and for your information the following figures are quoted as reported:

	1911.	1912.	Increase.
United Brewery Workmen's Union.....	41,836,850	44,239,850	2,403,000
American Wire Weavers' Association.....	6,000	6,000	.....
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	20,000	22,000	2,000
United Cloth Hat, and Cap Makers.....	4,015,000	5,305,000	1,290,000
Tobacco Workers' International Union.....	383,900,000	408,925,000	25,025,000
Glove Workers' International Union.....	1,841,500	1,874,500	33,000
United Garment Workers.....	42,384,000	45,430,000	2,048,000
Bakery and Confectionery Workers.....	548,210,590	555,439,000	7,228,410
United Textile Workers.....	240,000	400,000	160,000
Travelers' Goods and Leather Workers.....	11,000	47,000	36,000
Journeyman Tailors' Union.....	511,000	529,681	18,681
International Molders' Union.....	.....	.....	28,100
Electrical Workers' Union.....	.....	.....	33,675
Cigarmakers' International Union.....	28,315,000	28,600,000	285,000
American Federation of Labor.....	9,309,000	9,423,000	114,000

"The International Brotherhood of Papermakers reports that during the year 24,000 labels were issued which were pasted upon bundles or rolls of paper. This is a material increase as above the year 1911. They further report that it is impossible to make any estimate on their watermark label, as this goes into the sheet and there is no means of knowing just how many of these labels are turned out.

"The Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union reports that during the year they have entered into agreements with and issued their union stamp to thirteen boot and shoe manufacturers, and that the membership secured from the organizing of these factories was 2,385. They further report that a conservative estimate of the output of the additional union factories organized during the year would be about 11,500 pairs of shoes per day.

"The International Photo-Engravers' Union reports that during the year 1912 they have issued their label to 31 employers, and that there are now a total of 296 employers using the label of their organization. This, of course, is independent of any work bearing the label of the Allied Printing Trades Council, of which they are a part.

"The Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America reports that during the year they have signed label

agreements with nine firms, but do not state the number of employees affected.

"The Journeymen Barbers' International Union reports that on account of reissuing shop cards, many of which replaced others, that they could not give any reliable figures as to the number of shop cards issued during the year, but report that at the present time there are in use approximately about 17,000 union shop cards.

"The secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union reports: 'This office has sold more labels during the past year than ever before in its history.'

"The work of carrying on label agitation among the farmers was continued this year, and a considerable degree of success was reached in the State of Tennessee through the efforts of organizers C. P. Fahey, and A. E. Hill. Three other States were selected in which to carry on this work—Illinois, Indiana, and Texas. While a representative of the Department attended the State conventions, on account of the secret nature of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union, we were not in a position to obtain a list of the secretaries of their locals and the time and place of meeting so that representatives could address them on this important subject.

"The publication of cuts of union labels in official journals of the national and international unions, together with the publication of appropriate reading matter, has also been carried on with considerable success. A large number of the journals of international unions are publishing several cuts of labels monthly, free of charge. A number of labor papers have rendered the same service, and at no time has there been so much space devoted to union labels in official journals and the labor press as there has been during the past year.

"Under instructions of the last convention, we have given assistance to the Federal Convict Labor bill, as well as to bills of a like character in a number of various States. You are familiar with the status of the Convict Labor bill.

"We have also had introduced in the Federal Congress a bill protecting union labels and other emblems of organizations of labor located in the District of Columbia and the Territories. This bill was introduced in Congress by Congressman Maher of New York, the ex-treasurer of the United Hatters of North America, and is known as H. R. 20423. This bill has been reported favorably from a sub-committee to the full committee and it is expected that it will be reported by the full committee early in the next session of Congress.

"The income of the department for the year ending September 30, 1912, inclusive of the balance on hand, was \$15,660.24. The expenses for the same period of time was \$10,073.44, leaving a balance on hand September 30, 1912, of \$5,586.80 deposited in the bank in the name of the Union Label Trades Department.

"In conclusion let me say, that the work of the department has progressed very favorably during the past year, and it is confidently hoped that the results of the coming year will far exceed the gain of the past year."

In connection with this departmental report, it is appropriate to refer to the plan of the New York Central Union Label Council to spread information concerning the union label, its purposes and underlying philosophy, and to stimulate the workers themselves to renewed activity and interest. That council proposed to prepare and conduct a series of stereopticon lectures on the union label. The Central Union Label Council presented this proposition and asked for financial assistance. The plan was endorsed and it was agreed to furnish two organizers to assist in the lecture part of the work. All other expenses for equipment, etc., were borne by the Central Union Label Council. The expenses were reduced by securing the use of several churches for the lectures.

The moving picture exhibition opened with views of the Ash Building fire. The lecturer brought out the fact that this was a non-union shop at the time of the fire, and that it was the shop where the shirt-waist makers' strike first started. Other pictures presented participants and scenes from the strike of the textile workers in

Lawrence last February. The lecturers called attention to the attitude of the textile employers toward organized labor and to their opposition to organization among their workers. Reference was also made to recent developments in the "Lawrence dynamite conspiracy." To bring out the contrast between union and non-union conditions and ideals, exhibition of all the different labels, explanations of them and their purposes, and interesting historical data concerning them, were given by the lecturers. Union standards were still further illustrated and emphasized by pictures representing the evils of child labor and the mercenary greed that causes it.

This movement, conducted under the auspices of the New York Central Union Label Council and the American Federation of Labor, is extremely suggestive. In view of the fact that the moving picture exhibitions have become an important element in education and disseminating information of current happenings of the day they furnish a channel by which we could reach people not otherwise readily accessible, as well as our own people, to place conditions and incidents before them correctly, and in a most vivid and forceful manner.

Many requests were made for return engagements. Much literature on the union label and union ideals was distributed. The New York experience has been successful, and is presented to the members of this convention for consideration.

### CARL LEGIEN'S VISIT.

Upon the invitation of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Carl Legien, secretary of the International Secretariat and president of the Federation of Trade Unions of Germany, visited the United States last spring. I planned an itinerary for him that would afford him the best possible opportunities for learning the industrial conditions within our country and getting in touch with the labor movement in such a way as to understand its various relations. As Mr. Legien had been compelled the previous year to decline an invitation to make a tour of the country and had again been invited to make such a tour in 1912, he accepted it and at the same time accepted an invitation to address meetings held under the auspices of the Socialist party.

Upon the advice of American Federation of Labor officials, and it was agreed to by Mr. Legien, it was arranged that he should begin and complete the tour of meetings arranged under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor, and, upon its completion, then proceed on his tour lecturing under the auspices of the Socialist party. The itinerary mapped out afforded him an opportunity to visit all of the large industrial centers from Boston to Denver. It was arranged that Mr. Legien should make one speech in each city, and have the remainder of his time for conferences with various labor representatives, visiting various labor headquarters, investigating methods, ways and conditions, as well as seeing something of American civilization, progress and natural beauties.

Arrangements were made with various representatives of local organizations, international officers, and other labor representatives, so that every avenue would be open to Mr. Legien to obtain the greatest amount of information with the least amount of difficulty on his part. As he does not speak English, it was necessary for his addresses to be interpreted by his secretary, Mr. A. Baumeister, who accompanied him. Mr. Legien made two visits to Washington. It was arranged during the first visit that he be invited by the House of Representatives to address that body. The address was delivered in German and translated into English by Mr. Baumeister; then in recess the members greeted him in person. On the second trip to Washington, Mr. Legien's chief purpose was to study more thoroughly the work done at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor.

Such exchange of international visits are of incalculable value to the different organizations. Personal contact of representatives and personal investigation enable the workers, though separated, to understand more thoroughly and more exactly the conditions and the problems under which the labor movement of the various countries operates. Correspondence is often the cause of misunderstanding; men may misunderstand or misrepresent and give biased or partial accounts. Mr. Legien expressed his astonishment at some of the conditions he found which were so different from any report that had been carried to him. The information acquired by Mr. Legien will be of greatest importance in correcting misinformation that had been carried abroad and in establishing more cordial and sympathetic co-operation between our respective countries. Mr. Legien is in a position to exercise influence in moulding popular opinion

in his various capacities as secretary of the International Secretariat of trade unions of the world and president of the Federation of Trade Unions of Germany.

While here, on several occasions, both in public address as well as private conference, Mr. Legien emphatically declared that co-operation, not rivalry, was the basis for the success of organized labor in Germany; that the spirit of rivalry and opposition to trade unionism can not result in substantial progress. In Germany co-operation in trade union effort has produced best results. He made clear to all that in the United States the trade union movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor is the only one which is bona fide and that any or all antagonism or rivalry should be condemned. He emphasized as of considerable importance the fact that several years ago some so-called radical socialists of Germany organized "Socialist unions," and that the congress of the Socialist party of Germany then issued directions that these unions should not be recognized as bona fide organizations and that any socialist who became a member of a so-called "Socialist union" should be expelled from the party. Mr. Legien repeatedly expressed disapproval of antagonistic rival organizations and attempts to undermine the work of the American trade union movement.

The American Federation of Labor will gain in effectiveness and usefulness by establishing cordial relations and co-operation with the organized labor movement of Europe. Only through the exchange of personal representatives can correct impressions of our purposes and policies be conveyed. Misrepresentation resulting in false conceptions can be successfully refuted and counteracted only by having a representative participating in the discussions of the International Secretariat. Therefore, the attention of the convention is called to the fact that our organization should request a meeting of the International Secretariat in 1913, and the advisability of electing a delegate or authorizing the Executive Council to select some delegate in case a meeting is held that year. Should it be deemed inadvisable to hold a meeting in 1913, I suggest that this convention request that no convention be held until 1915. During that year the Panama Canal Exposition will be held in San Francisco between February 20 and December 4. Inasmuch as that will be an event of more than ordinary international interest, it would be most timely and fitting for this convention to extend a cordial invitation to the International Secretariat to hold its meeting for 1915 in San Francisco, immediately preceding or following the convention of the American Federation of Labor, which, I assume, will be held in that city in 1915.

### LABOR FORWARD MOVEMENT.

The success and effectiveness of the Religion Forward Movement of the past year attracted the interest and attention of the thinking people of the country. The trade unionists of Minnesota recognized the value and possibility of such a method applied to the trade union movement. As a result, organized labor of Minnesota and St. Paul inaugurated and carried on a Labor Forward Movement. The aims of the campaign were to rouse the members to renewed activity and zeal, to develop more militant enthusiasm and to disseminate more widely information of the principles of trade unionism among all of the citizens. The efforts succeeded both in practical results in organization and in reviving trade and fraternal feeling. The success of the movement in Minneapolis and St. Paul induced Duluth to take up the plan. The constructive results and the enthusiasm stimulated by these local efforts brought the matter to the notice of the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor who investigated what had been done, thoroughly discussed the subject in all its bearings, and directed me to draft a tentative plan for such a campaign on a national basis. The plan I then presented to the Executive Council was approved and its adoption recommended to the various bodies of organized labor throughout the American continent. Its full text was published in the October issue of the *American Federationist*, and is recommended to all trade unionists for their most earnest study. The entire subject-matter is further recommended to this convention for its consideration and action.

It is most sincerely hoped the different organizations throughout the country will generally adopt the policy and inaugurate a nation wide campaign for better organization, increase of membership, and for the quickening and reviving of the feeling of comradeship and common interest of all the workers.



### ORGANIZING STEEL WORKERS.

The American Federation of Labor, true to its mission, has stood by and aided the workers in every industry to uphold their rights and to promote their interests. In the earlier days of the organization, the workers in the iron and steel industry were in a condition requiring little outside aid. Indeed, aid was given rather than received by them. In later years the American Federation of Labor has stood faithfully by these men when engaged in contests of tremendous importance, but, owing to events and incidents which can not be recorded here at this time, a visible decline in the power of the iron and steel workers' organization ensued, particularly where the membership had been employed by the great steel corporations. However, no opportunity was permitted to pass without some effort being made to be of tangible assistance in maintaining and strengthening the organization and aiding the workers in that industry. It is gratifying to report a revival in the growth of that organization.

The American Federation of Labor was successful in calling the attention of the public, the administrative authorities, and Congress to the wretched conditions and social injustice prevailing among these workers. Public attention and condemnation roused the conscience of some of the directors of the Steel Corporation, so that they felt compelled to grant some of the workers better conditions. In an address which I made before the annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science last March, I took issue with the statement of the counsel for the U. S. Steel Corporation, and in reply to his statements, said in part:

"Today the United States Steel Corporation is practically free from any 'inconvenience' from the organized labor movement. It has 'peace' in its plant. It is the sort of peace that the Czar of Russia proclaimed when he said, 'Peace reigns in Warsaw.' The United States Steel Corporation, and all of the other corporations which have either by direction or indirection in the same or less degree succeeded in crushing out labor organization, are lulling themselves into a fancied security, but one morning or other they will wake up and find it was either a dream or a nightmare. They have crushed out the organizations of labor in many plants. They have, by direct or indirect methods, opened up a channel of immigration to their plants, and American workers no longer are there to any appreciable extent. The managers think—in a way know—that their immigrant employees are docile. They do their bosses' bidding without murmur, they go along patiently carrying their burdens, and the heads of the corporations feel safe. So did the proprietors of the textile mills of Lawrence. The effect of all schemes put in operation by these corporations has been to degrade their workmen, to tie them to their work, to take away from them the opportunity of protest. But some day they will protest."

Some months ago the American Federation of Labor inaugurated a campaign of education among the steel workers of the United States and Canada, with the purpose of bringing this great number of toilers into the beneficent and protective fold of the trade union movement. The history of the antagonism of the great steel companies toward the organization of their employees is a matter of common knowledge. Their evident purpose being to thwart any attempt made to organize the workers or for them to organize themselves, the plan of employing workmen speaking foreign tongues was adopted. The steel corporations, by the intermingling of the various races, nearly all endowed with pronounced racial characteristics, consider that these differences in temperament will provide an effectual barrier to successful organization. These workmen, many of whom are untutored, born in lands of oppression, surrounded by squalor, inured to hardship, reaching manhood without that full mental development which makes for independence and self-preservation, are lured to America. Upon arrival in this English-speaking country, the light of our civilization but slowly dawns upon them. The rights to which the American citizen is entitled are unknown to them—the struggle for subsistence being the great necessity. With languages not easily understood, and various tongues spoken in a single steel plant, it is not to be wondered that the workers' comprehension of the rights to which they are entitled comes as an exceedingly slow process.

These facts were the first to be considered in our preliminary arrangements for

the educational and organizing campaign to be conducted by the American Federation of Labor.

There are nearly 150 cities and towns in the United States and Canada where steel and iron workers are employed. Twenty-eight States have steel mills or iron works.

Without recounting in detail the efforts already made, it is sufficient to say that city central bodies and general and volunteer organizers were directed to assist the American Federation of Labor in distributing literature to these workers. Circulars were printed in the various foreign languages and circulated broadcast among the steel workers. These circulars were prepared in a series of three, so that the presentation of organized labor's cause might be methodically and systematically brought to the attention of those whom it is desired to organize. Two of the series of these circulars have been issued.

Aside from these circulars, large editions of the Weekly News Letter, with the circulars incorporated therein, have been distributed, with the knowledge that many of the foreign workmen could read English, and thus secure labor news other than the information contained in the circulars. Several hundred thousand of these News Letters have been thus used, and from reports which have been received the campaign of education is making a deep impression upon the steel workers.

This campaign will be continued and every assistance rendered the workers in the steel mills to secure the right to have a part in the determination of the wages which they receive and the conditions under which they shall be employed.

### MIGRATORY WORKERS.

The organization of migratory workers has been given all the attention that has been possible this year by the American Federation of Labor. The demands made by affiliated organizations upon the American Federation of Labor for organizers have precluded the continued assignment of many organizers to this particular field. Furthermore, the organization of the migratory workers largely depends upon the influence exercised by the unionists in the localities where the migratory laborers are employed at the time. With no permanent abiding place, with periods of employment of short duration and places of employment scattered over a wide area, the organization of these workers is exceedingly slow. Local unions in the localities where labor is intermittently performed can render valuable service by calling these workers together and informing them of the fraternal and helpful attitude of the general labor movement toward them, and at the same time give information of the fundamental principles upon which the organizations of labor are founded. However, some progress has been made, notably in California, where the American Federation of Labor is bearing part of the expense of an organizer who is devoting his entire time and devising plans for more thoroughly organizing the migratory workers. While the progress which has been made is encouraging, it has been necessarily slow. The problem is not one of easy solution.

It is suggested that State federations, city central bodies, and local unions in the sections of the country where migratory labor is employed in seasonal occupations, arrange to hold meetings during the seasons of employment and lay before these casual workers the benefits which accrue to those who are affiliated with the organized labor movement. The American Federation of Labor will also render assistance with organizers wherever it is possible. With this combined influence the aims and objects of our movement may be communicated to those whose opportunity is limited in the study and comprehension of the great influence and power exercised by the trade unions of our country.

### ARBITRATION, MEDIATION, AND CONCILIATION.

*(The Erdman Act—Extension of.)*

The Committee on Resolutions at the Atlanta Convention reported a substitute for resolutions 46 and 61, which instructed the Executive Council to consider amending the Federal Arbitration law so as to include all railroad employes instead of only those actually engaged in train operation or train service, as the law now provides, and if, in the judgment of the Executive Council, such amendment should be desirable, to cause it to be framed and to endeavor to have it enacted into law. This substitute was adopted by the convention, with a memorandum directing that when the subject

of this resolution was considered, the representatives of the railroad organizations directly interested in the proposition should be invited to be present.

I hesitated to proceed further, because, early in the year, it became apparent that the United Mine Workers would encounter difficulties in renewing their contracts in the bituminous and anthracite regions. Considerable newspaper discussion resulted, and several propositions for intervention were made by outside persons who perhaps meant well, but who were not acquainted with all the problems. These academicians suggested arbitration, mediation, conciliation, or peace at any price, in preference to allowing the toilers to work out their own salvation by means of their own well tried, thoroughly tested, reliable trade union agency. This sentiment was finally embodied in a bill to extend the Erdman act to persons engaged in and around coal mines, which was urged before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. When this was called to my attention, I objected to its further consideration, as did the officers of the United Mine Workers. In the meantime, I had learned that several of our organizations, whose members are employed by railroad companies, had urged the extension of the Erdman act to cover their members. Anticipating that grave misunderstandings might arise and encouragement be given to legislation of a character freighted with great potential power that would be seriously injurious to the workers, I deemed it advisable at that time to discourage any discussion of this proposition in congressional committees until after the whole subject could be more fully discussed and considered in our conventions.

Some members of Congress and of State Legislatures would not hesitate to experiment with legislation of this character, in spite of its far-reaching possibilities and the grave dangers latent in such proposed measures affecting the rights of the workers and their labor power. There are too many who have so little knowledge or regard for the fundamentals of liberty and freedom that they would legally tie the workers to their toil as readily as they would physically tie a horse to his stake, and it is lamentable that there are some who can not distinguish the difference. Then again, there are even some workmen who with us seek to avoid the stress and strain of a strike, who are loud to advocate statutory compulsory investigation, State mediation, and arbitration, and the pronouncement of an award, with a supposed voluntary acceptance of such an award. They do not know that wherever these systems have been introduced they have led either to compulsory arbitration with compulsory award, compulsory obedience to the terms of the award, or else have resulted in a reaction demanding the repeal of the so-called State compulsory investigation and voluntary State mediation and award.

In Canada the reaction has set in against the Lemieux act. In one of the countries "without strikes" several strikes have occurred, and during this year a general sympathetic strike of all workmen occurred in Brisbane, Queensland. The American labor movement aims to avoid the stress and strain of strikes, but we are not led by glittering generalities or vain hopes. We have some realization of the elements and equation which prompt men to exercise on the one hand the power they possess to dominate for selfish, narrow greed, and on the other hand, the constant hope and aspiration of the toilers to be larger sharers in the wealth they create. The first take advantage of the opportunities which they can create to exercise their power for their narrow, selfish ends. The second, the toilers, realizing that their constant material improvement is necessary for the welfare and progress of the human race, will protest or strike, law or no law, in the effort to accomplish their justifiable purpose. Any attempt by law to curb the right of the workers to sever their relations with their employers, to strike, will be resented, as it should be resented. The American Federation of Labor years ago took a position of antagonism to any such policy, and it is a source of great gratification that I have in some measure aided in preventing, either openly or covertly, the introduction in the industrial affairs of our land of any species of compulsory arbitration or entering wedge that would facilitate such introduction.

We want peace in industry, but we want peace with honor, progress, and freedom. So-called peace, purchased at the price which would shackle the minds and the actions of the workers, is no real peace at all; it is the beginning of slavery. Before any definite instructions are given to the officials of the American Federation of Labor upon this subject, I trust that certain well thought out and properly defined principles will again be formulated, so that all possibilities of error or danger may be properly and safely avoided.

**LABOR DAY AND LABOR SUNDAY.**

The observance of Labor Day has now become generally customary on the American continent and in Porto Rico. This institution is of incalculable value in maintaining interest among union members, fixing the attention of those indifferent or unfamiliar with our work, and demonstrating publicly the power and conviction actuating our movement. Through such demonstration of loyalty and devotion to the great cause of humanity for which our movement stands, we stimulate again the underlying determining emotions and estimate the spirit of brotherhood and unity in the common life. It is one of the contradictions of human nature that when customs and institutions once established become familiar and sometimes, therefore, unappreciated, they gradually decline because they fail to receive due consideration and valuation. To guard against such a fate for Labor Day, the one day in the year secured by the toilers to give genuine dignity and worth to the underlying motives of the cause of organized labor, we must keep alive its finest and deepest sentiments.

Labor Day is not a time for mere merry-making and personal enjoyment, but a time for pledging anew our faith to our cause and to each other. It is worth to the movement far, far more than its cost in money, time, or physical expenditure.

There was never before a period when all of the people were so deeply interested in the social and economic problems as now. Those things which are vital to human welfare and fundamental for future progress, have become the chief topics of daily conversation, of the reporters' columns and of editorial comment, and are the central theme of political discussion. We can not, as an organization, afford not to use Labor's special day, Labor Day, as a time to set forth to the best advantage our needs, demands, and position with respect to what is of greatest interest to the thinking people. Labor Sunday is another means by which we can present our cause to many before whom we could not otherwise gain a hearing. Every opportunity to defend and interpret our much abused and misrepresented trade unionism, should be seized upon with avidity. In this age of publicity, it is not enough to be right, but we must also convince the world that we are right. Every invitation or opportunity to uphold the cause and purposes of unionism before the public, is a chance to put in telling blows for Labor. Let us regard these opportunities as sacred duties, and make Labor Day of each recurring year a milestone on the ever onward march of industrial, social, and human progress.

**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR POLITICAL CAMPAIGN—ITS RESULTS.**

In 1906, the American Federation of Labor served notice upon Congress that it proposed to enter upon a campaign to secure justice through legislation. For many years Labor had appealed to Congress for the passage of remedial legislation. These appeals to a considerable extent had fallen upon deaf ears. It was decided that vigorous action should be taken. As a result of this decision, a campaign was inaugurated against one of Labor's most conspicuous enemies, Charles E. Littlefield, of the second district of Maine. That campaign was effectual, for Mr. Littlefield, although re-elected, finally felt compelled to resign as Congressman. The sentiment against him thus created was too strong to withstand.

This contest aroused the men of Labor. In practically every State efforts were made to have men, holding paid-up union cards, seek nominations on the various party tickets for election as Representatives in Congress. As a result, six labor men were elected to Congress in the fall of 1906—Messrs. Wilson and Nichols of Pennsylvania, coal miners; Sherwood of Ohio, printer; Hughes of New Jersey, textile worker; and McDermott and Cary, telegraphers, of Chicago and Milwaukee respectively. The influence of these men was felt in Congress. Their re-election in 1908 quickened labor men throughout the country to the possibilities of directly increasing the strength of union labor in the national legislature. In that same year additional union card men were also elected—Messrs. Anderson of Ohio, musician; Murphy of Missouri, telegrapher; Martin of Colorado, locomotive fireman, and Jamieson of Iowa, printer. The election of these four new members revealed the increasing influence of organized labor in the political and legislative field.

But Labor was not satisfied. The conviction prevailed that by adopting the slogan of "calling upon the workers of our common country to stand faithfully by our friends,

oppose and defeat our enemies, whether they be candidates for President, for Congress, or other offices, whether executive, legislative or judicial." material additions could be made to the Labor group in Congress. The fall of 1910 witnessed the election of fifteen members of trade unions to the sixty-second Congress. They were:

Messrs. Wilson, miner, Pennsylvania; Lee, blacksmith, Pennsylvania; Martin, fireman, Colorado; Cary, telegrapher, Wisconsin; Berger, printer, Wisconsin; Hughes, weaver, lawyer, New Jersey; Buchanan, structural iron worker, Illinois; McDermott, telegrapher, Illinois; Lewis, miner and lawyer, Maryland; Smith, telegrapher, New York; Anderson, musician, Ohio; Sherwood, printer, Ohio; Roberts, miner, Nevada; Farr, printer, Pennsylvania; Maher, hatter, New York.

The campaign made by Labor in 1910 was, in a large measure, responsible for the change in the political complexion of the House of Representatives. Labor was recognized in the appointment of one of the important committees of the Sixty-second Congress. W. B. Wilson was named as Chairman of the House Committee on Labor. Three other labor men were associated with him on that committee, Messrs. Maher, Lewis, and Buchanan. The other members of the committee, although not belonging to any labor organization, have been friendly to, and sympathetic with, all measures coming before them in which Labor is interested. This committee did splendid work during the past session of Congress, having reported out favorably a number of important bills, three of which were also favorably reported by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor and were enacted into law—

Labor's Eight-Hour bill, now law.

Children's Bureau bill, now law.

Industrial Relations Commission bill, now law.

Other bills and their present status are:

From the floor of the House there was inserted an eight-hour provision in the Fortifications bill, providing for an eight-hour day, now law.

Extension of Federal Compensation for Injuries Act, now law.

Second-class postal rates for trade union publications, now law.

Popular Election of U. S. Senators, passed and referred to the States for ratification.

Eight hours in the Naval Appropriation bill, now law.

Right of hearing, petition, and association restored to post-office employees, passed and now law.

Eight hours for letter carriers and clerks in post-offices, now law.

Plate Printers' bill, now law.

The prohibition of the manufacture of phosphorus matches passed, now law.

Through the efforts and with the help of Labor, other remedial legislation has been enacted, or is on the calendar for early consideration.

The House Judiciary Committee reported favorably, and the House passed, the bill limiting the power of the courts to issue injunctions, now before Senate Judiciary Committee.

The same committee reported the Contempt bill which provides for a trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt, passed the House, now before the Senate Judiciary Committee.

House Committee on Labor reported favorably the Bacon-Bartlett bill to relieve the organizations of labor from the operation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law.

Bill to regulate convict labor, passed the House.

Department of Labor bill, with secretary a member of the President's cabinet, passed the House, favorably reported out of Senate Committee.

Committee reported favorably the Eight-Hour bill for Dredgemen, passed the House, reported out of Senate Committee.

The House Committee on Labor also reported favorably the resolution to investigate the "Taylor System." The Committees on Labor reported favorably the Anti-"Taylor System" bills.

The bill creating a Federal Bureau of Health was favorably reported to the Senate.

The Senate passed the Immigration bill, including the "illiteracy" test for immigrants. The "illiteracy" test provision has been favorably reported by the House Committee.

Seamen's bill, passed the House, now before Senate Committee on Commerce.

The Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation bill, passed the Senate.

The Porto Rican Citizenship bill, passed the House.

Obtained appropriation of \$20,000 from the House for investigation of the working conditions in the iron and steel industries.

Increase in wages for the printing pressmen in the Government Printing Office, now law. (For a fuller understanding of these measures see October, 1912, issue of the *American Federationist*.)

The record thus given has been made possible from the fact that organized labor has pursued a practical policy leading to a considerable measure of success. And though it is true that in no other one session of Congress has so much remedial labor legislation been secured, Labor must yet be insistent and persistent in the effort to obtain the laws so necessary to our very existence.

In line with the pursuit of that policy, the last convention of the American Federation of Labor by unanimous vote adopted the following instructions:

"We recommend that this convention authorize and direct the Executive Council to urge the President of the United States to recommend in his forthcoming message to Congress the amendment of the Sherman Anti-Trust law upon the lines as contained in the Wilson bill to amend the Sherman Anti-Trust law; and further, that the Executive Council be, and it is hereby directed, either as a body or by the selection of a committee thereof, to obtain an interview with the President in furtherance of the purpose of this report.

"The Executive Council is hereby further authorized and directed to take such further action, as its judgment may warrant, to secure the enactment of such legislation at the forthcoming session of Congress as shall secure the legal status of the organized movement of the wage-workers for freedom from unjust discrimination in the exercise of their natural, normal, and constitutional rights, through their voluntary associations.

"And the Executive Council is further authorized and directed that in the event of a failure on the part of Congress to enact the legislation which we herein seek at the hands of the Congress and the President, to take such action as in its judgment the situation may warrant in the presidential and congressional election of 1912."

In compliance therewith, every effort was made to carry out the spirit and letter of the instructions, in the recent general elections for President and members of Congress, as well as Governors and State legislators, for it must be borne in mind that much of the legislation affecting Labor must find its expression in the Legislatures of the States. It was felt that with the true records furnished them, it was best to leave the formative judgment and action to the interest and the true patriotism of our fellow-workers and fellow-citizens, with the general additional incentive to increase the number of Congressmen with paid-up union cards in their pocket, and thus strengthen the Labor group.

Inasmuch as custom requires the report of the President of the American Federation of Labor be printed in advance of the convention, and this is written before the elections have occurred, it is not possible to herein state the results of the election. The results, I trust, will soon be tabulated, and in so far as Labor is more directly interested, published in the columns of the *American Federationist*.

This may be here stated that Labor's opponents, those who antagonize every effort made by the toilers to secure redress for their wrongs and improvement in their condition and the attainment of their rights, and others who discourage and ridicule the attempt of organized labor to use its political as well as its economic power upon practical lines; have not deceived and will not deceive Labor. The organized labor movement will contend against every wrong from which the toilers suffer and insist upon the attainment of every right to which they are entitled.

The American Federation of Labor is not partisan to any political party, but it is partisan to a principle—to achieve results in the interests of the great mass of the wage-earners of our continent. It resents the attitude of those who seek to force the workers back into the condition and character of serfdom, and with equal insistence it refuses to postpone to the far future, the advantages and benefits of a better life when we propose to secure them here and now.

Taking into consideration that which organized labor has already accomplished upon the economic, political and legislative fields to bring light and life into the homes

and the workshops of our toiling masses, we are fully confident of greater success in the future. The spirit and humanitarianism cultivated and developed by the organized labor movement will find its full fruition in the material, social, and moral standards of our people, and will be crystallized in the written laws of our land, and in the unwritten laws of our every-day lives.

### EXTENSION OF EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

The struggle of the American workers to obtain a normal workday of eight hours is replete with human sacrifice, resource, and success. At first the endeavor was attempted by means of legislation. This method proved to be slow, cumbersome, disappointing, and often inefficient. The workers were compelled finally to depend more upon their own efforts through their economic power, instead of waiting for recognition on the part of legislators to keep pace with industrial development. The history of the effort to obtain an eight-hour day for employes of the United States Government, and for employes of contractors and sub-contractors doing work for the United States Government, was covered in an article on "The Eight-Hour Day on Government Work" in the *American Federationist* for December, 1910, and supplemented in my report to the Atlanta Convention under the caption "Eight-Hour Law Extension." It is not my purpose at this time to cover that ground again, but it is essential that I should refer to efforts made since the enactment of the Federal Eight-Hour law of 1892.

Labor believed that that act covered contractors and sub-contractors doing work for the United States Government, but opinions of attorneys-general and decisions by Federal courts rendered that feature of the bill almost nugatory. Labor construed the words "on any of the public works of the United States" in a general, and not in a technical sense. It was expected that all work done for the Government would be public work and that the act would place nearly all, if not all, work by contract or by the Government direct under the eight-hour rule. It was because of the difference in the construed and the anticipated effects of the law of 1892 that organized labor has continued its efforts to obtain additional and more far-reaching eight-hour legislation.

Even the act of 1892 as technically and legally construed by the attorneys-general and courts to apply strictly to the "public works" of the Federal Government, instead of "public work," was not properly enforced; in fact, it may be truthfully stated that it was not enforced at all, where persons engaged on such public works were not members of labor organizations, and its enforcement was attended with great difficulty even where we possessed the economic power of our trade unions to insist upon the strict letter and spirit of the law being observed. Its violation became so flagrant that it was found necessary to make the following protest to the President and to Congress in our "Bill of Grievances" on March 21, 1906:

"The Eight-Hour law in terms provides that those entrusted with the supervision of Government work shall neither require nor permit any violation thereof. The law has been grievously and frequently violated. The violations have been reported to the heads of several departments who have refused to take the necessary steps for its enforcement."

This protest was to a considerable extent effective, so effective, in fact, that Attorney-General Wm. H. Moody, on October 31, 1906, issued an order to United States District Attorneys, directing their attention to the provisions of the Eight-Hour act of 1892. He said to them in part, as follows:

"The Government is determined upon a strict enforcement of this statute and you are directed diligently to investigate all complaints which may come to you from any source of violations of this law, and upon your own initiative to make investigation if there appears to you to be any reasonable ground for suspecting violation of this law. In every case in which you can secure sufficient evidence you will submit that evidence to the Grand Jury with a view to securing indictment.

"I impress upon you the importance of using every effort to secure these indictments. Be vigilant and active in this matter. You will make

prompt and full report to me of all cases and your action thereon, with your reasons therefor. You will report immediately the action of the Grand Jury and the results of all trials, with a specific statement of the penalty imposed."

The American Federation of Labor has continued its efforts Congress after Congress since 1896 to secure an extension of the law. Hearings upon hearings were held, and many voluminous documents contain evidence of our effort. When we found difficulty in securing an extension of the act through a statute, we turned our attention to the Appropriation bills, and on April 21, 1910, and June 24, 1910, we succeeded in securing eight-hour contract provisions for the construction of revenue cutters and vessels for the navy in appropriation acts. On February 21, 1911, we secured a more sweeping provision in the Naval Appropriation act, which read:

"Provided that no part of this appropriation shall be expended for the construction of any boat by any person, firm or corporation which has not at the time of commencement and during the construction of said vessels, established an eight-hour workday for all employes, laborers, and mechanics engaged, or to be engaged, in the construction of the vessels named herein."

The debate upon this contractual provision in the Naval Appropriation bill in the House of Representatives established a most important precedent and principle; namely, that the House of Representatives decided in a most emphatic manner that it possessed power to include contractual specifications in its appropriation bills. For many years this important feature had been continuously disputed and often denied. Our success in this latter instance undoubtedly paved the way and made it easier to obtain the legislation we had so long sought. A remarkable change in sentiment was manifested among the members of the House of Representatives. This, which came with the change in the political complexion of the House, coupled with the fact that members were appointed to serve on the House Committee on Labor, who were industrial statesmen as well as political statesmen and were in sympathy with Labor's demands, makes it possible at this time to report the following material progress:

Provisions were inserted in the several appropriation bills providing for the construction of harbors, and in the fortification bill providing for ordnance and powder. The instructions of the convention were observed, with the result that the general Eight-Hour bill passed the House December 14, 1911, passed the Senate May 31, 1912, came out of conference June 8, 1912, and was approved by the President June 19, 1912. The pen used by the President in affixing his signature to this measure was presented to me immediately after it was signed. This act will become effective January 1, 1913, and will apply to Government work and work done for the Government by contractors and sub-contractors.

We succeeded in having all of the eight-hour provisions included in all the contracts of the appropriation bill for naval construction. The substance of the eight-hour measure was also included in the Fortification Appropriation bill, which passed June 1, 1912. There is also an eight-hour provision in the fortification bill applicable to contractors and sub-contractors furnishing powder for the army. We made an effort to secure an eight-hour proviso in the Naval Appropriation bill requiring that the coal should be mined on the eight-hour basis. We succeeded in having it included in the House bill, but failed to hold it in the bill in the Senate. The Dredgemen's Eight-Hour bill passed the House on July 17, 1912, with the same practical unanimity with which the other eight-hour measures passed the House. By mistake it was referred to the Committee on Judiciary of the Senate, but a change of reference was made after we called the attention of the Committee on Education and Labor to the error. Senator Borah favorably reported this bill on August 20. He made several efforts to have it considered by the Senate, but owing to the congestion of business during the closing days of the session, it was repeatedly "passed over," without losing its place on the calendar. I feel confident in saying that it will receive favorable consideration by the Senate at the next session and will be incorporated into law.

After many years of effort and controversy with officials in the Post-Office Department and others, we ultimately succeeded in obtaining hearings before the House and Senate Committees on Post-Office and Post-Roads, and finally secured



the enactment of a mandatory eight-hour provision for post-office clerks and letter carriers.

A large number of post-office employes have gratefully acknowledged the assistance rendered them by the American Federation of Labor in behalf of the eight-hour day.

We have positively and repeatedly asserted that if the measures urged and advocated by the American Federation of Labor could ever be brought before the House of Representatives and the United States Senate, and be seen in the light of day instead of hidden in the desk drawers of antagonistic chairmen of committees, our bills would pass both Houses upon their merits, and that few, if any Congressmen, would openly oppose them. These assertions of ours were proven correct during the second session of the Sixty-second Congress. During the debates upon the eight-hour bills and eight-hour provisions in appropriation bills, lively discussions ensued, in which members of the House vied with each other in warmly advocating an eight-hour day for workmen. Even Representatives and Senators who in the past Congresses seemingly exerted every effort to smother eight-hour legislation and other bills urged in behalf of the workers, seemed most ardent and cordial in behalf of the eight-hour day. Evidently, they had seen the new light, the assertive power of Labor.

After the many years of struggle we have undergone in behalf of eight-hour legislation, it is a great gratification to be able to report to you such material legislative progress.

### THE NEW EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

This law was enacted during the last session of Congress, providing an eight-hour day not only for laborers and mechanics employed directly by the Government but also for those employed by contractors and sub-contractors doing Government work and work for the Government. This act, together with the eight-hour provisions incorporated in appropriation bills, has extended the application of this principle. Although this law will go into effect January 1, 1913, many workers are already enjoying the benefits of the shorter workday. Its inauguration has brought advantageous conditions which have been invariably accompanied by increases in wages. The full text of the law appears on page 552 of the July issue of the *American Federationist*. Officers of various labor organizations whose members come under this law have, since its enactment, reported the following beneficial results in the form of increased wages and improved conditions of work:

"It is reported that all manufacturers of projectiles established an eight-hour day July 1, 1912. Concerning three industries, we are furnished reliable information—the Midvale Steel Company, the Washington Steel and Ordnance Company and the Tredegar Iron Works.

"The Midvale Steel Company at Philadelphia, Pa., has established the eight-hour day in several departments.

"The Tredegar Iron Works at Richmond, Va., decreased the hours of work from nine to eight and gives the same pay as was given for the nine hours.

"The New York Shipbuilding Company at Camden, N. J., decreased the working hours from ten and a half to eight, and increased pay from thirty-five cents to forty-two cents per hour.

"The Fore River Ship Building Company at Quincy, Mass., at once reduced the workday from nine to eight hours for pattern makers, molders and some machinists. Wages of these workers were increased from thirty-six cents to forty and a half cents per hour. The whole plant on an eight-hour basis November 4.

"The Firth-Sterling Steel Company at Giesboro Point, D. C., established the eight-hour day on July 22. There was an increase of three cents per hour in the rate of wages to workers who received less than twenty-two cents per hour. As soon as contracts are received under the new naval bill, the men will receive the same pay for eight hours as they formerly received for the longer workday. Most of the work done by this firm consists of contracts from the Government for the manufacture of heavy seacoast artillery and projectile shells. All will be on an eight-hour basis.

"The Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company at Newport News, Va., has under construction for the United States Government

one battleship and two colliers. They are being built under the eight-hour law. The hull is sub-contracted to shipfitters. These contractors hire their own help. While they work but eight hours, the sub-contractors pay them the same as they did for nine hours. The day workers on Government work get the same pay for eight hours work as they formerly received for nine. If men start on Government work in the morning and are sent off to other jobs, they can only work eight hours that day."

These benefits attending the Federal Eight-Hour legislation will naturally increase as more contracts and work come under its provisions. The extent and scope of these beneficent influences can be much augmented by more complete organization, thereby increasing the economic power and improvement in the condition of the workers.

### CONSTRUCTION BY THE GOVERNMENT.

The substance of resolutions 64 and 75, introduced at the Atlanta Convention, was contained in the substitute resolution by the Committee on Resolutions, which urged that efforts be made to have all naval vessels for the service of the United States constructed in its Government navy yards. The discussion in the House of Representatives on the Naval Appropriation bill was a long drawn out controversy; the declaration on the part of the majority was against the construction of any war vessels. Finally the construction of a number was authorized. When this decision was reached, largely in response to the efforts made by representative committees of the Metal Trades organizations, working in co-operation with the American Federation of Labor, a clause was included in the bill by which the Secretary of the Navy was empowered to build any or all of the vessels authorized in this act in such navy yards as he may designate.

While this discussion was at its height and when it was evident that members of Congress were not familiar with the efficient and economical accomplishments of the men employed by the Government in its navy yards, arsenals and other establishments doing work for the United States Government, and when it was also clearly apparent that self-interested persons and concerns were causing unfair and untruthful attacks upon the trade union workmen employed by the Government to be circulated, I prepared and published in the *American Federationist* for June, 1912, an article containing comprehensive data under the caption "Underhand Opposition to Trade Unionism." In that article, I proved by official statements and statistics that the cost of manufacture and construction was less in the Government establishments than the prices paid to private concerns. There is every reason to believe that after this article was brought to the attention of Congress, it was sufficiently convincing and effective in having incorporated in the act the clause giving instructions to the Secretary of the Navy for more construction directly by the Government.

### INJUNCTION LIMITATION BILL.

It is difficult and almost impossible in this report to recount the work in connection with the passage of this bill in the House of Representatives to limit and define the issuance of injunctions as they have been made to apply in labor cases. The bill had a stormy career and it required watchfulness and action. The joint effort finally found its expression in the Clayton bill, which was reported favorably to the House, and then constant attention and work were necessary to secure its consideration by the House itself. It required a special rule from the Committee on Rules to bring the bill before the House. The bill was discussed for nearly a whole day in the House and then passed.

Nearly four months passed before the Senate Judiciary Committee took up the bill for consideration in sub-committee, and then the attorneys for the interests hostile to the workers, the attorneys whose presence has become so familiar to the men of Labor, the men who oppose every species of industrial, political, social, and moral reform which organized labor advocates, were present, and a few of them indulged in argument. They littered the record with vituperation and abuse, and the Senate Judiciary sub-committee seemed willing to hear.

Because of the splendid affirmative report by Chairman Clayton to the House, and because of the discussion on the bill in the House, I was at first disinclined to argue in favor of the bill, believing that these records would form the basis of all informa-

tion for the committee upon the subject. But it was quite evident that the attorneys for the opponents by their methods of so-called argument and evidence, and under the pretense of argument, at least, not one particle of the latter having any relation to the bill under consideration, were desirous of prolonging the hearings.

The sub-committee had decided not to consider the bill further until the next session of the present Congress. I entered a protest against that procedure, and insisted at least upon an opportunity for hearing on the part of several trade unionists and myself against whom insinuations or charges had been leveled. Mr. Jos. F. Valentine, president of the International Molders' Union, Mr. John P. Frey, editor of the official journal of that organization, and I appeared before the committee and refuted the charges and insinuations of the attorneys of "big business." We were unable, however, to persuade the committee from its course, although, as stated, the protest which I entered against the Senate Judiciary sub-committee afforded us this limited opportunity for protest.

The Clayton Injunction Limitation bill is before the Senate, and if the men of organized labor but do their duty, and by conference with and communication to the Senators from their respective States make known that they insist upon the passage by the Senate of this bill, it will be passed before the close of the Sixty-second Congress.

### JURY TRIAL IN CONTEMPT CASES.

That which I have recorded under the caption of "Injunction Limitation Bill" applies equally to the Clayton Contempt bill, which provides that in indirect contempt trial shall be before a jury. Its progress through the House Judiciary Committee and the House of Representatives was a duplicate of the progress of the Injunction Limitation bill. The bill passed the House, was sent over to the Senate, was referred to the Committee on Judiciary, but was never considered by the committee.

It is recommended that this convention take such action as will call upon the workers of our country (and that they be urged to respond) to meet with and write to the Senators of their respective States, insisting that this much needed legislation be enacted before the close of the Sixty-second Congress.

### SEAMEN'S RIGHTS.

The Seamen's bill, H. R. 11372, by Representative Wilson of Pennsylvania, which was endorsed by the Atlanta Convention, was duly considered by the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries at several hearings. After considerable change had been made, the bill was reintroduced by Mr. Wilson as H. R. 23673. It was before the House on several occasions and openly opposed by Representatives Humphrey of Washington, J. Hampton Moore of Philadelphia, and John W. Weeks of Massachusetts. It was defended and championed by its sponsor, Representative Wilson, in an able and vigorous manner. The greatest credit is due him for his perseverance, persistent labor with individual members, and parliamentary tact in making the principles and benefits of the bill understood and securing its final passage without any votes cast in opposition.

The bill as passed meets with the complete approval of the seamen and their officials. It restores freedom to the seamen; it provides a standard of skill for seaman-ship. It is drafted with the design of equalizing the operating expenses of foreign vessels and American vessels. It will tend to build up the American merchant marine without resorting to subsidies or subterfuge. It will encourage the American to follow the sea as a profession. It will provide in a much greater measure improved conditions of life on board ship for seamen. Its safety provisions will, to a considerable extent, increase security of life and property at sea. Above all and of vastly most importance, it will abolish the last provisions in our statutory law for compulsory labor within the jurisdiction of the United States. Seamen will no longer be deprived of their individual liberty, or be compelled to suffer hardships and wrongs beyond what are naturally inherent in their dangerous, hazardous calling.

The bill is now in the Senate Committee on Commerce, of which Senator Nelson of Minnesota is chairman. He left it to a sub-committee, of which Senator Burton of Ohio is chairman. Every effort was exerted by us to get Mr. Burton to report the bill before Congress adjourned; all to no avail. Instead of giving this important bill the attention it merited, Mr. Burton departed for Europe previous to the adjournment of Congress and let this measure, freighted as it is with so much human weal

or woe, pass over until another session of Congress. It is to be fervently hoped that no terrific marine disaster like that which happened to the Titanic, on April 14, 1912, will ever again occur and certainly not in the meantime, to rivet public attention upon the deplorable fact that the marine laws of the United States are behind those of all nations in the civilized world.

In behalf of justice for the men who go down to the sea in ships, the men of organized labor are urged to bring sufficient pressure to bear upon their United States Senators to secure favorable action upon this measure during the coming session of Congress.

### IMMIGRATION AND CHINESE EXCLUSION.

The bill, S. 3175, reported by the Senate Committee on Immigration, according to general understanding, was intended to be a codification of the several acts regulating immigration and Chinese exclusion. Section 39 of the bill proposed to repeal "all laws relating to the exclusion of Chinese persons, or persons of Chinese descent, except such provisions thereof as may relate to the naturalization of aliens". Section 3 enumerated the persons, or classes of persons, to be excluded from admission to the United States, and added (evidently intended as a substitute for the Chinese exclusion laws, and a proposal to repeal them), that among the exclusions should be "persons who are not eligible to become citizens of the United States by naturalization, *unless otherwise provided for by treaties, conventions, or by agreements as to passports, etc.*"

The members of the Senate Committee seemed to be generally of the opinion that the above quoted provision would be sufficient to maintain the exclusion of the Chinese, but I preferred to consult our attorneys for an opinion. On March 2, 1912, our attorneys replied in a very comprehensive brief, saying in substance that the Burlingame Treaty of 1868 recognized the full right on the part of the Chinese to enter, travel and reside in the United States. Those provisions have never been abrogated by treaty, but had only been modified by the Treaty of 1880, which regulated and limited the admission into and residence of certain professional classes of Chinese in the United States. In 1882 Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, and subsequently amended it in 1892 and 1902. The statement of facts as to the treaties and laws was summed up by the attorneys as follows:

"The Treaties provide for the free admission of Chinese in the absence of certain specific findings of fact by the Government of the United States. It is proposed (in the Immigration codification bill, S. 3175), that the Congress shall repeal the laws containing such findings. Immediately upon this action being taken, we will revert to the condition which existed immediately consequent upon the signing of the Burlingame Treaty of 1868. The modification proposed to that Treaty by the Treaty of 1880, and itself dependent upon the action of the Government of the United States, not being invokable because of the failure of the Government to act, or, more strictly speaking, because of the revocation by the Government of the United States of its former action. The conclusion, therefore, is irresistible that if the pending bill becomes enacted in its present form, the right of Chinese to come to this country will be absolutely unrestricted."

Immediately our organizations in the inter-mountain and Pacific Coast States were urged to co-operate with us by protesting to the United States Senators and members of Congress against allowing any law, or any provision of law, to be enacted which would in any manner modify or repeal existing law relating to Chinese exclusion from the United States and its possessions. The responses were instantaneous. Their protests were so effective that when the Senate passed the bill on April 19, 1912, the following exclusion amendment in section 3 of the bill was adopted:

"Chinese persons or persons of Chinese descent, whether subjects of China or subjects or citizens of any other country foreign to the United States, persons who are not eligible to become citizens of the United States by naturalization unless otherwise provided for by existing agreements as to passports, or by treaties, conventions, or agreements that may hereafter be entered into."

The bill was perfected in other respects to conform to this provision, and passed.

The illiteracy test advocated by the American Federation of Labor was added to the bill and passed by the Senate. The head tax for immigrants was increased from four dollars to five dollars. The bill was then referred to the House Committee on Immigration where, after prolonged consideration, it was decided, on June 6, to strike out several important features. Many conflicting opinions developed in the House on the advisability of giving the amended measure consideration during the session. Many futile efforts were made to have the bill called up in the House, the general cause given being that other committees held the calendar ahead of the Immigration Committee. Efforts were made to obtain a special rule from the Rules Committee so that the bill could be then brought before the House. Hon. John L. Burnett, chairman of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization made vigorous endeavors to obtain action, and in response to his request before the Committee on Rules, he finally secured the positive proposition that a special rule would be reported early in December of the next session of Congress.

Earnestly I urge our organizations to bring the subject-matter of this bill to the attention of their Representatives and emphasize the request for an early passage of this reasonable regulation or restriction of immigration.

### CHILD LABOR AND CHILDREN'S BUREAU.

The recent session of Congress enacted a law providing for a Children's Bureau of the Department of Commerce and Labor. That Bureau is now in active operation. The measure was opposed by some so-called "child welfare organizations." It was supported by philanthropic and charitable organizations in co-operation with the American Federation of Labor. Its purpose is to secure more complete information and better insight into the nature and environment of child life, to investigate conditions relative to the employment of children and women in this country, and to throw light on the problem of the conservation of the child. This humane measure met with opposition from many Senators and Representatives upon the plea of unconstitutionality.

In some of our States protective legislation has been passed. In recent issues of the *American Federationist* there has been published a valuable statistical compilation of legislation enacted in the various States, together with data proving the influence and activity of organized labor in securing these laws. In some other States, the conditions that are allowed to obtain are not merely a disgrace to civilization but are calculated to impair in a grave degree the welfare of the American people, but because several special interests have found profit and advantage from such flagrant conditions, the Legislatures tolerate them.

A permanent Bureau of the Federal Government will be enabled to maintain continuous supervision, investigation and records, and thus educate and arouse public sentiment. Uniform laws embodying the best provisions of legislation regulating the employment of women and children can be enacted in all of the States, if our organizations in each State act as vigorously and faithfully in the future as they have in the past.

The measure establishing the Federal Children's Bureau is without doubt the beginning of a great reform. It is a great satisfaction to know that our organizations took such active part in successfully prevailing upon Congress to establish that Bureau.

### INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM, AND RECALL.

The Committee on President's Report at the Atlanta Convention made this strong declaration:

"We renew our adherence to the principles of the initiative, referendum and recall, and we realize that these principles which we have long contended for are now being very generally accepted, and the last stand is being made upon the right of the recall of judges. We can not see the soundness of such a stand. Judges are like other men—good, bad, and indifferent. The selection of any man as a judge does not necessarily thereby change his character or make him infallible. It is not always possible to know in advance whether or not a person selected for a position is qualified to fill it, either

mentally or morally, and whenever it becomes apparent that any one who has been selected as a judge is incapable of meting out justice to all parties coming before him, the safety of society itself requires that he should be recalled."

The last eleven words of this concise declaration tell the concrete and exact truth, with the greatest possible dynamic force; they are worthy of repetition: "The safety of society itself requires that he should be recalled." This is a complete answer to all of the mythical tradition, glibly voiced by the "elder statesmen," those who would hurl the Constitution at every new thought and every proposition made in behalf of the welfare of the whole people. In their mental desperate straits to preserve inviolate the strong grip of "vested interests" and privilege, they bandy words and terms, in the effort to confuse the public mind by unwarrantably inveighing the Constitution against all economic, political, and legislative reform.

That great English statesman, William Ewart Gladstone, is credited with saying that the Constitution of the United States is the greatest work ever written by the hand of man. The organized labor movement accepts this as a truism, but it suggests the thought that the Constitution, good as it is, and wonderfully comprehensive as its provisions are, was not expected nor intended by its authors to extend to the people of the United States for all time; neither was it ratified by the people of the several States after presentation to them as the last word in the progress of human government. Indeed, that this is true is evidenced by the provisions in the Constitution itself by which that instrument can be changed.

We, who are the accredited responsible representatives of the producers of our country, take issue with those who, in the language of the gambler, "stand pat," and who refuse to see or expect any thing good in the minds and hearts of the present generation.

We say that for the safety of society itself, judges who are incapable of meting out justice should be recalled. This country, this Government of ours in America, belongs to the people who for the time being live in it—while they are alive. We have had enough of government by dead men—dead issues—dead principles, and iron-clad restrictions. We must expand and progress; we can not stand still. We must have restored to the people the unrestricted power of changing their statutory or organic laws whenever they find the occasion and necessity warrant it, regardless of whether the "elder statesmen" should term it the "voice of clamor" or "the voice of the mob." As intelligent, aspiring American citizens, we resent such outrageous aspersions as are hurled at us when we urge humane social legislation, judicial restriction, and executive restraint.

The safety of society impels us to seek for ourselves the safest and sanest way to preserve our institutions. This can best be done by expanding the power of the people through direct legislation by means of the Initiative, the Referendum, and the Recall. How well this has been done, how much is being done, and what splendid service the men of Labor have given to this scientific, democratic system of government has been duly recorded in the *American Federationist* of August, September, October, November, 1912, and will probably be concluded in the December number. The story has been told either by our fellows in the States who were the pioneers in this movement, or it has been told by their closest associates, in plain, modest, unassuming terms, which are both a revelation and an inspiration. I hope that our membership generally will obtain as much gratification in reading these reports as it has afforded me to compile them. I rejoice in the fact that the people generally are accepting our advice, and that great States like California and Ohio have recently adopted the system by an overwhelming vote of the people. But we must not rest, or allow ourselves to become contented, until we have secured in all of the States uniformity of government on the same basis as Oregon, Arizona, and California have set as the standard, in which popular government versus delegated government has been made supreme and the recall has been made applicable to all officials of government, including the judiciary. When that time comes we can feel safe and secure that the government of the people is in the hands of the people themselves; it will be completely and absolutely with no one to say them "nay," with no power, executive, legislative or judicial, to thwart their desires and intents in behalf of better and wiser humane social legislation and in behalf of the full and complete reign of human rights when property rights make the conflict.

Men of America, we dare not halt! We must press forward or we will be driven back.

**LIMIT JUDGES' TENURE.**

In connection with the subject of the usurpation of power and extension of jurisdiction, as well as twisted interpretations by the courts, of law enacted in the interests of the people, the tenure of office of judges is an important factor. That the courts should remain untrammelled in independent judgment and decision in litigation and cases coming before them, no right-thinking citizen will dispute, but that such judgment and decision should be more in accord with the needs as well as the safety of our people and our country is equally true.

To accomplish this purpose the propositions of the recall of judges and the recall of decisions are receiving the consideration of our people. What I venture to suggest in addition is, that the judges of the courts created by acts of Congress (not the Supreme Court, which is created by the Constitution) shall have a time limit, say of four or six years for their terms, subject to reappointment by the President, by and with the consent of the Senate.

In the absence of the popular election of such judges it would afford the opportunity for the President and Senate not to reappoint the judge whose term has expired, who has proven by the course he has pursued that he is out of touch and out of sympathy with new legislation and the administration of the law, and yet whose conduct has not been of such a character as legally to warrant his impeachment or removal.

It has too often been demonstrated in our country that judges appointed for life, due to their trend of mind and their environment, are filled with a concept of the old; without the knowledge of the modern industrial and social condition; without the concept of present-day understanding of liberty, equality, and of social justice; have nothing but contempt for these principles or for the rights of the people. It is true that judges who pervert the law, who act arbitrarily, who deny equal justice to our people, are not necessarily corrupt or inefficient, and the course they pursue may not have carried with it moral obliquity, malfeasance, or misfeasance. Impeachment proceedings carry with them all these and are therefore cumbersome and have proven unsatisfactory to attain the ends which the people aim to secure. The limitation of the terms of office, subject to reappointment or not, at the discretion of the President and the Senate, would be materially helpful in securing more general satisfaction and the accomplishment of just results.

**POPULAR ELECTION OF UNITED STATES SENATORS.**

After many years of agitation we have finally succeeded in securing the passage of a measure through Congress providing for an amendment to the United States Constitution, making it possible for the people to cast a direct vote for their choice of men to represent them in the United States Senate.

The Secretary of State has submitted this constitutional amendment to the various States for their adoption. A number of the States have already ratified it, and it is expected, from the general sentiment prevailing among the people, that the Legislatures in practically all the States will ratify this amendment to the United States Constitution. It will be necessary for at least three-fourths of the Legislatures of the States to ratify this amendment before it can become part of the Constitution of the United States, and though the prospects are bright for its early ratification by the necessary number of States, yet I recommend that this convention urge upon all organized labor and friends to exert themselves in their various States to induce the ratification therein at the earliest possible date and thus bring the United States Senators nearer to the people, dependent upon their good will and votes to elect them to the United States Senate.

**CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS RESTORED.**

On January 25, 1906, an order was issued by President Roosevelt forbidding Government employees, directly or indirectly, individually or through associations, to solicit an increase of pay, or to influence or attempt to influence in their own interests, or through legislation before Congress or its committees, or in any way save through the heads of departments, on penalty of dismissal from the Government service.

This order arbitrarily deprived the employes in the Government service of the right of citizenship guaranteed to them under the Constitution. The departmental Government employes were gagged and their hands tied, without any means of redress. The only channel through which they could appeal for a remedy of any grievance was through their immediate superior officers, who usually were the source and cause of such grievance.

On November 26, 1910, President Taft issued a supplementary order extending and making more rigorous the order of January 25, 1906. This supplementary order provided that no bureau, office, division chief, or subordinate in any department of the Government, and no officer of the army, navy, or marine corps stationed in Washington, shall apply to either House of Congress, or to any committee of either House of Congress, or to any member of Congress for legislation or for congressional action of any kind, except with the consent and knowledge of the head of the department.

As a citizen, and as President of the American Federation of Labor, I immediately entered my protest when the executive order of 1906 was issued, and emphasized that protest upon the issuance of the supplementary executive order of 1910. The convention of the American Federation of Labor to which this matter was reported in 1906 took action denouncing and attacking the order, and demanding either a change of the executive order or legislation at the hands of Congress restoring to Government employes their rights of citizenship.

In consequence of the executive orders forbidding employes of the Post-Office Department to seek redress of grievances through direct appeal to Congress, a large number of the railway postal clerks organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. This effort was made in order to enlist the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in an effort to secure remedial legislation. A number of these organizations were chartered by the American Federation of Labor. As soon as this became known, the Post-Office Department undertook to destroy them. Men employed in the service were victimized and compelled to seek other employment. Realizing the helplessness of the railway postal clerks, and desiring to render them all the assistance possible, the American Federation of Labor secured the introduction in both Houses of Congress of bills which, if adopted, would nullify the obnoxious executive orders to which reference is here made and restore to all employes of the Government their rights as American citizens.

While these bills did not reach consideration by either House, yet by an amendment to the Post-Office Appropriation bill, which is now a law, the right of petition, a right guaranteed to all citizens, was restored. Representatives of organized men in the classified civil service and in other departments of the Government, may now seek legislative relief from onerous conditions for these employes.

The effect of this amendment to the Post-Office Appropriation bill will be far-reaching and will preclude the possibility of the Post-Office Department assuming that men in the employ of the Government who organize for the protection of their interests, have no right to join the American Federation of Labor. The assumption of the officials of the Post-Office Department that they had the right to designate the organization or organizations of which the employes of the postal department should become members is at variance with the American idea of government. The American Federation of Labor is working out its destiny within the law, and will contest the assumption by Government officials of the right to dictate to the employes of the Government to which organizations they shall or shall not belong. The American people are not yet ready to take the position that because an individual accepts employment from the Government he thereby forfeits the rights guaranteed to him by the Constitution of the United States.

## SECOND-CLASS POSTAL RATES.

Other amendments to the Appropriation bill secure an eight-hour day for letter carriers in city delivery service and clerks in first and second-class post-offices, and the advantages of second-class rates for trade union publications.

The law now provides that periodicals, publications issued not less than four times a year and published by trade unions, benevolent and fraternal organizations, organized under a lodge system, and having a bona fide membership of not less than one thousand,



and other bona fide State institutions, shall have the benefit of the second-class postal rate; that is, one cent per pound.

Further features of the law are contained in this:

"Provided that the circulation through the mails of periodicals and publications issued by or under the auspices of . . . trade unions . . . as second-class mail matter, shall be limited to copies mailed to such members as pay therefor either as a part of their dues or assessment or otherwise, not less than fifty per centum of the regular subscription prices; to other bona fide subscribers; to exchanges, and ten per centum of such circulation as sample copies. Provided further, that the office and publication of any such periodical publication shall be fixed by the association or body by which it is published, or by its executive board. . . ."

The incorporation of this amendment has secured for our trade union publications, as for purely scientific and fraternal order publications, the second-class postal rates.

### CONTRACT CONVICT LABOR SYSTEM.

From the first manifestation of the evils of the contract convict labor system, the American labor movement protested against its continuance, demanded a repeal of that system, and insisted that some more humane system take its place.

The history of the labor movement is replete with the evidence and the record of that unchanged, but insistent, attitude. This is due, not alone to humanitarian consideration, but for the protection of free workmen and their employers who suffered most directly from the abomination accompanying and resulting from contract convict labor competition.

On many occasions the conventions of the American Federation of Labor have gone on record emphatically denouncing the system. It is not necessary to review here the past consistent course which the American Federation of Labor has pursued upon this subject, but it may be interesting to call attention to the following paragraph in the report I had the honor to submit to the last convention:

"Prisoners should be required to work not for private profits of contractors, nor even for the financial profit of the State, but for the benefit of their dependents and for their own reformation."

The committee to which this subject was referred then made the following declaration, which was adopted unanimously by the convention:

"We are unalterably opposed to the labor of convicts being let out to contract. We believe that the ultimate solution of the problem will come when the convicts are engaged in the widest possible diversity of industry by hand labor for the use of eleemosynary institutions. By this method both body and mind will be strengthened. Men are imprisoned supposedly for the welfare of society, and their labor which may be utilized thereby should never be so handled as to become a menace to any portion of society.

"For the accomplishment of this purpose, we recommend the endorsement of the Booher bill, H. R. 5601, requiring convict made goods to conform to the laws of the State into which they are shipped, whether received in original packages or otherwise."

To what the committee stated, might be added that the Booher bill when enacted into law will authorize the States (which have or may enact legislation) to protect their citizens from the evil effects of convict labor. It would prohibit the importation and sale of the product of convict labor of other States, because such other States would be then required either to sell or consume the product of their own convicts within their own boundaries. As a consequence, conditions would so shape themselves that humane and practical legislation, so long urged by our organizations, would be enacted by the various States.

The Booher bill, amended to include the product of convicts in coal mines, passed the House of Representatives without division, and by practically a unanimous vote. It was then referred to the Senate Committee on Judiciary, and by that committee referred to a sub-committee consisting of Senators Brown of Nebraska, Brandegee of Connecticut, and Culberson of Texas. This sub-committee has been

frequently urged to make a favorable report upon the bill. It seems that Senator Nelson of Minnesota, one of the influential members of the Senate Committee on Judiciary, is the chief opponent to this meritorious bill, the bill which is of much interest to free workers and fair-minded employers who are in competition with convict contract labor; but whether he is the sole obstacle in that committee to the favorable report upon this bill, has not been learned.

We can secure the enactment of this measure during the coming session of Congress, if the officials and members of our organizations will place the matter before their United States Senators in a direct and emphatic manner and urge prompt action. The time is most opportune. The sentiment among penologists, State officials, employers, merchants, public men in civic societies, is now sufficient to convince the general public and the United States Senate that the attitude of organized labor against the unfair competition of convict made goods upon the open market is correct. This sentiment can be made sufficiently powerful to influence the Senate to enact this measure and through its enactment induce State Legislatures to enact self-protecting laws within their own jurisdiction.

Let me use one illustration which is fairly indicative of the general sentiment in many of the States. A commission was appointed by the Governor of Iowa to investigate industrial conditions in Iowa penitentiaries. This investigation followed the complaints made by the members of our organizations in that State. The commission's report sustained in every particular the position so long maintained by us. It contained in part:

"The system of private exploitation by contractors of the convicts is the main cause of the cruelty reported and of the absolute failure of the institution as a reformatory."

The commission found that the contractors, as is always the case wherever the contract system prevails, had undertaken to control (and had managed to succeed) the Iowa prisons for their own profit. The most cruel punishments were inflicted upon those inmates who could not or did not accomplish the tasks set for them by the contractors. Good, willing workers among the convicts, who under ordinary circumstances, under more humane and just State requirements, would have been paroled, were detained in prison longer than others; their paroles were denied because they were too valuable to the contractors to be released.

These findings of the Iowa commission bear out the contentions that we have made in our protest against the abominable system of contracting convicts. Wherever the contract system has been investigated, the same results have been disclosed. All of the virtues of kindness, education, reformation, justice, maintenance of dependent ones, are lost sight of, and the penitentiaries with their inmates are ruthlessly turned over to the contractors for the purpose of grinding out profits. The contractors, of course, have no interest in the welfare of the State and no interest in the welfare, education or reformation of the prisoners—profits, more profits, actuate their every deed. We know this to be true, and we have converted the general public sentiment to our way of thinking. The Booher bill should pass and so end the unspeakable horrors committed in penitentiaries in the interest of conscienceless contractors and corrupt politicians.

The purpose of confining prisoners is for the protection of the community, and thereafter for their reform, not necessarily for punishment. It is better and cheaper for government and society that prisoners be reformed, rather than that they be turned over to unscrupulous and inhuman greed under the contract system. With the passage of the Booher bill, the States could protect the people within their borders from the unfair competition of the vicious system of contract labor.

Our movement does not contemplate keeping the inmates of prisons in idleness. They should be employed, and can be employed, in a diversity of industries for their own maintenance and the maintenance of those confined in the eleemosynary institutions of the State. They may even be employed in the much needed improvement of the public roads of our country.

The position of organized labor regarding the subject of the contract convict labor system has been confirmed and sustained by every man and organization investigating conditions and understanding our contention. Penologists and associations formed for the investigation of convict life and labor, of conditions obtaining in penal institutions, fully endorse organized labor's attitude.

Attention has already been called to the fact that this subject has been fully dealt with in reports and action of previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor. In addition, it may be interesting to call attention to the articles which were published in the April and July, 1910, and March, 1912, issues of the *American Federationist*. Due to the publication of these articles, the condition in the Maryland Penitentiary at Baltimore became the subject of a controversy between us and those who favor the continuation of the system. The beneficiaries of this system in the Baltimore Penitentiary, by pretense and device, led quite a number of well meaning people astray, among whom was no less a person than Mr. Lyman Beecher Stowe who vigorously defended the institution and the system. Later, when the truth was presented to Mr. Stowe's satisfaction, he voluntarily acknowledged the imposition that had been practiced upon him. He wrote me a letter apologizing for his previous utterances and declared that he was in full accord with Labor's contention upon the question of the evil effects of the contract convict labor system. Mr. Stowe took occasion to utilize the columns of the *Outlook*, the *Baltimore Sun* and the *American Federationist* for that purpose.

There are men and associations now in full accord and co-operating with the American labor movement for the abolition of this evil, and the time is not far distant when further publicity of the evils of the system will arouse the general enlightened conscience to more economic, safe, and humane methods which can and should be instituted for the employment of the unfortunates confined in our penal institutions. The fair-minded people of our country will be convinced of the justice of our contention and will, by law, prohibit this vicious system within the institutions intended to serve a reformatory purpose.

### BOILER INSPECTION.

Resolution 136, adopted by the Atlanta Convention, commented upon the inefficiency of the inspectors in the service of the Federal Bureau of Locomotive Boiler Inspection, and requested the Executive Council to do all in its power to have the provisions of the law providing for the selection of competent inspectors properly enforced. I investigated the situation and found that the Civil Service Commission requires applicants for district inspectors to possess the following qualifications:

Minimum age 25, maximum 50; physical qualifications, not less than three years railroad experience in the capacity of master mechanic, road foreman of engines, boilermaker, boiler inspector, round-house foreman, shop foreman, locomotive engineer, or inspector of locomotive equipment under the Government of the United States, and the two years preceding date of application must have been spent in active service in any such former capacities. The experience required must be in addition to time served in apprenticeship or spent in attending a technical school. The Civil Service examination consists of:

Spelling, 5 points; arithmetic, 5 points; report writing, 5 points; practical questions relating to construction, repair, operation, testing and inspection of locomotive boilers and their appurtenances, 30 points; training and experience in one or more branches of railroad work as before specified, 30 points; general business experience, ability to make reports, investigate accidents, etc., 25 points.

The act in question became effective July 1, 1911. It took some time for the organization of the bureau and for examinations of district inspectors to be conducted by the Civil Service Commission.

On August 3, 1911, two district inspectors were certified to the bureau by the Civil Service Commission. By September 10, twelve inspectors were appointed and in the field. On December 31, forty-one inspectors were in service, and it was not until February 14, 1912, that the full complement of fifty district inspectors was in service.

Upon examination I find that the previous occupations of the inspectors were:

Boilermakers, 19; engineers, 15; machinists, 12; round-house foremen—no previous occupation recorded, 2; safety appliance inspectors under Interstate Commerce Commission—former occupation engineers, 2; total, 50.

Mr. John F. Ensign, Chief Inspector, has extended the courtesy of furnishing an advance copy of his report to the Interstate Commerce Commission, from which I glean the following summary of inspection work performed by his office during the

first fiscal year of the service ending July 1, 1912, although, in fact the full force of inspectors had been in service less than five months:

Total number of locomotives inspected, 74,234; total number of locomotives found defective, 48,768; total number of defects found, 173,321; total number of locomotives ordered out of service, 3,377; total number of locomotives owned, 62,074.

This latter item includes only the locomotives owned by the railroads upon which inspections were made, some of them having been inspected more than once, and must not be confused with the total number of locomotives owned by all the railroads in the United States.

The following results were accomplished through the office of the Chief Inspector:

Number of locomotives on which the pressure was reduced to obtain a proper factor of safety, 699; number of locomotives which had seams re-enforced by welt plates to obtain a proper factor of safety, 327; number of locomotives "scrapped" on account of defective conditions, 698; number of locomotives on which the lowest reading of water glass was ordered raised to comply with the law, 992; number of locomotives on which lowest gauge cock was ordered raised to comply with the law, 408; number of locomotives ordered strengthened by having braces of greater sectional area applied, 351; number of locomotives on which additional support for crown sheet was required, 116.

The foregoing statement of inspections and results gives a complete list of locomotives inspected and defects found, but is not a complete record of all the work performed by the district inspectors during the year, details of which would be too tedious to enumerate.

Special tests and inspections of all boiler appurtenances are required, and it is also made the duty of the railroad company to know that all locomotives are in a safe and proper condition to operate before they allow them to be used. This places the burden of the inspection and the responsibility for the condition of all locomotives on the common carriers, which, of course, was the manifest intent of the law. District inspectors are instructed to report all defects which exist. Representatives of railroads have strenuously objected to this on the ground that certain defects which the inspectors reported did not constitute violations of the law. Investigations of these complaints made by railroad officials, usually disclosed the fact that such defects reported by the inspectors originated at points (shops and round-houses) where defective shop conditions existed and were mostly due to a desire on the part of the local officials to avoid censure due them for permitting such conditions. In practically every case where railroad officials have complained of the severity of the law and the rigid enforcement of it by the inspectors, and where hearings have been held and a proper investigation given to the complaints, it has been invariably found and so held that the inspectors were right and the railroad officials wrong. The Chief Inspector says:

"The present practice of reporting and insisting on the prompt repair of all defects before they become serious, has been so productive of good results that it will be vigorously continued, as we believe the purpose of the law can be best served by endeavoring to prevent violations rather than by waiting until violations occur and then filing suits to enforce the penalty. However, this should not be construed as meaning that suits will not be filed if necessary to enforce the provisions of the law or the lawful orders of any district inspector."

Information reaches me that occasionally the enforcement of the Locomotive Boiler Inspection law is lax in some localities. May I express the hope that when men employed by railroads can obtain evidence of such laxity or interference with the operation of the law, or against those who violate the law, they will promptly put the President of the American Federation of Labor in possession of the essential facts so that they can be presented to the Chief Inspector for his personal official attention? From the vigorous efforts which have been made and the good results secured in the brief time in which the law has been in effective operation, I feel confident that it has done much in saving life and human suffering.

The Boiler Inspector's report is now ready for free distribution. Copies can be obtained free on application to either the Boiler Inspection Department or the Interstate Commerce Commission.

**SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT.**

The subject of so-called "scientific management" has been made the hobby of many ambitious engineers and managers of corporate concerns. In my report to the Atlanta Convention this subject was presented in a general way, and critically discussed. I have given publicity to the evils of the system in special articles and editorials in the *American Federationist*. The subject I regard of such importance that our activities to thwart these schemes deserve detailed mention, so that the record may follow in proper and complete order.

On April 14, 1911, Representative Pepper of Iowa, introduced House Resolution No. 90, calling for an investigation of the Taylor system of shop management. This resolution was referred to the Committee on Labor. The committee held hearings. Several representatives of Labor joined in urging the committee to report the resolution. The committee made a favorable report to the House, in which it was recommended that the investigation be extended to other systems of so-called scientific management.

On August 21, 1911, a resolution was considered by the House, and in spite of the filibuster led by Congressman Mann, of Illinois, the House authorized the investigation to be made by a special committee, to be appointed by the Speaker. The committee appointed consisted of Representatives William B. Wilson of Pennsylvania, William C. Redfield of New York, and George P. Lawrence of Massachusetts. Before the investigation was commenced Mr. Lawrence withdrew from the committee and Representative John Q. Tilson, of Connecticut, was substituted. The committee was instructed to report to the House not later than December 10, 1911.

The committee commenced its investigation at the Watertown Arsenal in Massachusetts, in which the Taylor system had been established by the War Department. This arsenal had also gained considerable notice throughout the country because of the strike of the molders against the "stop watch" feature of the system. Hearings commenced October 4, and continued until October 11, 1911. Several representatives of Labor were present to give and hear testimony, and were permitted by the committee to ask questions of the witnesses employed at the arsenal.

On October 25 to 27, 1911, the committee took testimony from employes of the New York Navy Yard, efficiency engineers, scientific management advocates, and others. These inquiries developed the fact that the subject covered too great a sphere to be adequately investigated in the time allotted. On December 9, 1911 the day before the period set for a report from the committee, chairman Wilson requested and obtained an extension of time. The committee resumed its investigation in the office of the Committee on Labor from day to day until February 12, 1912. The investigation was thorough; all persons desiring to be heard were given ample opportunity. The committee permitted representatives of Labor, officers of the War and Navy Departments and efficiency engineers to be present throughout the hearings and interrogate witnesses at their will. Several employes of the Rock Island Arsenal, where the original complaint against the Taylor system emanated, several employes of the Norfolk Navy Yard who had protested against the installation of the system, and employes of private establishments in Philadelphia, where the Taylor system was in operation, appeared before the committee and gave testimony. Officers of the War and Navy Departments were heard at length. Efficiency engineers, including Mr. Taylor himself, as well as several of their favored employes, were rigidly examined. When the hearings were concluded the committee went to Philadelphia, Pa., and Stamford, Conn., and personally investigated certain manufacturing plants in which the Taylor system is installed.

The committee made its report to the House on March 9, 1912. Its findings were against all of the features of the system to which our organizations objected, such as abnormal high speed forced upon workmen, the "stop watch" practice, the premium-bonus system, and the harsh disciplinary features of "Taylorism."

The congressional investigation was primarily instituted for the purpose of obtaining facts upon which to base legislative action, and when it became evident that department officials did not intend to abide by the findings of the investigating committee unless directed to do so by Congress, it became necessary to introduce remedial measures. Mr. Pepper, of Iowa, then introduced bill H. R. 22339, on March 27, 1912, which aimed to prohibit Government officials from making use of the "stop-watch" practice and the premium-bonus system of compensation, which Labor regards as the two chief objectionable features of the Taylor system, and which the author

of the system regards as the basis upon which the balance of his scheme rests. This bill was referred to the Committee on Labor. On April 4, 1912, Senator Poindexter, of Washington, introduced S. 6172, an identical bill, in the Senate. It was referred to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor.

The House Committee on Labor gave the bill careful consideration and directed that amendments be made to the original wording in order to strengthen it. On July 15, 1912, chairman Wilson reported the Anti-Taylor System bill with a new number, H. R. 25305 with the recommendation that it be passed. Mr. Wilson succeeded in having it given a position of advantage on the special calendar for suspension of the rules which is kept by the Speaker but, owing to the pressure of business in the House on appropriation bills, the special calendar was not reached and the bill was postponed until the next session.

The Senate Committee on Education and Labor considered it unnecessary to hold hearings on S. 6172, owing to the thoroughness with which the general subject had been considered by the special committee of the House. Chairman Borah of the Senate Committee reported the Poindexter bill on July 17, 1912, with a recommendation that it be passed, and in his report he critically analyzed the Taylor system and pointed out its evils.

In part the report says:

"The terms of this bill (S. 6172) and the practices which it is intended to prohibit, are directed against the excesses of certain systems of shop management which it is the intention of the War Department and the Navy Department to install in their manufacturing establishments and which we believe to be oppressive to workmen, as they have a tendency to reduce the employe to a mere machine, deprive him of his self-reliance, and in the long run would reduce Government employes to a condition of unresisting vassalage."

Senator Borah made several endeavors to bring the bill before the Senate for action, but, owing to the parliamentary situation on the appropriation bills, he could not get the desired action. This delay has not, however, jeopardized the bill in the Senate any more than it has in the House. We feel thoroughly assured that Chairman Borah and Chairman Wilson, of the respective committees on labor, strongly advocate this legislation, and that the prospects are bright for its passage in both Houses.

The public discussion which has ensued on these intensive production schemes since the congressional investigation and report has been very instructive, wholesome, and beneficial to all, and the protest lodged by Labor against the practice has not only been justified by the investigation but will bear fruit in legislation. Attention is called to the interesting reports of both the House and Senate committees, copies of which may be had without cost upon application.

### EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY AND WORKMENS' COMPENSATION.

On January 15, 1912, the Supreme Court of the United States gave its unanimous approval to the Employers' Liability law, enacted by Congress in 1908. The court rejected all of the defenses that had been raised by attorneys for the railroads which were litigants before the courts in which strenuous efforts were made by the attorneys to retain the "fellow-servant" and "contributory negligence" defenses. The court held (and in this respect, practically reversed its former decision of February, 1908, on relation of master and servant), that Congress had the power to regulate the duties of common carriers, both in respect to the safety of their employes and the liability of the carrier as an employer, for injuries sustained by the employes (or servants) while on duty. The court also held that "since Congress had acted, the laws of the States, in so far as they covered the same field (common carriers by railroads) are superseded, for necessarily that which is not supreme must yield to that which is." This expression, coming as it did from the highest court, therefore, the highest legal authority in the land, is a most significant suggestion which I deem of sufficient moment to bring to the attention of all the members of all the organizations of labor throughout the United States. I consider this declaration equivalent to a recommendation by the Supreme Court that the Federal law should be used as a model by the States. Effective laws upon this most important subject, of vital interest to the workers, would con-

stitute an auspicious beginning in the movement to secure uniformity in State legislation.

Your attention is directed particularly to this subject, to the end that the State federations of labor may demand the enactment of laws in all the States along the same line as the Federal Employers' Liability law; and further, that all contemplated legislation in the several States for employers' liability be made applicable to all employments in the State so as to cover all of the workers in all of the industries and not be confined merely to common carriers by railroads. The importance of this is emphasized, because in some States laws for the protection of workmen in the railway service have failed to include the rights and claims of workers in other lines of industry.

A State Legislature might, with desire to attain popularity, readily and cheerfully pass an employers' liability law for supposedly intrastate commerce and in uniformity with the Federal law applicable to interstate commerce; when, in reality, such a law, if enacted by a State, would not be of much relative value, as but few of the railroads in any of the States now confine themselves strictly to commerce within the State.

Therefore, it is extremely important that efforts should be made to have the States enact workmen's compensation laws in preference to employers' liability laws and insist that the workmen's compensation laws shall contain a generous scale of awards and include all the workers of all industries in the State.

The Federal Commission which had under consideration during 1911 the subject of workmen's compensation for injuries and employers' liability, worked industriously and intelligently in behalf of a comprehensive compensation bill based on different schedule rates for specific injuries which would provide automatic compensation for employes engaged in interstate commerce. The representatives of Labor appeared before this commission, participated in the discussion and argument, and aided in the preparation of the provisions of the bill.

The Commission completed its report and drafted a tentative bill. This bill was introduced in the House and Senate on February 20, 1912, by two members of the Commission, Senator Sutherland and Representative Brantley, and was referred to the respective committees on judiciary. The Judiciary Committee of the Senate favorably reported Senate bill 5382 on April 3. It was debated at many sessions. It met with vigorous opposition, but despite that fact, it finally passed with amendments which strengthened it. The bill then went to the House Committee on Judiciary and was considered by that committee as a substitute for the H. R. 20487. That committee gave extended hearings at which representatives of Labor, including myself, made arguments and urged that the committee report the bill favorably and press its passage in the House.

There were two elements of opposition—one composed of those in the legal profession who would lose a very large portion of their business which is now so profitable to them because of litigation under employers' liability; the other which urged that an injured employe should have the alternative right of compensation or litigation. The House Judiciary Committee did not make a report upon the bill to the House. The bill, however, retains its position before the remaining session of the Sixty-second Congress.

We were all led to believe that there was unanimity of opinion and action among the representatives of the railroad brotherhoods. Later some opposition among some of the railroad men became manifest. Inasmuch as the bill would primarily affect the railroad men, I felt it incumbent upon me to refrain from further urging its enactment until practical agreement had been reached by them. I am quite confident that had the railroad brotherhoods' representatives been in accord; had they taken the bill advocated by the Federation's representatives, the House Judiciary Committee would have reported the bill favorably and it would have passed and been now enacted into law.

The Government Employes' Compensation Act was extended to include the employes in the Bureau of Mines.

In the report of the solicitor of the Department of Commerce and Labor made on October 28, 1912, it is shown that the money benefits paid under the Government Employes' Compensation for Injuries Act between the dates of August 1, 1908, when it went into effect, and December 1, 1911, amounted to \$1,117,693.

The solicitor states that over 17,000 accidents were reported under the act

during the first three years of its operation, and only about 8,000 claims were filed, due to the limited scope of the law.

From the best available data that I have been able to secure, I find that 334 of such accidents were fatal. These data are furnished in detail at this time in order to show by the official records of the Government the many hazards which workmen in the manufacturing establishments and public works of the United States Government have to face, and for the additional purpose of calling attention to observations made by officials of the Government and representatives in Congress who unhesitatingly said at the time we asked Congress for this legislation, that very few accidents happened to workmen in the Government employ, and that fatal accidents were practically unknown. This report by the solicitor discloses the fact that even when the best care is taken, and probably the best safety devices are in vogue, yet accidents to workmen are very frequent. The report also emphasizes the need of increased benefits for injured workmen and the need of having the act extended to all Government employees, in addition to those engaged in hazardous employment.

On the other hand, it is particularly gratifying to know that the efforts made and expense undertaken by the American Federation of Labor have been productive of so much benefit to the organized and unorganized employees in the United States Government who have unfortunately met with accidents.

Eight thousand persons injured, in addition to the members of the families of the injured, have been saved from legal expense and an unnecessary suspense concerning the benefits they were to receive, and when they would receive them. The two latter features, to my mind, are two of the best virtues connected with the system of automatic compensation for injuries. The Government data now at hand should be instrumental in the future in preventing human injury by the adoption of more and better safety methods.

In harmony with a resolution adopted by the Atlanta Convention, relative to increasing the benefits awarded Government employees in case of injury and for the extension of the Federal Compensation Act, a separate bill was duly urged. However, Representative Howland introduced a bill amending the act so as to make the benefits for the Government employees equivalent to the schedule of benefits and awards provided in the bill reported by the Federal Commission on Workmen's Compensation for employees in interstate commerce. The Howland bill, H. R. 20995, was also extended so as to possess the full scope of the original bill for Government employees introduced at the instance of the American Federation of Labor and urged by it—that is, including all employees of the Federal Government without regard to hazard of occupation. The House Committee on Judiciary reported the Howland bill favorably. If enacted it will simplify the problem of special legislation of this character.

While it may be admitted that the scale of benefits provided in both bills is comparatively small, yet this scale thus provided is greater than that allowed by any State laws, or by any of the laws in vogue in foreign countries, and exceeds by far the scale originally sought in the Federal act or the State acts proposed by the American Federation of Labor. If it be found that the scale of benefits works an injustice in any particular, even though the scale is not as high as we should like it to be, the establishment of the system by the enactment of the law will make a good beginning. When the system is once established and the ripper judgment and more generous conception of the people have become manifest, Congress will amplify and increase the benefits to be awarded the injured employee or the dependents of the deceased worker. We should redouble our efforts at the next session of Congress to urge the passage of the Howland bill for Government employees.

Inasmuch as the political parties, in compliance with the demands of the American Federation of Labor, have declared in favor of workmen's compensation, both Federal and State, there should be no doubt of the early establishment of the system by act of Congress, as well as of the State Legislatures, providing the men in the organized labor movement are persistent and insistent upon the early enactment of such legislation.

According to the latest information, the following sixteen States have enacted compensation laws since we secured the enactment of the Federal Compensation law for Government employees in May, 1908:

Arizona, California, Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan,



Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Nevada, Ohio, Rhode Island, Washington, and Wisconsin.

The following nine States have commissions inquiring into the subject:

Delaware, Iowa, Louisiana, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia.

The provinces of New Brunswick and Saskatchewan in Canada have also enacted compensation laws. Ontario and British Columbia have commissions at work.

### OLD-AGE PENSIONS.

The attitude of the American Federation of Labor upon the subject of Old-Age Pensions is a matter of common knowledge, and also on record in the official printed proceedings of the several annual conventions. The Atlanta Convention concurred in the sentiment expressed in resolutions 2 and 57 for the passage of a law providing Old-Age Pensions to Government employes. That convention also took favorable action upon a resolution providing for a comprehensive national Old-Age Pension system of a general character.

At a conference between Congressman W. B. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, and the Executive Council, the draft of a general Old-Age Pension bill was submitted by him, discussed at the conference, and approved. Mr. Wilson introduced his bill on December 14, 1909, and again April 11, 1911.

July 31, 1911, Congressman Berger also introduced an Old-Age Pension bill. Up to this time no action has been taken by Congress on either of these bills.

### OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES.

The bill providing for a tax upon white phosphorus matches which had been urged before Congress for several terms was passed without amendment or division, and is now law. The humanitarian purpose of this law was secured through the exercise of the taxing power of the Federal Government.

The New York Legislature in its session during 1912 added a new chapter to the factory sanitation laws, specifically aimed at the prevention of industrial poisoning, the menace of which is becoming more and more evident in the light of recent investigations. The new law requires that workers in all factories where poisonous substances are used, or harmful fumes, dust or gases are given off, must be provided with washing facilities which shall include hot water and individual towels. Employes are forbidden to take food into workrooms of such establishments, or to remain in them during meal time. Employers are required to make suitable provision for employes to take their meals elsewhere. It is also wisely provided that these regulations shall apply to mercantile establishments, commercial institutions, as well as to those workplaces where poisonous substances are used, or injurious fumes, dust or gases exist.

The Indiana Legislature made it compulsory for all contractors to lay flooring between every two floors during the construction of buildings above two stories. It is also obligatory upon the contractor to safeguard scaffolds, and surround them with a hand rail three feet high.

Wisconsin made it obligatory that builders and architects must submit plans and specifications of proposed factory buildings to the Industrial Commission for its approval and prohibits constructions without such approval. This commission is directed to obtain information to enable it to work out practical methods and safe and sanitary conditions for the prevention of occupational diseases.

The Maryland Legislature directed that physicians shall report to the State Commissioner of Labor all diseases resulting from lead, phosphorus, arsenic, mercury and other poisonous compounds, or diseases resulting from compressed air, or arising from the nature of patient's employment. Failure to send report makes physicians liable to a fine.

The States of California, Connecticut, Illinois, Michigan, New York and Wisconsin have enacted laws requiring physicians to make special reports upon all cases of sickness under their observation that are directly traceable to a disease acquired in an occupation. This information will be helpful in a way, but until such data are compiled in standardized form the best results will not be forthcoming.

The most complete occupational disease law passed by any of the States was that enacted by the State of Illinois, to which reference was made in my report to the Atlanta convention, but it is germane that I should touch upon the practical method adopted previous to the writing or enactment of that law. It was formulated by a

commission which inquired into existing conditions and sought expert information. After this valuable knowledge had been secured the commission drew up devices for the prevention of occupational diseases among people working with poisonous and injurious materials. Some of these devices required that special attire shall be furnished the employees while they are at their work, and that monthly medical examinations shall be made of the workers who are exposed to the hazard of disease. Washing and dressing rooms will be provided for them, and special precaution taken in connection with the preparation of materials upon which they work.

Legislation of this character is secured through the demands of the workers for protection.

The enactment of workmen's compensation laws by some of the States and the discussion of such legislation has aroused the employers to consideration of the subject of the health of their employees. It is hoped that improved conditions will grow out of co-operation between employers and employees for the better safe-guarding and protection of employees from diseases and accidents.

The Illinois Occupational Disease law has been approved by the Supreme Court of that State. It is not only the first law of this character which has been enacted, but it is so good and so broad in its scope that I recommend that all State federations of labor should obtain a copy of that law for study, with the purpose in view of having similar legislation enacted in their respective States.

### ANTI-WATERED-STOCK GAMBLING.

Resolution 38, adopted by the Atlanta Convention, declared against wholesale robbery of the people under the cloak of lawful and legitimate business by speculators and gamblers, who exploit the masses by over-capitalizing railroad properties and other interstate enterprises. The resolution also directed that a campaign should be inaugurated against watered-stock gambling in the several State Legislatures and in the United States Congress. The subject-matter of this resolution and the best methods to adopt in behalf of the ends at which it aims, are deserving of more than casual attention. To adopt a sweeping resolution of this character in our conventions is quite different from putting its intent into practical effective, concrete form for consideration and action by the State Legislatures and the United States Congress. It is therefore recommended that more detailed consideration be given to this important subject during this convention, and that the character of legislation desired be more accurately defined.

During the last session of Congress, so many subjects occupied our time and attention that we found it was physically impossible to keep informed upon all of the many matters which we have been instructed by past conventions to advance. As a consequence, some of the new matters referred to me were held in abeyance pending the enactment of legislation affecting the very life of our organizations and humanity's best and most urgent interests.

There is no doubt but that the thinking people of the United States are commencing to look with anxiety upon the brutal gambling in necessities by financiers on the stock exchanges, and they view with alarm the tremendous amount of "water" or fictitious capital upon which the masses of the people are compelled, under our present financial system, to pay dividends. This condition increases the cost of living of which the people of our country now so justly complain.

According to one of the greatest financial authorities in the United States, sixty billion dollars of the nation's wealth is represented in stocks and bonds. These stocks and bonds are the paper titles of ownership to the nation's incorporated industries. Over fifty-five billion dollars of this sixty billion represented by stocks and bonds has come into existence during the past forty years. The actual capital employed in the nation's industries forty years ago was five billion; that was supposed to be invested capital. At the "going" rate of interest of five per cent such investments would mean an annual charge of two hundred and fifty million dollars. The sixty billion of stocks and bonds takes from the people at the same five per cent rate, three billion dollars annually in interest, instead of two hundred and fifty million as before. The author adds this:

"Over forty billion of the sixty billion of stocks and bonds capital is counterfeit. It represents nothing but a trick, and this forty billion fictitious capital is largely owned by ten thousand people, who every year receive two thousand million dollars interest for it."

Therefore, this two thousand million of dollars added to the price of the people's necessities each year has to a large degree brought about the present high cost of living. The particular agencies through which these tricks are worked are the stock exchanges. If these sharp practices are permitted to continue or to be extended, our people will be compelled to bear the burden. There is no need of my going into further details, because I am of the opinion that we are thoroughly agreed as to the existence of the suffering and the tremendous influence this evil is having upon our lives. Therefore, agreeing as to the grievance, what steps shall we take to provide a remedy, and what remedies can be most quickly and effectively secured? It would be idle for us to inaugurate a campaign to outlaw the stock exchanges. It would be almost as difficult to obtain enforceable laws to regulate them. The readiest and most practicable way by which the people can protect themselves from robbery through fictitious investments and charges, is to insist upon the enactment of a national law providing physical valuation for all railroads and all corporations doing an interstate business and prohibiting the creating or making of any watered or fictitious values in addition to the actual, physical values. State Legislatures should work in harmony with the Federal Congress to secure the same restrictions on corporations engaged in purely intrastate business.

Senator La Follette and Representative Lenroot, both of Wisconsin, have measures before the Senate and House dealing with this subject from a Federal standpoint. The time has come when we should give this feature of the remedy our close study, and if we reach the conclusion that this is the wisest course to pursue, we should bend every effort to secure the passage of strict physical valuation laws.

### WIDER USE OF THE SCHOOLS.

From many of those in school work comes insistent protest against the abnormal ideals and conditions obtaining there, against isolation from the practical, vital affairs of life and work. To such, the present tendency in some localities to depart from these time-honored customs is a cause for satisfaction. Increasing demand for social centers has coincided with an appreciation of our failure to realize the greatest returns on the funds invested in school buildings. We Americans have prided ourselves upon the sums we have expended for school buildings, and then have usually permitted these buildings to be controlled by school directors chosen from the "representative citizens" of the town—usually men representing financial interests and the classical ideal in education, out of touch with modern social and economic thought and standards. These directors, as the custodians of the public schools, scrupulously maintained "high educational standards" that all students might have an opportunity "to prepare for the University," guarded the buildings that no "intruders" might infringe on the children's territory, and, by innumerable, well intended regulations, shut off the schools, teachers, and students from contact with life and the work-a-day world. Such directors lack in efficiency because they are out of touch with modern problems, needs, and outlook on life.

Experimentation has given a scientific basis for physical and psychological development and training, transforming the pedagogic objectives until now the modern school ideal is to teach each child how to live and work—how to live fully and completely that he may do the best work he is capable of doing, and how he may best work in order to attain the fullest life. In order to satisfy these wider ideals, school instructions must be individualized so that the needs and abilities of each pupil may be considered and met. The old order changes, and it is no longer necessary for boys or girls to be sentenced to reform schools in order to secure a type of education that appeals to their utilitarian instincts.

There is a distinct movement within the school to bring it in touch with life and life problems. There is a supplementary movement on the outside to gain contact and familiarity with school affairs. Distinct social, political, economic, and moral currents contribute to this movement. The public has become conscious that more might be realized from the investments in school buildings; that it is unbusiness-like to keep these buildings closed during so much of the time, while they hire or build other congregation places. This is but a revival of the good old American custom of the days when the school house was the place of public assembly—the social center of the community life.

Wisconsin has been one of the leaders in a movement to use school houses for political purposes. Two years ago the Wisconsin Legislature passed a law requiring

school boards to grant free use of school houses as neighborhood headquarters for political discussion. Dr. Strong, president of the Social Center Association of America, has written the chairmen of the national political party committees, recommending that the school houses be used as places for political discussion. This question has been discussed in New York City. Other cities, as Los Angeles, have found that using the school houses for polling places was a saving of public money, and not only did not interfere with school affairs but created common interests. This wider use of the school building for political purposes would constitute each building an American forum where the people could discuss public issues under the best influence and surroundings. Political education of the electorate which must precede and accompany political reforms and progress, is stimulated and kept healthy by such gatherings.

The demand for social centers gains in definiteness and intensity due to the increasing conviction that the affairs of the common life can best be managed by co-operation and mutual helpfulness. When neighborhood clubs and centers were first established in the cities, there naturally arose the question of the use of the school building as the logical place for these activities. With the movement to enrich rural life, the grange, and "the ruralization" of the country school, has come a similar wider use of the school.

The Direct Legislation League of Colorado presented to the voters for their approval in the recent election a very comprehensive amendment, proposing that playgrounds, recreation, neighborhood and social centers, public baths, public libraries and schools be placed under the same authority, and that, except during school hours, school houses shall be opened to the people for the discussion of public questions concerning their civic, social, business and political affairs. The evident purpose of the amendment is to eliminate jurisdictional conflicts and to render all these public institutions harmonious factors in a great plan for the enrichment of the life of all the people.

The policy of the New York Board of Education is very broad. Permission was granted for the holding of sixty-eight political meetings in public school buildings in the campaign just closed. These privileges have been equally accorded to the different political parties.

Recently a New York School was formally opened as a social center. In the neighborhood meeting which followed the speeches, it was decided to give dances in the building once a week, singing, societies, lectures and moving picture shows were suggested as means of bringing the people together and fostering a neighborhood spirit. The annual public lecture courses of the New York schools arranged for by the Board of Education, in the establishment of which I was helpful, have long been famous. Some of the most noted people of the world contribute their services to this course. Any school might map out similar programs adapted to local or general needs, and so serve as a healthy stimulus to public thought and help to solve the difficult problem of wholesome recreation.

In 1910 Chicago entered upon the execution of a general plan for the maintenance of social centers at public school buildings. These are intended to serve as neighborhood amusement centers, affording opportunities for singing, gymnastic training, dramatics, orchestral organization, debating, reading, and social dancing. Nine of these centers are open two evenings in the week until the middle of April. Seventeen high school and one hundred and eighty-seven elementary school assembly halls may be used free of charge for meetings relating directly to school life. With approval of the Chicago Civic Club, its sub-committee on social centers, a division of the Public Education Committee, has united with the Committee on Parks in recommending the use of school buildings as field houses for small parks. This sub-committee had created considerable sentiment in favor of using school buildings for civic purposes and political gatherings.

The sub-committee on Vocational Guidance is preparing recommendations and plans looking towards co-operation between the schools and business organizations, in directing school children toward proper occupations and securing additional training for children in occupations. According to an agreement between the Carpenters' Union and the Carpenters and Builders' Association, apprentices may attend school for the first three months of each year. The special course arranged for them includes architectural drawing, plan reading and estimating, English, mathematics, and United States History.

It will be remembered that in my annual report for 1904, and several subsequent years, I recommended that trade unionists secure the privilege to use public school buildings as meeting places. The suggestion was favorably reported and endorsed by the conventions. The increasing liberality of public opinion presents an opportunity for making such arrangements more general, and I recommend that the members of our organizations renew their efforts to secure wider usage of public school buildings, and utilize these convenient public buildings for trade union and central body meetings. Such meeting places would ensure an environment with wholesome, moral influences.

Many have conceived of the functions which our educational institutions may be made to serve—a conception which rouses them to attain the better things. In this movement organized labor must do its part. As in the past the workmen were foremost in the movement for free public schools, free books, and the legislation that secured to all educational opportunities, so in the movement for wider usage of school buildings and humanization of education, Labor's influence has enlisted many of the forces which are striving to connect our schools more intimately with our social needs.

### **AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR EXHIBIT AT SAN FRANCISCO, 1915.**

In 1915, the Panama Canal Exposition to be held in San Francisco will celebrate the completion of one of the most difficult engineering achievements in the world's history and the inauguration of a commercial innovation of international importance. It is just and fitting that in this celebration, credit and honor should be paid to the human labor and to science to which this tremendous construction is such a magnificent monument. Men who dig and delve, who brave industrial dangers and hardships of construction, should be accorded a just and honorable position in our appraisal of those achievements. The directing and originating mind must have the labor power for execution, and it is only just and expedient that attention should be called to the human labor element in construction and in all industrial and commercial progress.

In similar expositions the American Federation of Labor has been represented by fitting and highly creditable exhibits. Within the last twelve years, it has made exhibits at Buffalo, St. Louis, Jamestown, Paris and Turcoing. Our display of union made goods, our presentations of union working conditions, and literature explaining our history, organization, methods, aims and policies, the sociological and humanitarian aspect of the labor movement, as well as our achievements, have always attracted general interest and have been means of giving correct information and impressions invaluable to our progress. Gold medals were awarded to our exhibits at Paris, St. Louis, and Jamestown.

It is, therefore, recommended that this convention consider the advisability of directing that preparations for an ample exhibit be made to represent the workers of America at the San Francisco Exposition that the human element in production be so presented that honor may be paid where honor is due.

### **ORGANIZERS.**

The success of every undertaking is in a large measure dependent upon those entrusted to carry out policies, instructions, and execute routine work. Their work, though often inconspicuous and seemingly less important, is that which daily tests character, loyalty, and genuineness of purpose and conviction. The master minds may conceive the ideal, devise the plans and methods, but the builders day by day erect the structure by which the ideal becomes reality. Faithful, honest, competent work, often undervalued or not duly recognized, is necessary to the ultimate success of the whole. The structure can be no stronger than its weakest part—the daily work of each builder conditions the resistance and the permanence of the whole. Such, I take it, is the nature of the function served by the organizers of the American Federation of Labor. They are the men to whom is entrusted the success and safety of plans that have been formulated. Their work has been an important element in determining the growth and power of the American Federation of Labor. Their efficient, loyal support has been unflinching. Their self-sacrifice and devotion to the cause of Labor can not be too highly commended. Our gratitude should be unstinted and expressed tangibly in the most adequate manner within our power.

Our organizers are men of unusual activity, ability, courage, and personality.

They are a select group who must cope with men of affairs, with complex industrial and social problems. As our field and problems become more complex our force of workers must be increased, or progress is impossible. As the workers lose homogeneity by the influx of those from foreign lands, we must add to our corps of organizers those who speak the languages of these new-comers, that we may teach them American standards and customs, and make of them American workmen, members of organized labor, understanding and valuing our practical methods and organization. America is sometimes referred to as the "melting pot"—if this be true, the most potent element in the assimilation of these strangers within our gates, is the American trade union movement. The organizers have performed excellent work, too, in the field of union label agitation, a duty assigned to them at our conventions. I have no doubt but that the greater increase in the already large number of union labels issued by international union officers, as shown by their reports, was materially aided by the American Federation of Labor organizers.

The total number of American Federation of Labor organizers to whom I issued commissions during the past year, is 1,662, an increase of 68 over the year 1911. The number of salaried organizers employed during the year for the entire time or for part of the year, was 63—14 more than the previous year; eight of these organizers speak more than one language. This number of organizers does not, of course, include the organizers of international unions, or business agents in many trades and localities, the services of whom are greatly in the nature of organizing.

### LABOR PRESS.

That which constitutes the chief reading matter of Americans, and therefore the greatest influence in molding their opinions, is the newspaper. It is of great importance that information dealing with labor affairs shall be correctly reported by the press. The average paper gladly avails itself of sources that furnish reliable information. This is one of the functions so creditably performed by the labor press of the country—furnishing correct accounts of controversies between employers and employes, discussing new problems that are daily arising, informing laboring men of progress made in other sections of the country, and of the success or failure of different methods tried. As an educational force, the labor press is invaluable.

To assist these faithful agents of unionism struggling against great financial odds, for about a year and a half the American Federation of Labor has been printing and distributing a weekly news letter. The Weekly News Letter has not only been a boon to the labor press, but by furnishing information to the daily press of the country, it has been a channel through which we have secured wider publicity and circulation for accurate accounts of Labor's position, reasons for adopting such position, and course of action.

It is often of strategic importance in an industrial struggle to get before the general public a correct version of facts and conditions leading up to a difficulty, that we may derive the advantage attaching to sympathetic public opinion. Often the labor paper is the only means for accomplishing this. That union men should support a labor press financially becomes therefore a matter of self-protection in addition to the obligation devolving upon them as a matter of principle.

The report which the Executive Council will submit to this convention contains a discussion of both publications of the American Federation of Labor, its official magazine and the Weekly News Letter. The Executive Council makes recommendations for authority to act, which in my judgment ought to be given by this convention.

### AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST.

The representatives of the American Federation of Labor have been making a notable fight for a free and untrammelled press. In line with this policy our official magazine is maintained as a free forum for the presentment of Labor's aims, policies and achievements. Since it is recognized as the official mouthpiece of organized labor of America, its utterances are copied far and wide by the press of many lands. The discussion of current industrial problems, official publications, accounts of activities and policies, makes the *American Federationist* a means of educating thoughtful readers and a source of invaluable historical data for students and public leaders.

During the past years the *American Federationist* has dealt with various current subjects related to Labor's organization, with economic, social, and political

matters affecting the welfare of the workers. In all matters the aim has been to maintain an attitude of entire fairness toward critics and opponents, and to be ever ready to defend Labor's rights from injustice and invasion. The various numbers have dealt with important crises and significant tendencies in the labor world so that students, public officials, and interested persons as well as trade unionists have eagerly sought the current issues. As the magazine deals with the whole labor field, and advises labor men of the progress made and the tendencies of the age, there is every reason to desire for it a greater number of readers for the disseminating of information and the strengthening of fraternal ties.

As befitting this year's needs, the political and legislative situation has been dealt with very fully. From time to time, reports from the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor have been published which were of vital importance to every working man that he might keep in touch with his representatives in Congress and know how they were dealing with his interests. Legislative achievements have been duly chronicled. All of this information had a direct bearing upon the recent election, and served an educational purpose well adapted to make the trade unionist an intelligent enlightened participant in governmental affairs. The political facts were honestly and impartially laid before the reader; he was left to draw his own conclusions.

Through the *American Federationist* the feeling of identity of interest and fraternity is promoted not only in this country, but on the whole continent of America, and in many foreign countries. The files of the *American Federationist* are recognized as an important part of the historical records of organized labor. They not only officially chronicle policies and decisions, but reflect the ideals and sentiments of the organization and of the age. Labor has played no unimportant part in the affairs of this country, and that part should be appropriately recorded that future generations may interpret our history aright.

### CONCLUSION.

The past year has been one of tremendous stress, responsibility and activity—problems, duties, difficulties, opposition have presented themselves in rapid succession. Yet, with an honest and justifiable feeling of gratification, organized labor can review the progress made, for despite all hindrance and obstacles, we have made steady progress. The struggle has been hard, the strain intense, the forces arrayed against us more relentless than at any time before—and yet organized labor is stronger than ever.

We have fought a good fight, and are cheered and heartened by our progress and victories. Organize! Organize! Organize! has been our slogan, and will be our inspiration for the work of the new year and the years to come.

By the magic token of that one word, "organization," the wrongs of Labor will vanish; the rights, hopes, and aspiration of the toilers will be realized.

The hearty and sincere spirit of co-operation that has existed between my colleagues of the Executive Council and myself, has facilitated the determination of policies and the execution of our work and duty. We have been unanimous as to policies and methods for furthering the cause of organized labor on the American continent. The support and good will of the men of labor—the rank and file—so generally and so generously given me in my efforts to be helpful to them and to all our people, are appreciated far beyond my power of verbal expression. My only hope and aim is to serve our cause to the fullest limit of whatever strength and ability I may possess and thereby, in a measure, justify the respect, confidence, and co-operation of my fellow-workers.

This report is necessarily incomplete, and leaves much to be desired, but the field of organized labor is too broad to be covered by any one single account. Our field is as broad as life; our problems are the difficulties, the injustice, the sorrow, the ideals, of the toilers of our broad land. Our movement is a part of life, with all of its imperfections, aspirations, and strivings for the things we would achieve. It is only possible to deal most briefly, even with matters that have required special attention during the year. There are many others, some just as important, that have not been brought into prominence because of new problems or changing conditions—these, though just as essential to the movement, can not be here considered. But I trust that this report will convey some adequate conception of the work I have tried to direct and accomplish, and something of my desires and yearnings for the cause to which I have been

giving all of my energy, thought, and zeal. But I count it well spent if the results bring freer, better, happier life to all the people. There was never a cause or a work more worth while than this. It is an honor to have even the smallest part in our struggle for human welfare.

Entrusted to the keeping of organized labor, are power and opportunity to fight for the right, to strike down the wrong, to secure for all the right to a free life and to work which will best express the real and better self. For the achievement of those ennobling aspirations it is an honor to enlist, not for a battle or a campaign, but for all time, so long as life lasts.

Again let me say, organize, that shoulder to shoulder we may press onward and upward.

Fraternally submitted.

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Samuel Gompers." The signature is written in a cursive script with a prominent initial 'S'.

*President, American Federation of Labor.*



## SECRETARY MORRISON'S REPORT.

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:*

FELLOW-UNIONISTS—I have the honor to submit a report to you of the receipts and expenditures for the past twelve (12) months, beginning October 1, 1911, and ending September 30, 1912.

It is with satisfaction that I report at the close of this fiscal year \$119,473.93 in the treasury. Of the amount on hand, \$85,663.27 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions, and can be used to pay benefits only in the case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions. The balance, \$33,810.66, is in the general fund. Of that fund only \$11,461.34 is available for the general expenses of the American Federation of Labor. The balance, \$22,349.32, is divided as follows: In the fund created by the one-cent assessment levied in accordance with the recommendation of the Norfolk Convention, and the receipts from the appeals issued for the same purpose, i. e., to be used for the legal defense of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and officers and members of affiliated unions in the injunction suit, \$9,727.93. In the fund created by the two-cent assessment levied to take an appeal from the decision rendered against the United Hatters in favor of Loewe & Company, \$12,621.39.

The total receipts from all sources are \$207,373.60, the total expenses are \$277,479.23, which makes an excess of expenditures over receipts of \$70,105.63.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending September 30, 1912:

RECEIPTS.		
Balance on hand September 30, 1911.....		\$189,579 56
Per capita tax.....	\$153,433 89	
Supplies.....	9,508 51	
Interest on funds on deposit.....	4,591 32*	
American Federationist.....	17,240 19	
Assessment, United Hatters (2c).....	553 36	
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	19,336 26	
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	2,710 07	
Total.....		207,373 60
		\$396,953 16

EXPENSES.		
General.....	\$183,361 53	
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	67,455 33	
American Federationist.....	18,731 77	
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	2,089 15	
Assessment, United Hatters (2c).....	5,841 45	
		277,479 23
Balance on hand September 30, 1912.....		\$119,473 93

RECAPITULATION.		
In general fund.....		\$33,810 66
In defense fund for local trade and federal unions.....		85,663 27
Total.....		\$119,473 93

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses:

Appropriations:		
Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.....		\$500 00
National Women's Trade Union League of America.....		600 00
Union Label Trades Department.....		70 80
Rent.....		5,008 66
Refunds of premiums on bonds and supplies returned.....		86 36
Premiums:		
Bonds, local unions.....		2,068 01
Treasurer's bond.....		125 00
Secretary's bond.....		20 00
Fire insurance.....		15 00
Committee on Industrial Education.....		928 28
Expressage, freight and drayage.....		1,373 65
International Secretariat per capita tax for 12 months on 1,800,000 members.....		645 47
Legislative expenses.....		8,058 34
Newspapers, magazines, and books.....		169 02
Office fixtures.....		881 00
Postage stamps.....		4,549 60

\* Six hundred dollars of this amount was collected by Treasurer Lennon last year and included in his report, but it was not received by me in time to incorporate in my last year's report.

# AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

61

Printing and binding bound proceedings of Atlanta Convention.....	\$1,867 50
Stamped envelopes.....	1,017 24
Supplies and printing.....	18,238 20
Telegrams.....	1,145 65
Expenses American Federation of Labor delegate to Atlanta Convention of the Union Label Trades Department.....	98 50
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada.....	339 61
Expenses of fraternal delegates to British Trades Union Congress and Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	1,313 80
Atlanta Convention.....	
Committee rooms.....	159 00
Expenses Secretary attending Atlanta Convention.....	154 60
Messenger, Sergeant-at-Arms, and Assistant Secretary.....	290 00
Printing and supplies.....	99 79
Printing daily proceedings.....	1,197 20
Stenographers.....	1,045 52
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, baggage, stationery, reading proof, sending out daily proceedings, rent of typewriters, photographs.....	295 44
Salary:	
President.....	5,000 00
Secretary.....	4,000 00
Treasurer.....	250 00
Office employees.....	29,752 61
Addressing, folding, and enclosing circulars in envelopes.....	1,407 84
Janitor service.....	26 50
Expenses.....	
Auditing and Credential Committee.....	237 00
Executive Council meetings.....	6,175 26
President.....	2,115 79
Secretary.....	361 22
Defense Fund:	
Strike benefits.....	67,455 33
Assessment:	
For United Hatters of America (2-cent).....	5,841 45
Appeal:	
Legal defense fund.....	12,702 61
Organizing expenses.....	71,060 95
Printing and publishing <i>American Federationist</i> .....	18,731 77
Securing trade-mark for American Federation of Labor.....	25 00
Expenses entertaining Carl Legien and A. Baumeister.....	194 11
Claim against International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employes before its charter was revoked by American Federation of Labor.....	301 55
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$277,479 23</b>

## APPEALS FOR VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS.

These appeals were issued to local unions requesting contributions, to be used for the legal defense of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and officers and members of affiliated unions in the Buck's Stove and Range Company suit and contempt case. The following is an itemized statement of the moneys paid out of that fund during the fiscal year ending September 30, 1912:

RECEIPTS.	
Balance on hand September 30, 1911.....	\$22,430 54
EXPENSES.	
On account of attorney fees and expenses:	
Ralston, Siddons & Richardson.....	\$6,837 57
Parker, Hatch & Sheehan.....	506 24
Stenographic services in the contempt proceedings against officers of the American Federation of Labor, Smith & Hulse.....	5,000 00
Premium on bonds of President Gompers, Vice-President Mitchell, and Secretary Morrison.....	255 00
Expenses incurred in attending conferences relative to the injunction and contempt proceedings:	
Frank Morrison.....	47 55
John Mitchell.....	37 85
Expenses for hauling records of the contempt case to and from Equity Court No. 2, District of Columbia, and American Federation of Labor headquarters.....	10 90
Binding three volumes of the proceedings of the contempt case.....	7 50
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$12,702 61</b>
RECAPITULATION.	
Receipts.....	\$22,430 54
Expenses.....	12,702 61
<b>Balance on hand September 30, 1912.....</b>	<b>\$9,727 93</b>

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

## TWO-CENT ASSESSMENT.

This assessment was levied on the membership of all affiliated organizations on April 22, 1910, upon the application of the officers of the United Hatters based upon the instructions of the Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor to the Executive Council to take whatever action was necessary to carry into effect the resolution adopted by that Convention, pledging the moral and financial assistance of the American Federation of Labor to the hatters in their effort to defend themselves against the suit carried on against them by the Anti-Boycott Association in the name of Loewe & Co. The following is a statement of the receipts and expenses for this fiscal year, ending September 30, 1912:

RECEIPTS.	
Balance on hand September 30, 1911.....	\$17,909 48
Receipts .....	553 36
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$18,462 84</b>

EXPENSES.	
On account of attorney fees and expenses:	
Frank L. Mulholland.....	\$3,774 69
Bristol, Stoddard, Beach & Fisher.....	799 27
Stenographic services in the United Hatters' case, W. B. Kirby.....	1,231 09
Expenses Washington, D. C., to Hartford, Conn. and return, as a witness in the United Hatters' case, Frank Morrison, Secretary.....	36 40
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$5,841 45</b>

RECAPITULATION.	
Receipts.....	\$18,462 84
Expenses.....	5,841 45
<b>Balance on hand September 30, 1912.....</b>	<b>\$12,621 39</b>

## RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES 1881 TO 1912.

I herewith furnish a table giving the receipts and expenditures for the past 32 years:

YEAR	Receipts.	Expenditures.
1881.....	\$174 00	\$154 00
1882.....	268 20	252 25
1883.....	690 19	352 32
1884.....	357 42	543 20
1885.....	584 03	450 58
1886.....	474 11	635 08
1887.....	1,939 82	2,074 39
1888.....	4,512 55	3,933 67
1889.....	6,838 40	6,578 33
1890.....	23,849 74	21,070 57
1891.....	17,702 36	13,190 07
1892.....	17,834 51	18,324 69
1893.....	20,864 62	21,383 36
1894.....	15,346 43	17,302 08
1895.....	13,751 75	15,612 42
1896.....	16,290 18	15,452 95
1897.....	18,639 92	19,113 83
1898.....	18,894 15	19,197 17
1899.....	30,757 13	30,599 22
1900.....	71,125 82	68,373 39
1901.....	115,220 89	118,708 39
1902.....	144,498 21	119,086 74
1903.....	247,802 96	196,015 67
1904.....	220,995 97	203,991 15
1905.....	207,417 62	196,170 10
1906.....	217,815 18	218,540 04
1907.....	174,330 26	159,960 84
1908.....	207,655 23	196,937 36
1909.....	232,377 64	203,702 07
1910.....	193,470 84	177,859 34
1911.....	182,188 68	175,524 08
1912.....	207,373 60	277,479 23
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$2,638,042 41</b>	<b>\$2,518,568 48</b>

RECAPITULATION.	
Receipts.....	\$2,638,042 41
Expenses.....	2,518,568 48

Balance on hand September 30, 1912.....	\$119,473 93
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## CHARTERS ISSUED.

During the twelve months ending September 30, 1912, there have been issued 260 charters to National and International, Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.

Of this number, two were granted to the following Internationals:

Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America.

Brotherhood of Railway Express Messengers of America.

One Department: Mining Department.

Two State branches: North Dakota, Louisiana.

Trade unions, 149; Federal Labor unions, 49.

Fifty-seven Central bodies, as follows:

Alabama:	Idaho:	Nebraska:
Anniston.	Boise.	Grand Island.
Arkansas:	Kansas:	Oklahoma:
Paragould.	Emporia.	Ardmore.
Canada:	Louisiana:	Ohio:
St. Catharines, Ont.	Baton Rouge.	Findlay.
St. Thomas, Ont.	Lake Charles.	Porto Rico:
Colorado:	Shreveport.	Caguas.
Cripple Creek.	Maine:	Pennsylvania:
Connecticut:	Bangor.	Harrisburg.
Wallingford.	Woodland.	Shenandoah.
Willimantic.	Michigan:	South Carolina:
Florida:	Pontiac.	Charleston.
West Palm Beach.	Massachusetts:	Texas:
Illinois:	Greenfield.	Gainesville.
Beardstown.	Marlboro.	Waco.
Bockemeyer.	Millers Falls.	West Virginia:
Benton.	Northampton.	Parkersburg.
Christopher.	Westfield.	Washington:
Pana.	Montana:	Ellensburg.
West Frankfort.	Kalspel.	Centralla.
Indiana:	Minnesota:	Everett.
Anderson.	Little Falls.	Pasco.
Clinton.	Red Wing.	Wisconsin:
Linton.	Maryland:	Neenah.
Peru.	Hagerstown	Wyoming:
Iowa:	New York:	Cheyenne.
Creston.	Gloversville.	
Keokuk.	New Rochelle.	
Sioux City.	Plattsburg.	

## CHARTERS ISSUED 1897-1912.

YEAR.	International	Department.	State.	Central.	Trade Unions.	Federal Unions.	Total.
1897.....	8		2	18	154	35	217
1898.....	9		0	12	129	53	203
1899.....	9		1	35	303	101	449
1900.....	14		5	96	484	250	849
1901.....	7		4	123	575	207	916
1902 (eleven months).....	14		6	127	598	279	1,024
1903.....	20		3	171	743	396	1,333
1904.....	11		5	99	179	149	443
1905.....	3		1	67	143	73	287
1906.....	6		4	53	167	87	317
1907.....	3		1	72	204	93	373
1908.....	0	2	4	73	100	55	234
1909.....	3	2	2	40	77	52	176
1910.....	2	0	1	83	152	96	334
1911.....	3	0	0	61	207	55	326
1912.....	2	1	2	57	149	49	260

International.....	2
Departments.....	1
States.....	2
Central.....	57
Federal Labor Union.....	49
Local Trade Union.....	149
Total.....	260

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

## VOTING STRENGTH.

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1904 up to and including 1912. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor by affiliated organizations:

ORGANIZATIONS.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.
Allied Metal Mech. Intl.	70	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs. Intl. U. of A.	162	120	106	110	105	107	127	138	146
Barbers' International Union, Jour.	236	227	231	241	255	255	265	285	299
Bill Posters	13	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of	105	100	82	93	100	100	100	100	93
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders	190	134	128	157	152	126	161	190	167
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	320	320	321	320	320	320	325	327	333
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of	65	68	68	89	79	71	78	79	85
Bottle Blowers' Asso. of U. S. and Canada	66	70	78	80	88	93	100	100	100
Brewery Workmen, International Union	305	340	360	*	400	400	400	450	450
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers	73	41	64	43	28	25	38	34	34
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.	11	10	10	9	8	8	6	7	7
Brushmakers' International Union	7	7	5	5	4	2	2	2	2
Building Employes of Amer., Intl. Union of	8	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated	50	48	43	58	81	73	71	78	*
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of	1554	1432	1637	1929	1796	1640	1904	1946	1923
Carriage, Wagon, & Automobile Workers	55	32	31	31	15	15	11	20	27
Carvers' Union, International Wood	21	16	16	16	13	13	12	12	10
Car Workers, International Association of	102	50	49	50	44	50	50	46	**
Cement Workers	44	36	42	58	73	90	90	90	90
Chainmakers' National Union	6	6	6	6	6	3	2	c	c
Cigar-makers' International Union	405	414	391	399	400	398	432	436	415
Clerks, Bro. of Railway						56	50	50	50
Clerks, Intl. Protective Asso., Retail	500	500	500	500	500	150	150	150	150
Clerks, National Post-office				9	12	13	14	15	18
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, United	29	26	21	23	13	15	21	22	28
Commercial Telegraphers	20	20	20	35	19	10	10	10	10
Compressed Air and Foundation Workers	12	12	13	13	13	8	6	6	6
Coopers' International Union	71	56	55	53	49	41	41	43	45
Coremakers' International Union	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
Cutting Die and Cuttermakers, Intl. Union		3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Diamond Workers Prot. Union of A.									
Electrical Workers, International Bro.	210	210	210	302	321	138	160	189	196
Elevator Constructors	22	22	22	23	25	20	21	21	23
Engineers, International Union of Steam	176	175	175	175	168	161	160	160	177
Express Messengers of A., Bro. of Railway	180	122	123	125	173	107	81	80	114
Firemen, International Bro. of Stationary				6	6	+	+	+	+
Fishermen's National Prot. Asso., Lobster	33	34	32	63	78	46	47	40	25
Freight Handlers, Bro. of Railroad	21	9	7	7	8	8	3	*	*
Flour and Cereal Mill Employes	10	10	10	10	7	5	7	5	5
Foundry Employes, International Bro. of	3	4	4	4	4	2	2	c	c
Fur Workers, International Association of	15	15	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Furnace Workers and Smelters of America	457	319	240	334	459	534	542	525	464
Garment Workers of America, United	17	17	16	14	12	11	12	12	11
Glass Workers' International Asso., Amal.			58	61	++	++	++	++	++
Glass Workers of America, Amal., Window	6	2	2	++	++	++	++	++	++
Glass House Employes' International Asso.	11	12	10	6	*	*	*	*	*
Glass Snappers, Window	20	11	8	8	8	8	8	9	11
Glove Workers	3	3	3	5	5	+	+	+	+
Gold Beaters' Protective Union, National	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	+	+
Grinders' National Union, Table Knife		2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Grinders and Finishers, Pocket Knife Blade	99	103	113	126	130	131	134	135	135
Granite Cutters' International Asso. of A.	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85
Hatters of North America, United	7	3	5	5	8	6	5	8	8
Heat Frost, Genl. Insulators, and Asbestos	85	47	50	97	112	88	114	127	125
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers	42	42	41	44	61	72	72	49	52
Horseshoers of United States and Canada	494	387	345	363	386	368	370	430	476
Hotel and Restaurant Employes, etc.	135	100	100	100	100	60	80	45	45
Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers' Amal. Asso.	115	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Iron Workers, Bridge and Struc. Intl. Asso.	24	7	4	6	4	3	4	3	2
Jewelry Workers' International	6	7	8	8	8	8	8	9	10
Lace Operatives, Amal.	22	18	13	23	16	18	187	668	584
Ladies' Garment Workers, International	59	43	40	40	58	50	50	50	50
Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. and Metal	65	46	55	31	40	35	29	26	26
Laundry Workers, International Union	46	40	40	40	40	40	37	26	20
Leather Workers on Horse Goods	25	10	10	10	8	8	8	6	6
Leather Workers of America, Amal.			30	23	11	13	17	21	24
Lithographers' Intl. P. and B. Asso.						10	9	9	9
Lithographic Pressfeeders	500	478	340	320	315	213	208	250	235
Longshoremen's Association, International	557	485	500	560	621	484	569	671	598
Machinists, International Association of	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Machine Printers and Color Mixers	123	120	120	132	135	100	87	100	91
Maintenance of Way Employes, Intl. Bro. of	6	19	17	20	22	24	27	28	28
Marble Workers, Intl. Association of									

## VOTING STRENGTH—Continued.

ORGANISATIONS.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.
Mattress, Spring, and Bedding Workers.....	15	15	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.....	344	62	50	53	63	63	54	31	40
Metal Workers' Intl. Alliance, Amal. Sheet.	153	130	129	153	161	180	162	172	168
Metal Polishers, Buffers, and Platers, etc.	128	103	109	100	100	100	100	100	100
Metal Workers' Intl. Union, United.....	96	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Mine Workers of America, United.....	2577	2619	2379	2549	2525	2670	2337	2504	2670
Miners, Western Federation of.....								513	508
Mine Managers and Assts. Mutual Aid Asso.	4	4	4	+	+	+	+	+	+
Molders' Union of North America, Intl.	300	300	450	500	500	500	500	500	500
Musicians, American Federation of.....	220	308	354	375	375	394	400	500	500
Oil and Gas Well Workers' Union, Intl.	4	4	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Painters of America, Brotherhood of.....	607	542	555	624	648	596	635	676	685
Paper Box Workers, International Union of.	12	9	7	+	+	+	+	+	+
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of.....	88	50	35	31	43	10	16	24	28
Patternmakers' League of N. A.....	37	36	40	50	55	50	52	56	60
Pavers and Rammermen, Intl. Union of.....		10	12	15	15	15	15	15	15
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. & Can.	12	13	15	18	20	26	32	32	35
Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl.	17	22	22	28	29	32	35	37	40
Plano and Organ Workers' Union of A., Intl.	99	90	80	50	50	40	40	40	20
Pilots' Association of the Great Lakes, Lake.			10	+	+	+	+	+	+
Plasterers' Intl. Asso. of U. S. & Can., Oper.						145	152	147	157
Plumbers, Gasfitters, Steamfitters, etc.	165	150	150	160	180	184	200	237	260
Powder and High Explosive Workers.....	7	6	6	5	5	2	2	2	2
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.	58	56	56	58	59	59	58	59	65
Printing Pressmen, International.....	160	170	166	166	172	178	186	190	190
Printers, Plate, of U. S. A., Intl. S. and O.	10	11	12	12	12	12	13	13	12
Print Cutters' Asso. of A., Natl.....	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Printers, Machine Textile.....	4	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers						10	7	28	35
Quarry Workers, International.....	26	36	38	41	45	45	50	35	40
Railway Carmen of A., Bro.....							228	269	287
Railway Clerks.....	6	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Railway Employes' Amal. Asso., St. & Elec.	300	300	300	320	320	333	367	393	402
Railway Expressmen.....	3	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Roofers, Comp. Damp & Waterproof Wks.				10	10	10	11	12	12
Rubber Workers.....	2	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Sawsmiths' National Union.....	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	1
Seamen's Union of America, Intl.....	201	195	194	248	255	168	160	160	160
Shingle Weavers.....	14	16	17	18	17	18	18	15	15
Shipwrights, Joiners and Calkers.....	34	24	20	19	16	16	9	+	+
Slate and Tile Roofers.....	7	6	5	6	6	5	5	5	5
Slate Workers.....	8	9	18	30	27	21	14	7	4
Spinnners' Intl. Union.....	25	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22
Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers.			54	55	56	56	56	56	d
Steel Plate Transferrers' Asso. of America.			1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Stereotypers & Electrotypers' Union of N. A.	24	28	28	29	31	35	40	42	43
Stonecutters' Association, Journeymen.....			85	83	89	80	86	86	89
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	17	15	15	15	14	10	9	11	11
Switchmen's Union of North America.....			81	92	93	80	80	87	87
Tackmakers.....	2	2	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	159	160	166	167	161	132	117	120	120
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of.	840	783	402	366	377	320	358	382	415
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	150	150	150	150	150	150	200	250	250
Textile Workers of America, United.....	105	100	100	114	129	100	100	100	109
Theatrical Stage Employes, Intl. Alliance.	50	55	60	60	62	80	91	98	110
Tile Layers and Helpers, Intl. Union.....	17	14	19	21	19	17	19	21	24
Tin Plate Workers, Intl. Protective.....	16	14	14	14	14	15	8	3	3
Tip Printers.....	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2
Tobacco Workers' Intl. Union of America.	56	54	55	51	46	43	41	40	37
Travelers' Goods & Leather Novelty, Intl.	15	13	9	7	5	5	6	8	9
Tube Workers of United States & Canada.	15	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Tunnel & Subway Constructors, Intl. Union.							13	17	18
Typographical Union, International.....	467	467	438	428	440	455	491	518	547
Upholsterers, International Union of.....	30	28	26	26	28	28	28	28	28
Watch-case Engravers, International.....	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	c
Weavers, Elastic Goring.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
White Rats Actors' Union of A.....	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	80	110
Wire Weavers' Protective, American.....	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	3
Woodsmen and Saw Mill Workers.....		11	12	10	3	7	6	+	+
Wood Workers, Amalgamated.....	283	200	150	93	40	41	32	31	e
Centrals.....	569	601	538	574	606	594	632	631	560
Locals.....	553	1046	759	713	616	608	647	680	590
State Branches.....	32	34	36	37	38	39	39	38	41
Total vote of Unions.....	17355	16338	15639	16425	16892	15880	16737	18693	18499

\* Charter rev. ked. + Suspended for non-payment of per capita tax. ++ Disbanded.

c Merged with Machinists. d Merged with Molders. c Surrendered charter. d Not recognized. e Merged with Carpenters. \*\* Withdrew.









From time to time some well-meaning people, as well as our enemies, go to a great deal of trouble to point out to the trade unions what they consider the mistakes in their methods. One of the chief objects of attack and criticism is the strike, and arguments and figures are arrayed to prove that strikes are failures and a very bad investment for organized labor. Articles of this character are rarely given serious consideration by members of organized labor, for the reason that, as a rule, the writers arrive at their conclusions by theoretical study and deductions, and not by any sound or practical knowledge of the needs or circumstances surrounding the workings of the labor movement. These writers sometimes assert that in their calculations they have used the statistics supplied by the officers of international trade unions and the United States Labor Bureau, and present the arithmetical results reached by adding, multiplying, subtracting and dividing these figures, to prove that the strikes engaged in by labor organizations have been failures, and that the money spent to support them was wasted. They appear to reason that the only motive for a strike is to secure an increase in wages, and count a strike a failure when they can not figure an increase in wages in the result, or that members, upon returning to work, made up by their earnings all the money spent in supporting the strike, including their losses in wages. Such persons lose sight of the fact that in a very large measure, strikes are inaugurated in defense of principle alone—for the recognition of unions, to resist reductions in wages, for reductions in the hours of labor, for the reinstatement of members who have been discriminated against on account of loyalty to their union, and for other causes, which do not involve the question of increasing the earnings of the members. When members of organized labor are fighting for a principle or for justice, they do not count the cost—they do not consider the cost; they wage the fight as long as they have a cent to put into it, and as much longer, at great sacrifice and hardship, as may be necessary, and they regard the issue at stake as well worth the struggle.

The strike is never pictured as a boon by trade unions. It is not a boon, except in the sense that the right to strike is the difference between free labor and slave labor. When we point to what the strike has done in the march of progress of labor, we do not hold it up as a boon; when we cite that in the history of labor the strike has been the most formidable and powerful weapon in achieving its successes, we are not holding it up as something to be desired, but merely stating a fact. Organized labor does not proclaim the strike as a boon. Strikes are hardships; at times they are very great hardships, but labor has had to endure them to secure recognition and improved conditions. Even though strikes fail to bring about all the desired reforms this year, or next year, or the year after, this would not convince wage-workers that the strike is without force, and should be abandoned as a means of protest. Organized labor will, I am sure, reserve to itself the privilege of exercising its own discretion as to the wisdom of a strike when employers of labor refuse to consider any other argument upon the justice of their demands.

It must be borne in mind that few of our national and international unions have means of keeping complete statistical information in regard to local strikes, either for improved conditions or of a defensive nature. Local unions fail to report in detail, in many cases, as to actual results of such movements, and international officers can only furnish figures of which they have actual record. In few cases are these reports complete. Our conventions have urged that better attention be given to such statistics, because they furnish to those requiring arithmetical evidence, valuable proof of the benefit trade unions are reaping for their members and in the cause of humanity. However, the funds of our organizations are needed for more urgent and important work than the keeping of statistics, and therefore the international officers can not be blamed for not being able to supply complete data. The reports from national and international unions compiled in my annual reports deal mostly with strikes, and they contain scarcely any statistics in dollars and cents, showing the advances that have been made in the way of gains in wages and reductions in the hours of labor secured as a result of agreement, which the organizations, because of the strength behind them, have been able to carry through. Nothing creates respect or commands consideration for a trade union among employers who are reluctant to recognize organized labor, so much as the knowledge that the organization has a substantial defense fund, and that the members are determined to enforce the recognition of every just demand.

With a view to securing figures showing exactly how much more the members of trade unions earned this year as wages, through the assistance of their unions, over and above the earnings before their last increase in wages, international officers were requested to take the latest gains in wages of which they have actual knowledge, the number of members securing them, and the reductions in the hours of labor, and to state how much these gains in wages and reductions in hours total in dollars and cents for one year. This data could not be furnished by all of the international unions, for the reasons that in many cases local unions do not report, or if reported the information was not in such form as would enable the international officers to compile it in time for this report. However, forty-nine

**national and international organizations were able to furnish reports and they are herewith submitted for your information:**

ORGANIZATIONS.	Total increase in wages for one year.	Total number of hours re- duced for one year.	Total amount which reduction in hours repre- sents for one year.
Boot and Shoe Workers.	\$2,200,000 00	400,000	\$120,000 00
Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers.	40,000 00		
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.	669,735 00	8,961	4,673 62
Brushmakers.	11,124 00	3,744	936 00
Carvers, Wood.	6,838 00	33,280	16,640 00
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.		429,624	171,849 60
Commercial Telegraphers.	60,000 00		
Compressed Air Workers.	92,700 00		
Diamond Workers.	62,400 00	93,600	93,600 00
Electrical Workers.	417,150 00		
Elevator Constructors.	20,798 24	54,080	21,632 00
Foundry Employees.	1,390 50		
Freight Handlers.	370,800 00		
Garment Workers, United.		3,000,000	300,000 00
Garment Workers, Ladies.	1,092,000 00	1,040,000	
Granite Cutters.	1,012,500 00	4,050,000	2,025,000 00
Hodcarriers.	786,083 64	618,000	179,220 00
Horseshoers.	76,250 00	610,000	183,000 00
Lathers.	50,000 00		
Laundry Workers.	900 00	185,400	39,080 00
Leather Workers Amalgamated.	23,400 00	92,400	
Machine Printers and Color Mixers.	16,000 00		
Machinists.	247,209 00	218,000	86,300 00
Maintenance of Way Employees.	2,000,000 00	195,650	
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.	780,000 00	3,708,000	927,000 00
Mine Workers, United.	8,000,000 00		
Miners, Western Federation of.	3,244,500 00	3,090,000	772,500 00
Painters.	1,750,000 00		
Pattern Makers.	120,686 00	171,070	
Pavers and Rammermen.	67,860 00		
Potters, Operative.	97,335 00		
Powder and High Explosive Workers.	1,736 58	1,236	
Print Cutters.		30,900	11,742 00
Railroad Telegraphers.	983,622 03		
Railway Employees, Street and Electric.	1,777,370 00	2,190,000	547,500 00
Seamen.	1,030,000 00		
Shingle Weavers.	24,333 85		
Spinners.	205,920 00	228,800	463,500 00
Stage Employees, Theatrical.	3,000 00		
Stereotypers and Electrotypers.	14,881 44		
Stone Cutters.	1,000,000 00		
Switchmen.	972,000 00		
Tailors.	374,400 00	419,328	223,532 00
Teamsters.	280,000 00		
Tile Layers.	77,850 00		
Tin Plate Workers.	10,800 00		
Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers.	37,265 40	117,420	26,419 50
Tunnel and Subway Constructors.	77,250 00	123,600	56,856 00
Typographical Union.	3,608,234 00	109,824	43,929 60
Totals.	\$33,796,322 08	21 222 917	\$6,314,910 32

*a* For 4,550 members. *b* For 300 members. *c* For 6,000 members. *d* For 10,000 members. *e* For 10,000 members. *f* For 300 members. *g* For 6,000 members. *h* For 12 cities. *i* For 810 members (220 working days for the year). *j* For 12,000 members. *k* For 45 members. *l* For 400 members. *m* For 18,623 members. *n* For 6 months working season. *o* For 9,000 members. *p* For 300 members. *q* For 1,200 members.

**I believe we are safe in saying without endeavoring to claim for our organizations greater benefits than they are realizing, that the above reports average what the majority of our other organizations, whose officers were not in a position to furnish actual figures, are doing for their members.**

**BENEFITS PAID TO MEMBERS BY INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DURING  
THE PAST YEAR.**

ORGANIZATIONS.	Death benefits.	Death benefits members' wives.	Sick benefits.	Traveling benefits.	Tool in- surance.	Unem- ployed benefits.
A. F. of L. locals.....	\$5,267 50		\$5,090 21	\$802 55	\$219 00	\$1,369 05
Asbestos Workers.....	500 00					
Bakers.....	3,226 40	\$800 00	29,169 45			
Barbers.....	24,750 00		46,311 77			
Boilermakers.....	2,100 00					
Bookbinders.....	5,475 00					
Boot and Shoe Workers.....	15,675 00		76,986 96			
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers.....	150 00					
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.....	12,400 00					
Brushmakers.....				25 00		
Carpenters, Brotherhood.....	258,074 30	36,225 00				
Carriage and Wagon Workers.....	1,050 00					
Carvers, Wood.....	2,850 00				141 75	
Cigarmakers.....	251,677 41		201,296 03	38,543 47		36,942 50
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.....			720 00			
Coopers.....	2,950 00					
Cutting Die and Cutter Makers Diamond Workers.....	500 00					1,068 00
Electrical Workers.....	8,250 00		8,000 00			
Firemen, Stationary.....	3,700 00	800 00	1,200 00			
Foundry Employes.....	400 00		390 00			
Glass Bottle Blowers.....	63,881 31					164,747 25
Glass Workers, Amal.....	600 00					
Glove Workers.....	100 00					
Grinders, Pocket Knife Blade.....			36 00			
Hatters.....	49,889 25					
Hodcarriers.....	2,800 00					
Hotel and Restaurant Employes.....	26,450 00		34,345 75			
Iron and Steel Workers.....	4,150 00	600 00	8,955 00			
Lace Operatives.....	1,300 00	350 00				
Lathers.....		5,300 00				
Leather Workers on Horse Goods.....	1,400 00		2,125 00			
Leather Workers, Amal.....						300 00
Machinists.....	56,231 25					
Maintenance of Way Employes.....	14,000 00					
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.....	1,400 00		4,000 00			
Metal Polishers.....	3,150 00					
Metal Workers, Sheet.....	96,000 00					
Miners, Western Federation of Molders.....	27,069 47		115,277 32			10,971 80
Painters.....	61,900 00	12,375 00	152,456 20			
Papermakers.....	99,525 00					
Patternmakers.....	600 00					
Paving Cutters.....	1,700 00		5,596 14		1,842 61	
Photo-Engravers.....	2,200 00					
Plate Printers.....	1,885 00		6,265 17			
Plumbers.....	1,381 75					
Potters, Operative.....	14,300 00		43,055 00			
Printing Pressmen.....	5,975 00					
Quarry Workers.....	16,700 00					
Railroad Telegraphers.....	1,450 00					
Railway Employes, Street.....	86,700 00		18,708 66			
Roofers, Composition.....	125,453 45		1,500 00			
Shingle Weavers.....	2,300 00		2,036 00			
Slate and Tile Roofers.....	1,200 00					
Slate Workers.....	300 00	100 00				
Spinners.....	1,000 00					
Stage Employes, Theatrical.....	10,000 00					
Stereotypers and Electrotypers.....	4,900 00					
Stove Mounters.....	1,000 00					
Switchmen.....	168,957 50					
Tailors.....	12,765 59		23,366 95			
Textile Workers.....	1,100 00					
Tobacco Workers.....	1,350 00		5,114 00			
Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers.....	125 00		300 00			
Tunnel and Subway Con- structors.....	1,800 00		340 00	1,200 00		
*Typographical Union.....	74,698 85					
Weavers, Elastic Goring.....	300 00					
Weavers, American Wire.....	200 00		614 00			
✓ Totals.....	1,649,184 03	56,550 00	793,255 61	40,571 02	2,203 36	215,398 60

•(Fiscal year ending May 31, 1912.) Old-age pension \$169,657.

Your attention is called to the fact that the amounts herein reported as having been expended by the international unions on account of various benefits in the past year, are those paid directly by the internationals, and therefore the totals represent but a small proportion of the aggregate sum paid by trade unions in the way of benefits. A number of international unions have not as yet established benefit features, and others pay only partial benefits. It must be borne in mind that in every trade, local unions have existed independently prior to the formation of the international union, and almost without exception, they provide death, sick out-of-work, etc., benefits for their members. In these instances benefit features have thus become identified and recognized as belonging to the jurisdiction of a local union. This system has retarded international unions in establishing and extending benefit features, for the reason that it is difficult to bring locals that have to support their own benefit funds to consent to increase the tax to such an amount as would enable the internationals to secure the means for such purpose. In most instances, benefits paid by internationals are supplemental relief, paid to members in addition to the benefits provided by their local unions.

### INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

- Asbestos Workers.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 300. Number of strikes, 5; won, 3; compromised, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 200; benefited, 200. Wages increased 50 cents per day for 75 men; hours of labor reduced 1 per day for 50 men. Death benefits, \$500.
- Bakery and Confectionery Workers.**—Charters issued, 20; surrendered, 6. Gain in membership, 2,185. Number of strikes, 25; won, 15; compromised, 2; pending, 8. Number of persons involved, 2,002; benefited, 1,893; not benefited, 109. An average gain in wages of ten per cent. Hours of labor reduced 1 per day. Also secured a 10 per cent increase in some instances without strike. Gains in other respects: sanitary conditions in shops. Death benefits, \$3,226.40; death benefits, members' wives, \$800; sick benefits, \$29,169.45. Donations to other unions, \$2,859.66. Cost of strikes, \$22,133.
- Barbers.**—Charters issued, 34; surrendered, 22. Gain in membership, 1,160. Number of strikes, 2; won, 2. Number of persons involved, 21; benefited, 21. 20 cents gain in wages per member per day. Hours of labor reduced one-half hour per day. In some instances, attempts were made to reduce wages, but were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$24,750; sick benefits, \$46,311.77. Donations to other unions, \$8,041.90. Cost of strikes, \$343.
- Bill Posters.**—Strike pending; number involved, 16.
- Blacksmiths.**—Charters issued, 14; surrendered, 15. Number of strikes, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 3,800; benefited, 3,400; not benefited, 400. Gain in wages of 12 cents per member per day, with better working conditions. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$55,000. As a result of organization, wages have been increased, hours of labor reduced, and better sanitary conditions have been enforced, particularly proper toilet and wash rooms, and ventilation of shops.
- Bollermakers.**—Charters issued, 33; surrendered, 35. Number of strikes, 95; pending, 90; lost, 5. Number of persons involved, 6,020; not benefited, 2,953. In some cities, hours of labor were reduced from 9 to 8 per day, and in others local lodges had contracts signed without strike. Cost of strikes, \$147,819.58. Death benefits, \$2,100. Donations to other unions, \$723.30. As a result of organization, wages and conditions are constantly improving, and there is a more wholesome respect for working contracts on the part of employers.
- Bookbinders.**—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 2. Number of strikes, 4—inaugurated principally against introduction of open shop. Advance in wages of 10 per cent secured without strike. Death benefits, \$5,475. Cost of strikes, \$3,082.51.
- Boot and Shoe Workers.**—Charters issued, 15; surrendered, 13. Gain in membership, 1,167. Number of strikes, 4; won, 2; pending, 1; lost, 1; places filled by hostile independent union. Number of persons involved, 439. Impossible to estimate number benefited, as many were benefited who were not involved in the strikes. Number involved not benefited, 19. Where attempts were made to reduce wages, they were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$15,675; sick benefits, \$76,986.96; disability benefits, \$3,350. Donations to other unions, \$15,000. Cost of strikes, \$17,157.57. As a result of organization, there has been a substantial reduction in the hours of labor in the factories where members are employed. Increases in wages secured for members during the past year, at a conservative estimate, total \$2,200,000 for the year.
- Brewery Workmen.**—Charters issued, 16 local, 28 branches; surrendered, 15 local and 28 branches. Number of strikes, 40; won, 31; compromised, 3; pending, 3; lost, 4. One strike was partly won and is also in progress, as 2 firms have not yet made settlement. Number of persons

involved, 2,026; benefited, 1,902; not benefited, 124. Secured a gain of 25 cents per member per day. The 8-hour day was inaugurated wherever not already in force. Improved sanitary conditions and employment of men in place of boys, were other gains secured. Increases in wages and reduction in working hours were secured in some cities without strike. Attempts were made to reduce wages in some plants, but were successfully resisted. Donations to other unions, \$2,752.90. Cost of strikes, \$8,210.

**Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers.**—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 5. Number of strikes: 3 strikes and 2 lockouts; won, 1; compromised, 1; pending, 2; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 700. Number benefited, 450 at Canton, Ohio, wages increased 15 per cent; 400 at New Lexington, Ohio, wages increased 15 per cent; 85 at East Peoria, secured increases of from 15 cents to 65 cents per day. Secured 3 union shop agreements without strike. No reductions in wages in the past year. Death benefits, \$150. Cost of strikes, \$2,000.

**Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.**—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 1,000. Number of strikes, 4; won, 3; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 2,000; benefited, 2,000. Secured a gain in wages of from 5 to 10 cents per hour. Attempts were made to reduce wages, in some instances, but these were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$12,400. Donations to other unions, \$3,000. One of the advantages of organization has been reducing the hours of labor from 10 and 9 to 8 per day.

**Broommakers.**—No report.

**Brushmakers.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 11. Number of strikes, 2; won, 1; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 14; benefited, 14. An advance in wages of \$2 per member per week. Hours of labor reduced from 59 to 55 per week. Traveling benefits, \$25. Donations to other unions, \$10. Cost of strikes, \$134.

**Carpenters, Brotherhood.**—Charters issued, 153; surrendered, 162. Gain in membership, 4,000. Number of strikes, 15; won, 10; compromised, 4; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,000; benefited, 1,000. Wages advanced  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 5 cents per hour. Hours of labor reduced one per day. Attempts were made to reduce wages, which were successfully resisted in most cases; in a few cases, wages were adjusted on a compromise basis. Death benefits, \$258,074.30; death benefits, members' wives, \$36,225. Cost of strikes, \$16,446.

**Carriage and Wagon Workers.**—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 2. Number of strikes, 2; won, 2. Number of persons involved, 200; benefited, 200. Wages advanced 25 cents per member per day. 20 cents per day advance in wages was secured for members without strike. There were attempts to reduce wages, but these were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$1,050. Cost of strikes, \$600.

**Carvers, Wood.**—Number of strikes, 1; won, 1. Number of persons involved, 3; benefited, 98.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cents per hour per member advance in wages. Hours of labor reduced from 50 to 44 per week. Death benefits, \$2,852; tool insurance, \$141.75. Cost of strikes, \$89.33. As a result of organization, working hours in custom shops in Philadelphia, Pa., and Rochester, N. Y., have been reduced from 50 to 44 per week, and in Detroit, Mich., and Syracuse, N. Y., wages have been raised  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cents per hour.

**Cement Workers.**—Charters issued, 23 (new locals), 9 (re-organized); surrendered, 5. Several localities report securing increases in wages.

**Cigarmakers.**—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 5. Number of strikes, 55; won, 35; compromised, 1; pending, 15; lost, 4. Number of persons involved, 2,873; benefited, 2,831; not benefited, 42. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted, except in one case.

**Clerks, Retail.**—No report.

**Cloth, Hat and Cap Makers.**—Charters issued, 1; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 579. Number of strikes, 19; won, 15; pending, 2; lost, 2. Number of persons involved, 188; benefited, 188. Hours of labor reduced one-half hour per day. Free sewing machines and Saturday half-holiday were secured for some of the members without strike. Sick benefits, \$720. Donations to other unions, \$2,487. Cost of strikes, \$13,353. As a result of organization, the following benefits have been realized: From 1902 to 1907 hours of labor reduced from unlimited number to 56 per week, 8 holidays, and increase of 50 per cent in wages. From 1907 to 1912, free thread, free electric power, free sewing machines, reduction in hours of labor from 56 to 50 per week and 10 per cent increase in wages.

**Commercial Telegraphers.**—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 1. Average wage of 1,000 members increased from \$60 to \$66 per month. Typewriters furnished by Western Union Company, saving in rental to operators an average of \$2 per month for 10,000 men, amounting to \$240,000 per year. This was one of the demands made in the strike of 1907. Donations to other unions, \$300.

**Compressed Air Workers.**—No report.

- Coopers.**—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 5. Number of strikes, 14; won, 5; compromised, 6; pending, 1; lost, 2. Number of persons involved, 422; benefited, 334; not benefited, 88. 35 cents per member per day advance in wages. Hours of labor reduced one hour per day. Numerous contracts were secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted, and in some cases settlement was made on the basis of an increase. Death benefits, \$2,950. Cost of strikes, \$3,114.
- Cutting Die and Cutter Makers.**—Number of strikes, 3; won, 2; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 170; benefited, 160; not benefited, 10. Secured 10 per cent per week advance in wages, and reduced hours 2 per week. No reduction in wages in the past year. Death benefits, \$500. Cost of strikes, \$8,000. As a result of organization, hours of labor have been reduced from 60 to 48 per week.
- Diamond Workers.**—Number of strikes, 1; compromised. Number of persons involved, 20; benefited 20. Secured the union shop. Slight increases in wages were secured without strike. Unemployed benefits, \$1,068. Cost of strikes, \$9,420. As a result of organization, 48-hour week has been established, with sliding scale of wages of from \$28 to \$75 per week.
- Electrical Workers.**—Charters issued, 78 (including returning seceding unions); surrendered, 10. Number of strikes, 4; won, 4. Number of persons involved, 340; benefited, 340. 850 members received an advance in wages of 50 cents per day; 3,700 secured an advance of 25 cents per day. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully. Death benefits, \$3,250. Donations to other unions, \$12,000. Sick benefits, \$8,000.
- Elevator Constructors.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 163. Number of strikes, 1; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 50; benefited, 70. Advance in wages of 40 cents per member per day; hours of labor reduced one per day; recognition of the union.
- Steam Engineers.**—Charters issued, 46; surrendered, 20. Gain in membership, 3,500. Number of strikes, 23; won, 9; compromised, 2; pending, 9; lost, 3. Number of persons involved, 116; benefited, 89; not benefited, 12. Secured increase in wages and established 8-hour day in many localities. A large number of agreements secured without strike. Cost of strikes, \$3,243.
- Firemen, Stationary.**—Charters issued, 28; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 8,000. Number of strikes, 5; won, 4; pending, 1 (20 men). Number of persons involved, 148; benefited, 128. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully, and in one instance secured an increase in the settlement. Death benefits, \$3,700; death benefits, members' wives, \$300; sick benefits, \$1,200. Donations to other trade unions, \$1,000. Cost of strikes, \$1,240. As a result of organization, wages have been advanced 20 per cent; 1,400 reduced working hours from 12 to 8 per day; 2,174 secured 6-day working week instead of 7; 4,028 gained a week's vacation with pay for each year.
- Foundry Employees.**—Charters issued, 2. Gain in membership, 27. Advance in wages secured in one city without strike. Death benefits, \$400; sick benefits, \$390. Donations to other unions, \$167.40.
- Freight Handlers.**—No report.
- Garment Workers, United.**—No report.
- Garment Workers, Ladies.**—Charters issued, 9; surrendered, 6. Number of strikes, 11; won, 2; compromised, 1; pending, 5; lost, 3. Number of persons involved, 2,800. Hours of labor reduced one per day. Attempts to reduce wages resisted successfully. As a result of organization hours of labor have been reduced from 54 to 50 per week, and legal holidays are observed.
- Glass Bottle Blowers.**—Number of charters issued, 4; surrendered, 2. Death benefits, \$63,881.31; unemployed benefits, \$164,747.25. Donations to other unions, \$5,442.25.
- Glass Workers, Amalgamated.**—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 100. Agreements secured in six cities without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully. New York conditions cited as an instance of the benefit secured from organization—wages there were formerly \$14 for 56-hour week, minimum wage now being \$20 for 48-hour week. Death benefits, \$600.
- Glove Workers.**—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 275. Number of strikes, 6; won, 3; compromised, 2; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 230; benefited, 265. Agreements were secured with 10 firms with advance in wages of from 5 to 10 per cent, without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully except in a few shops; in one instance the settlement secured an increase in prices on long gloves, and the local union increased in membership from 77 to 250. Death benefits, \$100. As a result of organization, wages for block cutters have been increased 40 per cent, established uniform

- prices for work, abolished the system of paying for machine rent and use of power, established weekly pay-day in New York City, 54-hour week and Saturday half-holiday.
- Granite Cutters.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 2 (due to jobs being completed). Number of strikes, 14; won, 12; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 1,800; benefited, 1,800. Secured an advance in wages of about 16 cents per member per day. Gains in other respects: elimination of unhealthy machine; improved sanitation. Donations to other unions, \$5,860. Cost of strikes, \$27,367. As a result of organization, arrangements made for general recognition of a \$4 per day minimum wage rate, with a 44-hour work week; heating sheds and ventilation in winter.
- Grinders, Pocket Knife Blade.**—Number of strikes, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 36. Sick benefits, \$36. Donations to other unions, \$41.50. Cost of strikes, \$3,378.27.
- Hatters.**—Attempts to reduce wages resisted successfully. Death benefits, \$49,889.25. Donations to other unions, \$4,425.
- Hodcarriers.**—Charters issued, 52; surrendered, 57. Number of strikes, 11; won, 9; compromised, 2. Death benefits, \$2,800. Donations to other unions, \$1,162.85.
- Horseshoers.**—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 5. Gain in membership, 200. Number of strikes, 3; 1 lockout; won, 3; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 300; benefited, 300. Gains in wages secured of from 25 to 50 cents per day. Gains in other respects: recognition of label and regulation of apprentices. Increased wages and shorter hours were secured in some cases without strike. Donations to other unions, \$1,310. Cost of strikes, \$3,000. As a result of organization hours of labor have been reduced from 10 and 11 to 9 per day; wages formerly \$2.50 and \$3, now from \$3 to \$5, and Saturday half-holiday in summer months in a number of cities.
- Hotel and Restaurant Employees.**—Charters issued, 70; surrendered, 33. Gain in membership, 3,745. Number of strikes, 43; won, 29; compromised, 7; pending, 4; lost, 2. Number of persons involved, 744; benefited, 534; not benefited, 210. Advance in wages of about 7 per cent per member per day. Death benefits, \$26,450; sick benefits, \$34,345.75. Donations to other unions, \$19,226.02. Cost of strikes, \$12,710.73. As a result of organization employees are treated more reasonably by employers, with shorter hours and less irksome conditions of labor.
- Iron and Steel Workers.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 4. Members in bolting department secured an advance in wages of 8 per cent per member per day. Death benefits, \$4,150; death benefits, members' wives, \$600; sick benefits, \$8,955. Donations to other unions, \$300.
- Jewelry Workers.**—No report.
- Lace Operatives.**—Number of strikes, 1; won 1. Number of persons involved, 100. Secured reinstatement of member who had been discriminated against. Death benefits, \$1,300; death benefits, members wives, \$350. Donations to other unions, \$700. Cost of strikes, \$500.
- Lathers.**—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 13. Death benefits, \$5,300. Wages have advanced 100 per cent as a result of organization.
- Laundry Workers.**—Charters issued, 14; surrendered, 12. Gain in membership, 500. Number of strikes, 1; lost; number of persons involved, 300. Increases in wages and reduction in working hours were secured in a number of instances without strike. Attempt to reduce wages were resisted successfully. As a result of organization, members are enjoying 8 and 9 hour day, with pay for overtime. Unorganized workers are working unlimited hours with less pay.
- Leather Workers on Horse Goods.**—Death benefits, \$1,400; sick benefits, \$2,125. Donations to other unions, \$1,000.
- Leather Workers, Amal.**—Unemployed benefits, \$300. Donations to other unions, \$600. As a result of organization, hours have been shortened from 10 to 9 per day, and 400 men have secured an advance of 20 per cent in wages. In all districts where there are locals, prices paid on the different classes of work are far superior to those paid in unorganized districts, and the hours per day or week much shorter.
- Lithographers.**—Charters issued, 2. Gain in membership, 416. The 48-hour week prevails as a result of organization.
- Lithographic Press Feeders.**—No report.
- Longshoremen.**—Charters issued, 33; surrendered, 19. Number of strikes, 4; won, 4. No reductions in wages in the past year.
- Machine Printers.**—No report.
- Machinists.**—Charters issued, 76; surrendered, 28. Gain in membership, 7,000. Number of strikes, 13; won, 5; compromised, 3; pending, 5. Number of persons involved, 2,691. Advance



- in wages of 20 cents per member per day. 25 agreements were secured without strike. Death benefits, \$56,231.25. Cost of strikes, \$527,104.
- Maintenance of Way Employees.**—Charters issued, 51; surrendered, 15. An average increase in wages of 5 per cent per member per day. Death benefits, \$14,000.
- Marble Workers.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 100. Number of strikes, 9; won, 6; compromised, 1; pending, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 2,065; benefited, 1,100; not benefited, 965. Advance in wages of 35 cents per day. Donations to other trade unions, \$4,000. Cost of strikes, \$9,000. Of the 965 reported as not benefited, negotiations are under way for an agreement, which it is expected will carry an increase in wages when signed.
- Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.**—Charters issued, 9; surrendered, 8. Gain in membership, 800. Advances of 25 cents per day have been secured, and hours of labor reduced 2 and 3 per day. Death benefits, \$1,400; sick benefits, \$4,000. Donations to other unions, \$3,000. Results of organization: former wages from \$9 to \$12, minimum is now \$15 and many receive more; former hours, 13 to 16 per day, now 10 hours straight.
- Metal Polishers.**—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 16. Gain in membership, 1,000. Number of strikes, 29; won, 20; compromised, 4; pending, 4; lost, 1. Number involved, 800; benefited, 800. An average advance in wages of 15 per cent per member per day, and hours of labor reduced one-half hour per day. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully, except in a few cases, which were settled on the basis of a compromise. Death benefits, \$3,150. Donations to other unions, \$1,800. Cost of strikes, \$4,470. As a result of organization, there has been a gradual increase in wages to a uniform standard, with gradual shortening of hours, with better sanitary conditions, and better consideration of grievances by employers.
- Metal Workers, Sheet.**—Charters issued, 52; surrendered, 20. Number of strikes, 5; won, 3; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 2,200; benefited, 125. An average advance in wages of 40 cents per member per day. Past year has seen a general improvement in wage-scale and hours of labor. Death benefits, \$96,000. Donations to other unions, \$5,000. Cost of strikes, \$23,565.
- Mine Workers, United.**—Charters issued, 170; surrendered, 122. Gain in membership, 153,309. Number of strikes, 8; won, 3; pending, 5. Number of persons involved, 7,500; benefited, 165,000. An average increase in wages of 10 per cent per member per day.
- Miners, Western Federation of.**—Charters issued, 23; surrendered, 20. Number of strikes, 6; won, 2; pending, 2; lost, 2. Number of persons involved, 3,000; benefited, 500. 7,000 miners at Butte, Montana, have secured an increase of 50 cents per day; 14,000 men in various districts received an increase of 25 cents per day. A slight increase in three districts affecting about 700 men. Attempted reduction at Blair and Silver Peak, Nevada, is now being resisted by strike. An 8-hour law has been secured in Arizona, governing mines, mills, and smelters. Death benefits, \$27,069.47; sick benefits, \$115,277.32. Donations to other unions, \$10,156.11. Cost of strikes, \$108,126.95.
- Molders.**—Charters issued, 9; surrendered, 19. Strikes pending, 38. Number of persons involved, 1,425. Death benefits, \$61,900; sick benefits, \$152,456.20. Unemployed benefits, 10,971.80. Cost of strikes, \$262,968.28.
- Musicians.**—Charters issued, 42; surrendered, 12. Gain in membership, 1,000. 20,000 members were involved in a lockout by the Theatrical Syndicate. Ended in victory for the Musicians. Advance in wages averaging 10 per cent per day. Members have secured recognition of union in many instances without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully. Donations to other unions, \$5,000. Cost of strikes, \$5,000. As a result of organization, members have secured advance in wages, and enforcement of union shop.
- Painters.**—Charters issued, 93; surrendered, 85. Gain in membership, 33. Death benefits, \$99,525; death benefits, members' wives, \$12,375; disability benefits, \$20,250.
- Papermakers.**—Charters issued, 20; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 2,000. Number of strikes, 3; won, 1; pending, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 800; not benefited, 180. An advance in wages averaging 5 per cent per day. Hours of labor were reduced from 11 to 8 per day for 2,000. Gains in other respects: better sanitary conditions. Locals secured advances in wages in some instances without strike. Death benefits, \$600. Cost of strikes, \$17,000. Through the efforts of the organization, hours of labor have been reduced from 11 hours per day and 13 hours per night to an 8-hour day in 42 mills. Increases in wages and reduction in hours have been granted by a number of non-union mills, after these improvements had been secured in union mills.
- Patternmakers.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 500. Number of strikes, 11; won, 6; pending, 4; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 238; benefited, 238. An

advance in wages of 10 per cent per day. Hours of labor were reduced from 9 to 8 per day for 100 members. Most of the gains made were secured without strike. Death benefits, \$1,700; sick benefits, \$5,596.14; tool insurance, \$1,842.61. Cost of strikes, \$19,074.03.

**Pavers and Rammermen.**—Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully.

**Paving Cutters.**—Charters issued, 14; surrendered, 6. Gain in membership, 200. Death benefits, \$2,200. Donations to other trade unions, \$800. Cost of strikes, \$532.

**Photo-Engravers.**—Charters issued, 4. Gain in membership, 271. Number of strikes, 2; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 20. Death benefits, \$1,885; sick benefits, \$6,265.17 (tuberculosis benefits). Cost of strikes, \$986.

**Piano and Organ Workers.**—No report.

**Plasterers.**—No report.

**Plate Printers.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 14. No reductions in wages in the past year. Death benefits, \$1,381.75.

**Plumbers.**—Charters issued, 72; surrendered, 18. Number of strikes, 60; won, 45; compromised, 2; pending, 10; lost, 3. Wages were increased and shorter hours secured in a number of instances without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully. Death benefits, \$14,300; sick benefits, \$43,055. Cost of strikes, \$82,295.

**Post-office Clerks.**—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 300.

**Potters, Operative.**—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 46. Number of strikes, 1, pending. Number of persons involved, 14. Death benefits, \$5,975. Cost of strikes, \$2,714.98.

**Powder and High Explosive Workers.**—Charters surrendered, 2. Wages were advanced 12½ per cent and hours reduced from 10 to 9 per day at one point as a result of a strike. 48 members secured 12½ cents per day advance in wages, without strike. Cost of strikes, \$70.

**Print Cutters.**—No report.

**Printing Pressmen.**—Charters issued, 28; surrendered, 11. Gain in membership, 1,000. Number of strikes, 11; won, 5; compromised, 3; pending, 1; lost, 2. Number of persons involved, 650; benefited, 400. Advance in wages of 25 cents per day. Advantages gained in 78 cities without strike. Death benefits, \$16,700. Cost of strikes, \$41,000.

**Pulp and Sulphite Workers.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 800. Number of strikes, 2; pending. Number of persons involved, 150. Advance in wages, averaging 5 per cent per member per day was secured. 8-hour day secured in union mills. Donations to other unions, \$1,000. Cost of strikes, \$500.

**Quarry Workers.**—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 1,000. Number of strikes, 11; won, 8; compromised, 2; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 800; benefited, 800. Advances in wages of from 1 to 3 cents per hour. 3 branches secured Saturday half-holiday. Shorter hours and better pay for 500 members were secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully. Death benefits, \$1,450. Donations to other unions, \$385.45. Cost of strikes, \$11,724.50.

**Railroad Telegraphers.**—Charters issued, 5. Gain in membership, 3,000. Death benefits, \$86,700. Donations to other unions, \$1,200. Advances in wages aggregating \$995,850 were secured without strike.

**Railway Carmen.**—Charters issued, 71; surrendered, 58. Number of strikes, 3, pending. Improved working conditions and advances in wages were secured on many railroads without strike. Cost of strikes, \$67,897.27.

**Railway Clerks.**—No report.

**Railway Employees, Street.**—Charters issued, 27; surrendered, 8. Gain in membership, 1,000. Number of strikes, 9; won, 5; lost, 4. Number of persons involved, 7,000; benefited, 6,550; not benefited, 450. Advances in wages of from ½ to 5 cents per hour. Wages were increased in many cities without strike. Death benefits, \$125,453.45; sick benefits, \$18,708.66 (local divisions). Donations to other unions \$13,378.80. Cost of strikes, \$80,264.94.

**Railway Express Messengers.**—No report.

**Roofers.**—Composition. Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 50. Number of strikes, 2; won, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 72; benefited, 36; not benefited, 36. Wages advanced 25 cents per day. Hours of labor reduced 1 per day. Death benefits, \$2,300; sick benefits, \$1,500. Donations to other unions, \$600. Cost of strikes, \$1,000. As a result of organization, wages have been raised from \$1.75, \$2 and \$2.50 to an average of \$4.50 per day; formerly the workday was 9 and 10 hours per day, at present the 8-hour workday prevails.

**Sawsmiths.**—No report.

**Seamen.**—Charters surrendered, 1. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully. Through

- the efforts of the organization, wages have about doubled and working hours in some localities have been reduced 2 per day.
- Shingle Weavers.**—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 2. Number of strikes, 4; won, 1; pending, 2; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 100; benefited, 40. Wages advanced 12 per cent per day. Increases in wages were secured from a number of companies without strike. Sick and accident benefits, \$2,036. Cost of strikes, \$4,000.
- Slate and Tile Roofers.**—Charters issued, 1; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 150. Number of strikes, 2; won, 2. Wages advanced 2½ cents per hour. Death benefits, \$1,200.
- Slate Workers.**—Charters surrendered, 2. Number of strikes, 3; won, 2; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 400; benefited, 1,000. Death benefits, \$300. Death benefits, members' wives, \$100.
- Spinners.**—Number of strikes, 6 (including lockouts); won, 3; compromised, 1; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 1,000. A 10 per cent advance in wages was secured without strike. Death benefits, \$1,000; unemployed benefits, \$5,000. Cost of strikes, \$35,000.
- Stage Employes.**—Charters issued, 40; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 1,000. Number of strikes, 10; won, 8; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 750; benefited, 3,250. Advance in wages of \$1 per day. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully. Death benefits, \$10,000. Cost of strikes, \$25,000. Through the efforts of the organization, wages have been increased for stage employes from 25 to 50 per cent all over the United States and Canada.
- Steel Plate Transferrers.**—Have secured many advantages as a result of organization.
- Stereotypers and Electrotypers.**—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 1 (revoked). Gain in membership, 90. Number of strikes, 6; lost, 6. Increases in wages aggregating \$12,076.20 annually, have been secured without strike. Death benefits, \$4,900. Cost of strikes, \$5,400.80. Through the efforts of the organization, wages have been increased and better conditions generally inaugurated.
- Stonecutters.**—No report.
- Stove Mounters.**—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 4. Number of strikes, 2; compromised, 2. Number of persons involved, 94. Death benefits, \$1,000. Donations to other unions, \$25. Cost of strikes, \$4,110.38.
- Switchmen.**—Charters issued, 15; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 316. Death benefits \$168,957.50.
- Tailors.**—Charters issued, 26; surrendered, 8. Number of strikes, 21; won, 6; pending, 10; lost, 5. Number of persons involved, 504; benefited, 28; not benefited, 164. Advance in wages of 5 per cent per day. 700 members secured the 8-hour day. Wages increased in 61 establishments without strike. Death benefits, \$12,765.59; sick benefits, \$23,366.95. Donations to other unions, \$935.30. Cost of strikes, \$52,134.10.
- Teamsters.**—Charters issued, 206; surrendered, 175. Gain in membership, 1,000. Number of strikes, 12; won, 11; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 2,200; benefited, 2,200. Advance in wages of 35 cents per day. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully. Cost of strikes, \$20,000.
- Textile Workers.**—Charters issued, 50; surrendered, 10. Gain in membership, 2,000. Number of strikes, 12; won, 9; compromised, 1; pending, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,000. Death benefits, \$1,100. Cost of strikes, \$16,000. The victory of the Textile Workers in Lawrence in their strike against a reduction in wages, when the 54-hour week law went into effect, which reduced the hours of labor two per week, served as an impetus to the Textile Workers in other centers in their efforts for improved conditions. In Fall River and New Bedford, a full 10 per cent increase in wages was secured without strike. A strike in Lowell, Mass., was won after 5 weeks. The dyers of Philadelphia went on strike to establish a minimum wage of 25 cents per hour, and in about 40 shops the demand was granted. The Silk Workers and Thread Workers of Willimantic, Conn., struck for a 10 per cent advance in wages. The Thread Workers secured the advance after four days, but the Silk Workers had to remain out 13 weeks, when a compromise was effected, granting a 7½ per cent advance to all the operatives. The strike at Rifton, N. Y., which has been on for 14 months, was against a reduction in wages; the Textile Workers there are as firm in their attitude as they were on the first day of the strike. In New York State a law was passed, reducing the hours of labor of the Textile Workers from 60 to 54 per week.
- Tile Layers.**—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 216. Number of strikes, 3; won, 2; compromised, 1. Advance in wages of 40 cents per day for tile layers, and 25 cents per day for helpers. Several locals received increases, without strike. Average wage is

\$4.50 for tile layers and \$2.50 for helpers. Hours of employment with but two exceptions (Canadian locals) are 8 hours. Donations to other unions, \$350.

**Tin Plate Workers.**—3 per cent advance in wages secured without strike.

**Tip Printers.**—No report.

**Tobacco Workers.**—Improvements have been light this year, although such changes as were made were in our favor, reducing hours slightly and small increases in wages. Death benefits, \$1,350; sick benefits, \$5,114. Donations to other unions, \$300.00.

**Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers.**—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 175. Number of strikes, 5; won, 2; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 428; benefited, 380; not benefited, 48. Wages advanced 10 per cent. Hours of labor reduced from 10 and 9½ to 9 per day. Reduction in hours and slight increases in wages secured in some localities without strike. Death benefits, \$125; sick benefits (locals), \$300. Donations to other unions, \$58. Cost of strikes, \$1,700. As a result of organization wages have been advanced from \$13.50 to \$15 per week, and in some localities still more.

**Tunnel and Subway Constructors.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 140. Number of strikes compromised, 15. Wages advanced 25 cents per day. Hours of labor reduced from 10 to 8 per day. Death benefits, \$1,800; sick benefits, \$340; traveling benefits, \$1,200. Donations to other unions, \$300.

**Typographical Union** (for fiscal year ending May 31, 1912).—Charters issued, 16; surrendered, 23. Gain in membership, 3,518. Number of strikes, 12; won, 5; pending, 6; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 161; benefited, 67; not benefited, 38; involved in pending strikes, 56. 101 local unions, under their new agreements, secured substantial increases in wages, and in addition to these gains 21 offices were unionized. Total yearly wages received by members \$53,378,902. Death benefits, \$74,698.85; old age pension, \$169,657.00. Donations to other unions, \$15,819.08. Expenditures from defense fund, \$69,330.79.

**Upholsterers.**—No report.

**Weavers, Elastic Goring.**—Death benefits, \$300. Donations to other unions, \$25.

**Weavers, Wire.**—Death benefits, \$200; sick benefits, \$614.

**White Rats Actors.**—Donations to other unions \$50.

### UNION LABELS.

There are now 56 labels and 10 cards issued by the following organizations, which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

#### ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS.

American Federation of Labor.  
Bakers and Confectioners.  
Bill Posters and Billers.  
Boilermakers.  
Blacksmiths.  
Bookbinders.  
Boot and Shoe Workers.  
Brewery Workmen.  
Brickmakers.  
Broommakers.  
Brushmakers.  
Carpenters and Joiners, Brotherhood.  
Carriage and Wagon Workers.  
Carvers, Wood.  
Cigarmakers.  
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.  
Coopers.  
Garment Workers, United.  
Garment Workers, Ladies.

Glass Workers.  
Glove Workers.  
Grinders and Finishers, Pocket Knife Blade.  
Hatters.  
Horseshoers.  
Jewelry Workers.  
Lathers.  
Laundry Workers.  
Leather Workers.  
Leather Workers on Horse Goods.  
Lithographers.  
Machine Printers and Color Mixers.  
Marbinists.  
Marble Workers.  
Metal Polishers.  
Metal Workers, Sheet.  
Molders.  
Painters.

Papermakers.  
Photo-Engravers.  
Piano and Organ Workers.  
Plate Printers.  
Powder Workers.  
Pressmen, Printing.  
Print Cutters.  
Sawsmiths.  
Shingle Weavers.  
Slate Workers.  
Stove Mounters.  
Tailors.  
Textile Workers.  
Tip Printers.  
Tobacco Workers.  
Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers.  
Typographical.  
Upholsterers.  
Weavers, Wire.

#### ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS.

Barbers.  
Clerks.  
Engineers, Steam.  
Firemen, Stationary.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees.  
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.  
Musicians.

Stage Employees, Theatrical.  
Teamsters.  
White Rats Actors.

The following crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor label: Badge, Banner, Regalia, Button, Novelty and Lodge Paraphernalia Workers, Bottlers (Soda and Mineral Water), Coffee, Spice, and Baking Powder Workers, Nail (Horseshoe) Workers, Neckwear Cutters and Makers, Paper Box Makers, Spendermakers, Garter, Arm Band, and Hose Supporter Makers, Flour and Cereal Mill Employees, Soapmakers, Turpentine Workers, Vacuum Bottle and Apparatus Glass Blowers, Clam Diggers, Tent, Awning and Canvas Workers, Cleaners and Dyers, Creamery Workers, Lead, Paint, and Varnish Makers and Mixers, Milk Manufacturing Employees, Shoe Polish and Dressing Workers.

### CHARTERS REVOKED, SUSPENDED, SURRENDERED, DISBANDED, JOINED INTERNATIONAL UNIONS, AND RESTORED.

**INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.** Revoked 1; Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, membership 7,878. Surrendered 1; International Association of Car Workers, membership 7,500. Merged 1; Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union, membership 2,919; joined United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. Per capita tax refused after August 1, 1912; Steamfitters and Helpers, membership 8,500.

**CENTRAL BODIES.** Revoked, 2; disbanded, 24; suspended for non-payment of per capita tax, 98; charters restored, 2.

**LOCAL TRADE UNIONS.** Disbanded, 39; suspended, 116; joined international, 28; merged with other unions, 3; revoked, 3.

**FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.** Disbanded, 20; suspended, 89; revoked, 1.

### VOTING STRENGTH OF FEDERATION, 1897 TO 1912.

Year.	No. Votes.
1897	2,747
1898	2,881
1899	3,632
1900	5,737
1901	8,240
1902	10,705
1903	15,238
1904	17,363
1905	16,338
1906	15,621
1907	16,425
1908	16,892
1909	15,880
1910	16,737
1911	18,693
1912	18,499

### MEMBERSHIP.

The average paid-up and reported membership for the year is 1,770,145, an increase of 8,310 members over last year. National and international organizations are required to pay only the per capita tax upon their full paid-up membership, and, therefore, the membership reported does not include the large numbers of members involved in strikes during the fiscal year, for whom tax was not paid, otherwise the average membership would have exceeded the 1,800,000 mark.

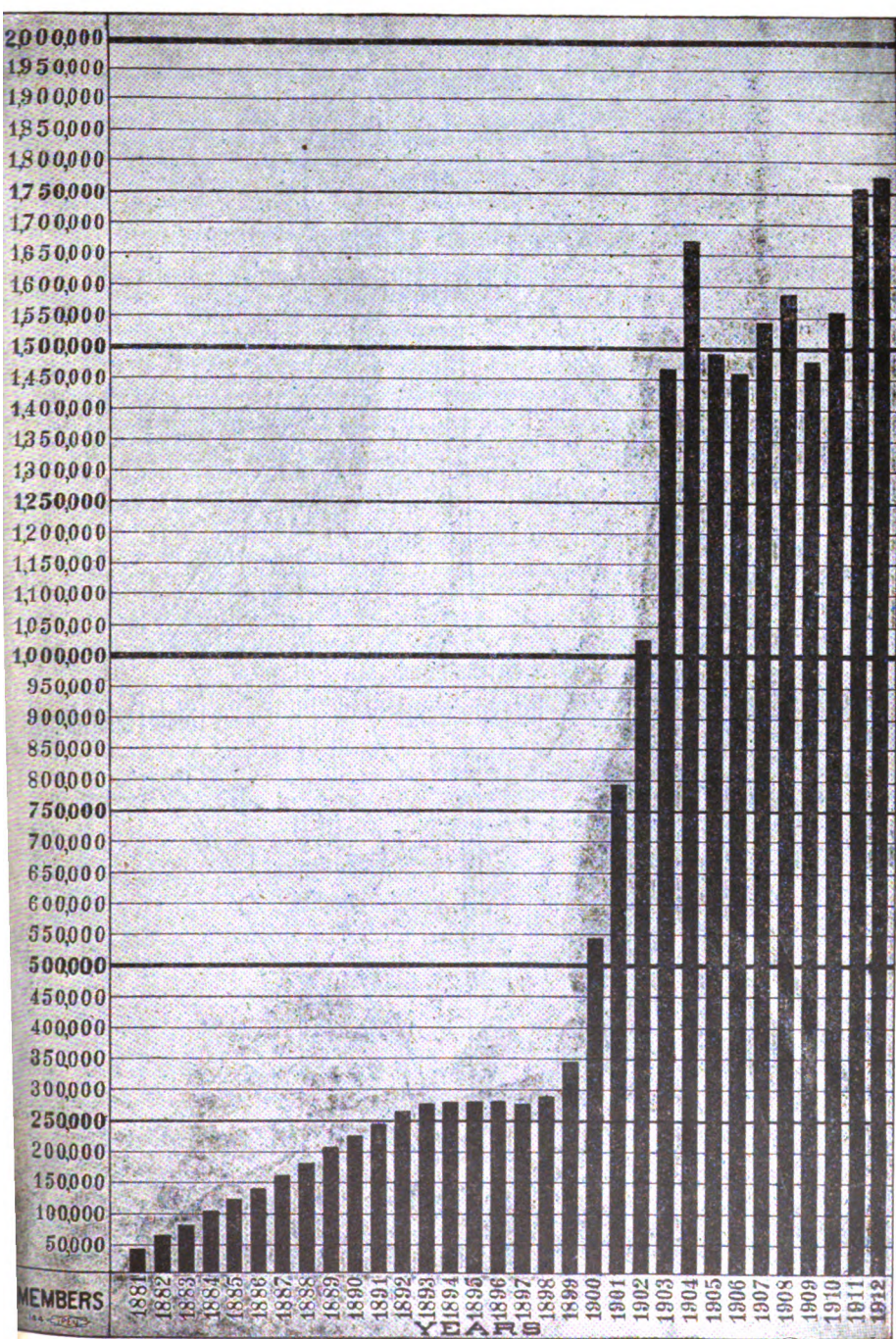
That the membership of affiliated organizations is steadily on the increase is indicated by the fact that the paid-up and reported membership of affiliated organizations for the month of September of this year is 1,841,268, an increase of 72,654 over the September membership of last year, and 79,433 over the average membership of last year.

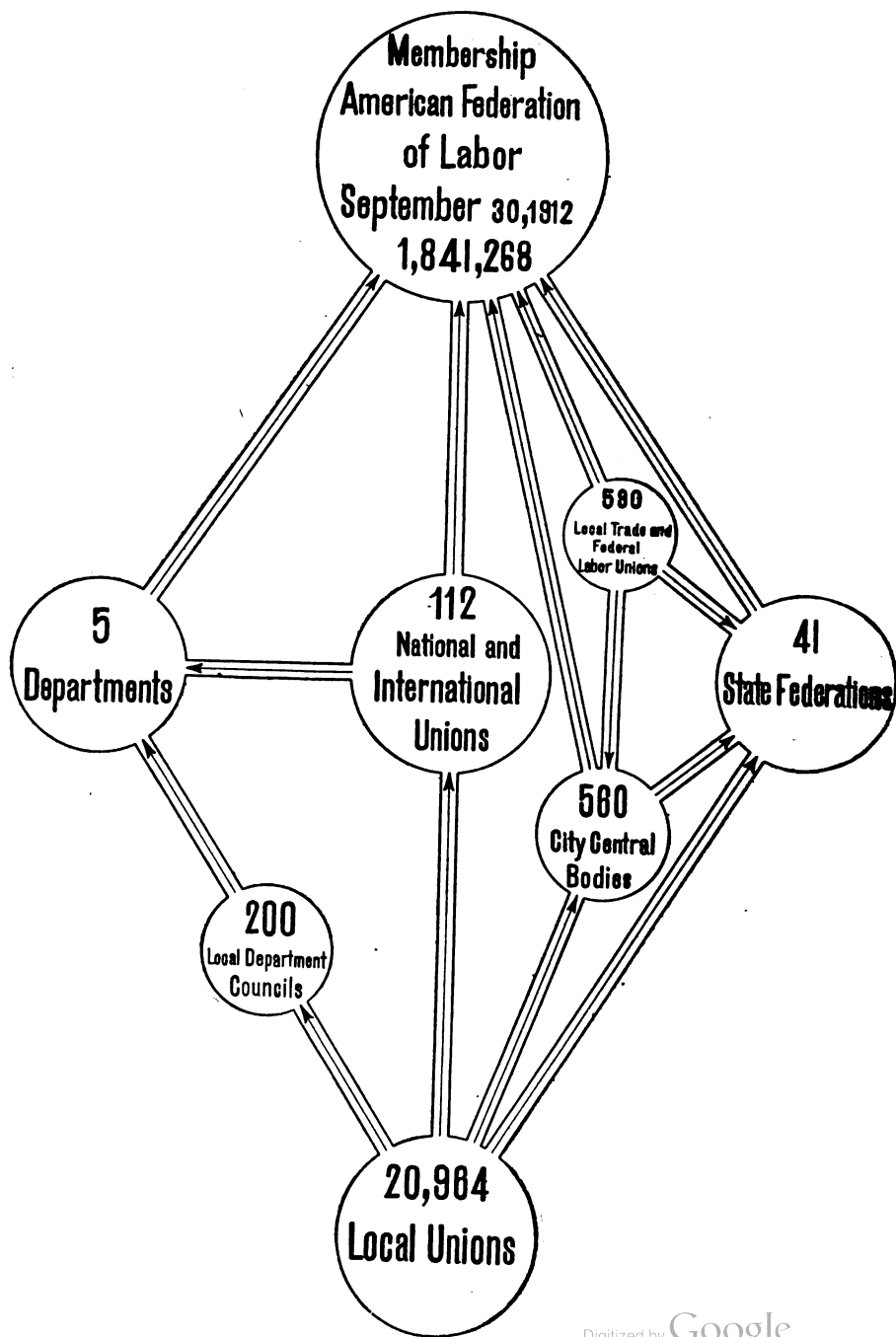
The following is the average membership reported or paid upon for the past sixteen years:

Year.	Membership.
1897	264,825
1898	278,016
1899	349,422
1900	548,321
1901	787,537
1902	1,024,399
1903	1,465,800
1904	1,676,200
1905	1,494,300
1906	1,454,200
1907	1,538,970
1908	1,586,885
1909	1,482,872
1910	1,562,112
1911	1,761,835
1912	1,770,145

So that the delegates and membership at large can at a glance note the steady increase in membership of the American Federation of Labor, a chart will follow on the next page, indicating the membership for each year since 1881, up to and including 1912—thirty-two years. In addition, another chart has been prepared showing clearly the manner in which the American Federation of Labor is organized, commencing with the local unions of the international organizations as the source from which all funds are secured to carry on every activity in the labor movement. Local unions of the national and international organizations and the local unions affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor, constitute the State and city central bodies, as well as department councils. The chart will show that there are 20,964 local unions in the 112 national and international unions and 590 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, with a paid-up and reported membership of 1,841,268 for the month of September.







# AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

83

## AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST.

The receipts on account of the *American Federationist* for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1912, are \$17,240.19, which is \$1,491.58 less than the expenses. Notwithstanding that fact, the receipts from the *American Federationist* for the past eight years has come within \$2,436.83 of paying expenses, or a little over \$300 per year.

The following is a statement of the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending September 30, 1912:

RECEIPTS.	
Receipts.....	\$17,240 19
EXPENSES.	
Attorney fees.....	\$3 00
Commissions on advertising contracts.....	7,889 92
Contributions.....	52 00
Cuts.....	5 00
R. G. Dun & Company.....	75 00
Hauling.....	32 00
Postage Stamps.....	40 90
Postage pound rate.....	317 34
Printing <i>American Federationist</i> .....	8,310 87
Printing and supplies.....	42 00
Refunds.....	60
Salaries.....	1,963 14
Total.....	\$18,731 77

RECAPITULATION.	
Receipts.....	\$17,240 19
Expenses.....	18,731 77
Excess of expenses over receipts.....	\$1,491 58

The following are the receipts and expenses of the *American Federationist* since it was first issued:

YEAR.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Receipts Exceed Expenses.	Expenses Exceed Receipts.
1893-94.....	\$2,418 30	\$2,684 66		\$266 36
1894-95.....	3,184 21	2,675 98	\$508 23	
1895-96.....	1,917 61	2,100 08		182 47
1896-97.....	3,408 39	3,094 87	313 52	
1897-98.....	2,287 83	2,541 75		253 92
1898-99.....	3,171 00	4,033 19		862 19
1899-00.....	4,162 03	4,466 91		304 88
1900-01.....	10,498 22	10,900 54		402 32
1901-02.....	17,170 70	25,406 46		8,235 76
1902-03.....	27,718 43	42,883 68		15,165 25
1903-04.....	32,639 89	30,699 92	1,939 97	
1904-05.....	25,726 57	24,929 86	796 71	
1905-06.....	25,912 87	26,868 12		955 25
1906-07.....	25,310 56	23,560 70	1,749 86	
1907-08.....	20,722 41	20,649 84	72 57	
1908-09.....	20,148 73	22,703 57		2,554 84
1909-10.....	21,326 50	20,621 19	705 31	
1910-11.....	18,213 98	20,913 56		2,699 58
1911-12.....	17,240 19	18,731 77		1,491 58

## HEADQUARTERS.

The following statement shows that during the twelve months ending September 30, 1912, there has been issued from headquarters an average of 1,597 letters, circular letters, and packages per day, as follows:

Packages of supplies forwarded by express and post.....	3,419
Packages of literature and miscellaneous supplies for organizers and others.....	236,993
Official and circular letters in two-cent envelopes.....	65,164
Circulars and circular letters in one-cent envelopes.....	183,036
Total.....	488,612



## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

## ORGANIZING EXPENSES.

The following list of organizers, who were engaged in various States under salaries from the American Federation of Labor, shows that there has been expended for organizing work during the past twelve months \$71,060.95. Of this amount \$2,280.06 was paid to district or volunteer organizers, in sums ranging from \$5 to \$50, for organizing central bodies and local trade or federal labor unions, and adjusting strikes and grievances of local unions affiliated directly or indirectly with the American Federation of Labor:

NAME OF ORGANIZER.	STATE WHEREIN WORK WAS DONE.	Amount Received.
1. Cal. Wyatt.....	Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maine, Vermont, West Virginia, New York.....	\$3,558 19
2. *William Bork.....	New York, Pennsylvania, West Virginia.....	3,071 82
3. T. H. Flynn.....	Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio.....	3,045 88
4. Hugh Frayne.....	New York.....	3,045 03
5. E. T. Flood.....	Iowa, Illinois, New York.....	3,018 83
6. C. O. Young.....	Vancouver, B. C., Washington, Oregon.....	2,909 00
7. J. L. Lewis.....	Pennsylvania, Illinois, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Louisiana, Georgia, New Mexico.....	2,857 70
8. W. E. Terry.....	Florida.....	2,691 70
9. H. L. Elchalberger.....	Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware.....	2,662 21
10. J. A. Flett.....	Ontario, Quebec, New York.....	2,600 01
11. H. T. Keating.....	New York.....	2,514 00
12. J. D. Pierce.....	Pennsylvania, Massachusetts.....	2,453 33
13. J. D. Chubbuck.....	Minnesota, North Dakota.....	2,340 08
14. F. H. McCarthy.....	Massachusetts.....	2,294 85
15. J. J. Fitzpatrick.....	Illinois, Mississippi, Missouri.....	2,293 90
16. P. F. Duffy.....	Rhode Island.....	2,104 65
17. O. E. Finnegan.....	Iowa.....	2,096 45
18. *Joseph Tylkoff.....	New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island.....	1,992 40
19. J. J. Cunningham.....	Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut.....	1,835 45
20. S. A. Bramlette.....	Kansas, Missouri.....	1,805 92
21. *Santiago Iglesias.....	Porto Rico.....	1,714 50
22. O. A. Miles.....	Massachusetts, New York, Vermont, Virginia, New Jersey.....	1,607 69
23. J. J. Keegan.....	Indiana.....	1,587 86
24. Henry Streidler.....	New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island.....	1,486 14
25. C. P. Taylor.....	Idaho, Washington, Oregon.....	1,184 55
26. Jacob Tazelaar.....	New York.....	1,128 81
27. Israel Solon.....	New York, Illinois.....	983 88
28. Joseph Sorensen.....	Washington, California, British Columbia.....	695 05
29. *A. J. Kwaterski.....	Pennsylvania.....	559 34
30. J. B. Dale.....	California.....	510 00
31. C. W. Woodman.....	Texas, Louisiana.....	488 30
32. *Placido Comunale.....	New York, New Jersey.....	426 50
33. *Joseph Minzowski.....	Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire.....	425 00
34. T. J. Reagan.....	Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island.....	420 00
35. *Pasquale DiNeri.....	New York, New Jersey.....	376 20
36. G. E. Neesham.....	Pennsylvania.....	376 05
37. *Guisepe Cardinale.....	New York, New Jersey.....	269 46
38. J. B. Lennon.....	Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Tennessee.....	256 80
39. L. A. Tanquary.....	New Mexico.....	226 40
40. A. E. Holder.....	Missouri, Illinois, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Ohio.....	224 04
41. R. P. Rubin.....	New Mexico.....	211 95
42. J. W. Kline.....	Illinois.....	209 38
43. George Heatherton.....	Vancouver, B. C.....	200 00
44. M. Grant Hamilton.....	Colorado.....	194 65
45. D. F. Manning.....	Iowa.....	190 45
46. Jerome Jones.....	Georgia.....	169 81
47. B. F. Shearod.....	Texas.....	140 00
48. P. J. Flannery.....	Massachusetts.....	135 00
49. Stuart Reid.....	District of Columbia.....	127 20
50. Daniel Harris.....	New York.....	122 92
51. H. G. Kelly.....	Pennsylvania.....	118 10
52. M. M. Donoghue.....	Montana, Canada.....	105 10
53. J. A. Franklin.....	Kansas.....	85 32
54. H. T. Hilfers.....	New Jersey.....	77 25
55. F. L. Rist.....	Ohio.....	78 00
56. Cornelius Ford.....	New Jersey.....	74 45
57. Fred Reilly.....	Pennsylvania.....	74 00
58. David Kreyling.....	Missouri, Illinois.....	63 75
59. Pasqual Jordan.....	Porto Rico.....	60 00
60. J. E. Galligan.....	Pennsylvania.....	53 50
61. J. A. Moffitt.....	New Jersey.....	52 10
62. E. N. Nockels.....	Illinois.....	50 00
63. F. A. Fitzgerald.....	Louisiana.....	50 00
	Paid to District Organizers in amounts less than \$50.....	2,280 06
	Total.....	\$71,060 95

LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

On September 30th of this year we had 590 local trade and federal labor unions with a membership of 27,945 in good standing, and a defense fund of \$85,663.27 to protect the members of these unions in case of strike or lockout, many strikes that would have cost the American Federation of Labor a large sum were averted during the past year through the assistance of organizers of the American Federation of Labor in adjusting the differences with employers and securing conditions desired by the unions.

DEFENSE FUND.

The following is an itemized statement of the amounts received from and paid to our Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, giving average membership, number of weeks benefit, and the amount received by each organization during the fiscal year ending September 30, 1912.

RECEIPTS.

Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for Defense Fund..... \$19,336 26

EXPENSES.

	Average membership.	Weeks.	Amount.
*Button Workers' Protective Union, No. 12854, Muscatine, Iowa.....	188+	32	\$24,132 00
Federal Labor Union, No. 10829, Chicago, Ill.....	68+	40	11,021 33
*Federal Labor Union, No. 9993, Centralia, Ill.....	44+	48	8,608 00
Federal Labor Union, No. 9626, Waterloo, Iowa.....	32+	43	6,252 00
*Machinists Helpers, No. 12345, Paducah, Ky.....	25+	45	4,576 00
Machinists Helpers and Laborers, No. 12952, Pocatello, Idaho.....	24+	30	2,948 00
Mechanics' Helpers, No. 12864, Sparks, Nev.....	14+	48	2,790 00
Machinists Helpers, No. 12561, Clinton, Ill.....	10+	46	1,952 00
*Machinists Helpers, No. 13042, Los Angeles, California.....	12+	35	1,700 00
Federal Labor Union, No. 9955, Uhrichsville, Ohio.....	37+	6	904 00
Suspender Workers, No. 11294, Aurora, Ill.....	35+	5	708 00
Machinists' Helpers, No. 12764, Denver, Colorado.....	5+	30	688 00
Federal Labor Union, No. 14073, Monaca, Pa.....	16+	6	404 00
Tobacco Strippers, No. 12690, Uruado, P. R.....	14+	6	344 00
Fur Dressers, No. 13185, Brooklyn, N. Y.....	12	6	288 00
Tobacco Strippers, No. 10422, Denver, Colorado.....	8+	2	68 00
Agricultural Workers, No. 11827, Juncos, P. R.....	1	3	12 00
Total.....			\$67,455 33

Returned, receipted for, and redeposited in Defense Fund.

Button Workers' Protective, No. 12854..	\$2,410 00
Federal Labor Union, No. 9993.....	32 00
Machinists' Helpers, No. 13042.....	12 00
Machinists' Helpers, No. 12345.....	4 00
Ladies' Felt and Straw Hat Workers, No. 12815.....	4 00
Total.....	\$2,462 00

RECAPITULATION.

Balance on hand in Defense Fund, September 30, 1911.....	\$133,782 34
Received in Defense Fund (including the \$2,462 refunded by local unions enumerated above for benefits that were not distributed).....	19,336 26
Paid out of Defense Fund.....	\$153,118 60
Balance in Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions September 30, 1912.....	\$85,663 27

Strike benefits to the amount of \$67,455.33 were paid to the members of seventeen local unions who were qualified to receive them, under the requirements of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor. The periods for which these benefits were paid ranged from two weeks to forty-eight weeks. Five local unions refunded benefits to the amount of \$2,462. A regular official receipt was issued to each local for benefits so refunded and this total amount was redeposited and credited in the receipts for the defense fund. Deducting this refund of \$2,462 from the \$67,455.33, which was drawn from the defense fund to cover the strike rolls as they were received, reduces the actual expenditure from the defense fund to \$64,993.33. The total of \$67,455.33 is carried as expenses drawn from the defense fund, as this amount was actually drawn out, and to save confusing the accounts, when the refunds were made they were recorded and carried through our books as receipts and entered in this form to the credit of the fund.

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

The following table will show that since the time the fund was inaugurated in 1902 up to and including this fiscal year there has been received into the fund \$227,102.96 and paid out \$141,439.69.

	Receipts.	Expenses.	Balance on hand.
1902.....	\$20,423 00		\$20,423 00
1903.....	49,663 40	\$6,690 00	63,396 40
1904.....	33,722 55	15,972 00	81,146 95
1905.....	16,966 63	3,197 18	94,916 40
1906.....	15,556 02	13,643 40	96,829 02
1907.....	17,143 65	10,893 78	103,078 89
1908.....	14,327 20	12,124 00	105,282 09
1909.....	11,383 05	788 00	115,877 14
1910.....	12,570 45	6,484 00	121,963 59
1911.....	16,010 75	4,192 00	133,782 34
1912.....	19,336 26	67,455 33	85,663 27
	<b>\$227,102 96</b>	<b>\$141,439 69</b>	

## CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, I desire to express, through the delegates present, my appreciation of the splendid efforts put forth by the organizers, and the assistance and encouragement received from the officers of the international organizations, and from my colleagues of the Executive Council. Respectfully submitted.

*Frank Morrison*

Secretary, American Federation of Labor.

## TREASURER'S REPORT.

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:*

At the close of this, my twenty-third consecutive year as Treasurer of the Federation, I submit this report with my best wishes and kind regards to every officer, delegate, and member of the affiliated unions.

The fiscal year just ended, to me seems more full of justification for conviction in the minds of trade unionists that we are nearing the day when real industrial justice shall be realized by the toilers of our country. Evidences of the effective educational work of the Federation are to be seen and heard on every hand. The national political campaign just closed has been unprecedented in agitation for social and industrial reform, and human uplift. I have heard many candidates and speakers of the Democratic, Republican, Progressive, Socialist, and Prohibition parties, and the paramount themes of their talks were on social and industrial issues, so much so in many cases that I imagined that I must be at a trade union meeting, rather than a partisan political gathering. The themes were the improper use of injunctions in labor disputes, the eight-hour workday, seamen's measures, child labor, women labor, a living wage, human rights above property rights, etc., etc.

This agitation is the child of the trade union movement. We were the pioneers that blazed the trail that leads to industrial justice.

The agitation of these subjects on so great a scale, has awakened the interest of the masses of our citizens, and even though the politicians may be in many instances insincere, and without any real interest to bring about the reforms advocated, the people have been aroused and they will see to it that promises are fulfilled. I am personally confident that the near future will see much valuable fruit harvested as the result of the work done in past years by our trade union movement. We can not, however, afford to depend entirely, or even partly, on the promises we have heard so often repeated, but must continue to do our work ourselves, welcoming, however, the assistance of all who are willing to travel with us toward the goal of industrial justice. He who would be free himself must strike the blow.

You will note that the funds in the hands of the Treasurer are in round numbers \$70,000 less than they were one year ago. This decrease was principally caused by the strike of the Button

Workers, and our Machinists' Helpers on the Illinois Central and the Harriman lines. This large sum expended in benefits in two contests has clearly demonstrated the practicability of our defense fund, and therefore has been expended to good purpose. The unions receiving this benefit have not been destroyed, but, on the contrary, are ready to again defend themselves from injustice and wrong.

By direction of the Executive Council, I secured from the bank in which our money is deposited (at the bank's expense) a bond from the American Surety Company guaranteeing the safety of the deposit, thus adding security for the safety of our funds.

Below you will find my financial statement for the year:

INCOME.		EXPENSES.	
Received of Secretary Morrison:		Warrants paid:	
1911.		1911.	
October 31.....	\$14,481 32	October 31.....	\$16,686 20
November 30.....	11,269 27	November 30.....	20,419 48
December 31.....	16,884 31	December 31.....	20,922 91
1912.		1912.	
January 31.....	12,482 81	January 31.....	20,900 10
February 29.....	15,602 58	February 29.....	22,499 15
March 31.....	18,550 55	March 31.....	44,353 88
April 30.....	17,434 95	April 30.....	24,533 48
May 31.....	16,559 94	May 31.....	25,208 45
June 30.....	15,924 54	June 30.....	20,079 06
July 31.....	16,945 37	July 31.....	23,865 76
August 31.....	17,321 50	August 31.....	18,781 68
September 30.....	33,916 46	September 30.....	19,229 08
Total income for year.....	\$207,373 60	Total expenses for year.....	\$277,479 23
Add balance on hand Oct. 1, 1911..	187,579 56		
Makes total funds.....	\$394,953 16		

## RECAPITULATION.

Total funds (balance and income).....	\$394,953 16
Deduct total expenses (warrants paid).....	277,479 23
Balance in hands of Treasurer, October 1, 1912.....	\$117,473 93
Balance in hands of Secretary, October 1, 1912.....	2,000 00
Total funds September 30, 1912.....	\$119,473 93
Where deposited—Treasurer's balance:	
McLean County Bank, Bloomington, Ill., subject to check.....	\$17,473 93
McLean County Bank, Bloomington, Ill., interest bearing certificates.....	100,000 00
Total in hands of Treasurer.....	\$117,473 93
Interest collected and paid to Secretary Morrison during year.....	\$3,991 32
Amount of funds handled during twenty-three years I have been Treasurer.....	\$2,598,353 95

Trusting that my performance of the duties as Treasurer has been satisfactory, I remain,  
Fraternally yours,

JOHN B. LENNON,  
Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

BLOOMINGTON, ILL., October 1, 1912.

## Second Day—Tuesday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9 a. m. Tuesday, November 12th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Noschang, Strelle, Genzenback, Tracy (T. F.), Barnes, Zuckerman, Russell, Ford, Hannahan, Dolan, Rickert, Langer, Dyche, Fiore, Patberg, O'Neal, McSorley, Taggart, Bryan, Healey, O'Connor, Johnston, Price, Call, Leary, Crane, Walsh (Thos.), White, Hayes (F. J.), Holland, Young (Wm.), Weber, Winkler, Wilson (James) Hannan, Murphy, Nelson, Whitehead, Miller (J. F.), Mahon, Taber, Huddleston, Welch (M. R.), Starr, Williams (T. J.), Carolan, Donnelly, Behrens, Young (Edwin), Swick, Darling, Laurentz, Campbell, Glidden, Tracy (M. F.), Burke, Hicks, Kane, Mead, Doherty, Welch, Berry (H. C.), Ferguson, Pace, Morgan, Stokes, Morris (J. F.), O'Rourke, Lawler, McAndrews, Cunningham, Waldron, Beckman, Plasterer, Weiss, Labbee, Gold.

### Report of Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Delegate Fischer (J.), secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Greetings:

We, your committee on rules and order of business, beg leave to submit the following report:

We recommend the adoption of the following rules for the government of the Convention:

Rule 1—The Convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a. m., and remain in session until 12:30. Convene at 2 p. m. and remain in session until 5:30 p. m., except on Saturday, on which day the session shall be from 9:30 a. m. to 12:30.

Rule 2—If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall, at the request of the chair, take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 3—Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 4—No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks except it be to call him to a point of order.

Rule 5—A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak shall have had an opportunity to do so.

Rule 6—A delegate shall not speak more than twice on the same question without permission from the Convention.

Rule 7—Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by vote of the Convention.

Rule 8—A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the chair.

Rule 9—At the request of five members, the mover of a motion shall be required to reduce it to writing.

Rule 10—When a question is pending before the Convention, no motion shall be in order, except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall have precedence in the order named.

Rule 11—Motions to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Roberts' Rules of Order.

Rule 12—A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted in the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 13—That the reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the Convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 14—Any delegate failing to present his card within 30 minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence he may so report to the Secretary and be marked present.

Rule 15—It shall require at least 30 members to move the previous question.

Rule 16—All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in duplicate.

Rule 17—No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak, if he or she so desires.

Rule 18—No resolutions shall be received after Thursday's session, November 14th, without unanimous consent of the Convention.

Rule 19—When a roll-call vote has been taken, and all delegates or delegations present have had the opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 20—When a roll-call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 21—Roberts' Rules shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided.

Rule 22—The main body of the hall shall be reserved for delegates.

### Order of Business.

1—Reading Minutes of previous session, which will be dispensed with unless called for.

- 3-Report of Committee on Credentials.
- 3-Report of Officers.
- 4-Report of Regular Committees.
- 5-Report of Special Committees.
- 6-Unfinished Business.
- 7-New Business.
- 8-Election of Officers.
- 9-Selection of next meeting place.
- 10-Good of the Federation.
- 11-Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,

T. A. RICKERT,  
Chairman.  
JACOB FISCHER,  
Secretary.

W. J. PFLEGER,  
JOHN SULLIVAN,  
E. T. WALLS,  
C. F. BAILEY,  
C. C. SHAY,  
M. M. DONOGHUE,  
J. T. CAREY,  
D. G. BIGGS,  
M. M. GREEN,  
M. F. TRACY,  
H. P. CORCORAN,  
T. J. CAROLAN,  
H. M. DONNELLY.

Delegate Fischer moved the adoption of the report. (Seconded.)

Delegate Furuseth—I move to amend by inserting after the word “delegates,” “and ex-delegates,” in the rule that provides that the floor of the convention be occupied by nobody but delegates. (Seconded by Delegate Sullivan, J. L.)

President Gompers stated that if the amendment were adopted the rule as amended would probably be repeated in future conventions, and the time might come when the ex-delegates would occupy the main floor and the regular delegates would be on the outskirts. He stated further that no rule would be so rigidly enforced by him as to refuse an honored ex-delegate a seat on the main floor.

The amendment was withdrawn and the motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

President Gompers announced that the report of the Executive Council would be read by First Vice-President Duncan, and called attention to the comprehensiveness and importance of the report. He stated that he would bespeak undivided attention for the report, as it dealt with matters of interest to every delegate and affecting nearly every affiliated organization.

First Vice-President Duncan, for the Executive Council, read the attached report:

The report not being completed at 12:30 reading was suspended until 2 p. m.

President Gompers announced that ten minutes would be given to introduce resolutions, and the following resolutions were presented and referred to the proper committees:

Resolution No. 1—By Delegate Wm. D. Huber, Frank Duffy, Fred Wheeler, A. M. Swartz, Dan Featherston, William J. Kelly, W. E. Hemsell, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

At the Seventeenth Biennial Convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, held in Washington, D. C., from September 16th to 28th, 1912, the Special Committee on Injunctions submitted the following report, which was concurred in by the convention:

“We, your special committee appointed by this convention to consider the court injunction in labor matters, and in special regard to the resolution from the New York State Council of the United Brotherhood, report as follows:

“That the reckless and unwarranted use of court injunctions has resolved itself into mere judicial anarchy. The frightful usurpation of unwarranted power has caused hundreds of thousands of the workers and toilers of our land to be lead like sheep to the shambles. Of the hundreds of injunctions issued scarce one has been issued for the protection of the lives or fortunes of the laborer, but on the contrary, they have been issued upon the slightest pretext to harass and annoy those who are engaged in a desperate struggle for existence. We agree with Thomas Jefferson, who with prophetic vision said: ‘I regard the courts as a subtle corps of sappers and miners, who if left unrestrained, taking a little here and gaining a little there, will eventually undermine the liberties of the American people.’

“We believe the time has long passed when we, as representatives of the working class of America, should arouse the people to these facts, and do here and now protest against our judiciary taking unto itself such powers as were never contemplated by the founders of this republic and which if allowed to continue will result in a judicial oligarchy that would shame a Russian Czar.

“Solemnly believing this to be true, we submit to this convention this declaration; therefore, be it

“RESOLVED, that this Seventeenth General Convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America do declare as being in favor of the right of recall of judges and judicial decisions and that we use every lawful means at our command to secure its adoption; and, be it further

“RESOLVED, that a copy of this resolution be sent to the American Bar Association and to the Bar Association of New York State, and that our delegates to the

A. F. of L. Convention at Rochester be instructed to present a copy of the same to that convention and to work for its passage."

Referred to committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 2—By Flour and Cereal Mill Employees Union No. 14,039 of Lethbridge, Alta.:

WHEREAS, The paper sticker issued by the American Federation of Labor to locals of the flour and cereal mill workers does not fulfil the object in view; and

WHEREAS, The said sticker is expensive in that it entails upon the local unions the cost of labels and the labor of affixing the same to the bags; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be asked to issue cuts of the label, and the label be printed upon the sacks when the same are made; and that, in the event of any firm or company not living up to an agreement, the local union shall have the right to cancel the label by a cancellation stamp placed over the original label on the sack to show purchasers that the product is unfair; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the object to be attained is that the union shall remain in control of the label without being at unnecessary expense, but shall take direct action when the contract appears to be broken.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 3—By Central Labor Union of Elkhart, Ind.:

WHEREAS, There are a number of locals not affiliated with central bodies but affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, We believe that all locals affiliated with the American Federation of Labor should be affiliated with central bodies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in session at Rochester, N. Y., change Article XI, Sec. 2, by striking out the word "shall" and inserting the word "must."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate C. F. Bailey, of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The laundry workers of the country are still poorly organized notwithstanding the efforts of our organization and of many of the organizers of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, the Laundry Workers International Union, is composed of only 47 locals, 15 of which are in the states of Montana and California, thus showing an extremely large field for organization; and

WHEREAS, On account of the small number of members our funds for organization purposes are necessarily limited; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and instructed by this convention to issue a special letter to organizers

under their jurisdiction to give particular attention to the organizing of the workers of this craft.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 5—By Theatrical Tailors and Dressers Union No. 12,719:

WHEREAS, Theatrical companies are playing on the road in different cities of the United States of America and Canada in which members of local 12,719 are employed; and

WHEREAS, In all theaters in these cities in which Hebrew companies are playing men are employed on the stage as stage hands, electricians, etc., who are members of the Theatrical Stage Employees International Alliance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor request the Theatrical Stage Employees International Alliance to demand that every Hebrew company playing in the cities of the United States and Canada have a costume dresser who is a member in good standing of the Theatrical Tailors and Dressers Union No. 12,719.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 6—By Amalgamated Leather Workers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The labor employed in the production of leather in the United States aggregates, approximately, 80,000 persons; and

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Leather Workers Union of America, under whose jurisdiction this class of labor comes, is not at present in a condition financially to prosecute a campaign of organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the president of the American Federation of Labor be empowered to appoint an organizer who shall specially devote at least six months to organizing that class of labor, and that the expense of said organizer be defrayed by the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate J. H. Collins, of Brocton (Mass.) Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The President of the United States has submitted to the meeting of the Governors of the states to be held in December a proposition for the creation of additional banks for the benefit of the farmers as wealth producers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorses the proposition with the following conditions:

First, that if any system for more adequate money and banking facilities is to be created it should include provisions whereby the wage workers of the nation also may obtain credit at cost. The only source now available is a monopoly enforcing its excessive high prices for the use of the private credit by the power of the defects of our present financial system—wealth producers are thus forced to become and remain renters of farms and homes when they should own them.

Second, that the credit used by any banks established for the benefit of the common people should be the credit of all the people coined into legal tender and circulating as a medium of exchange for the wealth production of the country, thus replacing the vicious system that uses the credit of all the people as an endorser of the private credit of a few of the people, who under the special privileges now given to them circulate their credit as bank credit, enabling these few people to draw interest on what they owe and thus continue to concentrate, as the system already has concentrated the wealth of the country in the hands of the few. We declare that this financial system which uses an evidence of its debt as the tool of exchange for labor's products, this system that is drawing interest on what it owes, has been denounced in all conventions of labor men which have preceded this convention, and that their prophecies that it would develop the economic and social ills that now afflict the country have been fulfilled.

Resolved, That we reiterate labor's long continued demand for a reform in banking and currency that will stop the abuses that yield monopolistic profits to large institutions and combinations, which profits are taken from the annual wealth production of the country, without rendering an adequate equivalent, thus creating a useless burden that is a prolific source of disease, poverty and crime.

We declare that the voice of the representatives of organized labor is as much entitled to be heard on this problem as that of representative bankers, or representative business men, for in the end all fixed charges, all annual costs of national housekeeping must be paid out of the annual wealth production of the nation's wealth producers, thereby lessening the returns to labor if these annual costs are excessive or unnecessary. When selfish interest is given any special privilege to encroach upon the natural rights of the individual its greed will know no limit. Labor declares that the natural rights of every individual include christian living wages and conditions that will bring universal peace and prosperity. No system has any moral right and therefore it should have no legal right to call upon labor to surrender any of its product unless the system renders in return a full equivalent.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate H. L. Vanderveld, of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor:

Whereas, But a very small percentage of the jewelry workers of Newark, N. J., are members of the local of their craft in that city; and

Whereas, the Executive Board of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, after a careful investigation into the conditions of the jewelry workers of Newark, N. J., from a union standpoint, have come to the conclusion that an organizer of the American Federation of Labor should be placed in that city; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention authorize the placing of an organizer in Newark, N. J., to assist in unionizing the jewelry workers of that city.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 9—By Hair Spinners Union, No. 12553:

WHEREAS, We, Hair Spinners Protective Union 12553, A. F. of L., do consider the strike benefits paid by the American Federation of Labor too small compared with the high cost of living, high prices for wearing apparel and so on, and we think we can get better results in case of trouble if a higher benefit is paid, for we find when the money runs down some of the persons on strike or lockout become indifferent to their obligations and duty; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Section 5 of Article XIII of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by striking out four (\$4.00) dollars per week for each member and inserting six (\$6.00) dollars per week for each member.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate Edw. E. Shilling of the Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union:

WHEREAS, A large number of trades and crafts affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have a union label of their own, its use being that of affording a mark of distinction to the purchaser to be used as a guide to the purchasing of union made products; and

WHEREAS, It becomes the duty of each and every union man to use his purchasing power to advance the interests of fair products by purchasing only such products as bear the union label; and

WHEREAS, The Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union has a paper label for trunks and a stamp label for leather goods, which it advertises as a mark of distinction between the union and non-union trunks, bags, suit-cases and leather novelties; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates representing the international, state, central and federated unions, in convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Rochester, November, 1912, will use our utmost endeavor in creating a greater demand for the goods, bearing the label of the Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union; be it further

RESOLVED, That we earnestly request the members of our respective local unions to observe carefully when making purchases of trunks, bags, suit-cases, pocketbooks, belts or other leather novelties, that the purchases made have the union label of the Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union, as none are genuine union made unless the label is there to be seen.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.



**Resolution No. 11—By Delegate Edw. E. Shilling of the Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union:**

WHEREAS, Comparatively a small per cent of the workers of our craft are organized in the United States and Canada, and the larger portion of them have to work long hours and under bad conditions for the lack of being organized; and

WHEREAS, This vast number of leather workers is by far the largest contingent of unorganized labor embraced in a single class now in existence; and

WHEREAS, The Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union has organized a certain per cent of this class and increased their wages and shortened their hours to nine hours per day through such organization; and

WHEREAS, The Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union had to withdraw their International President from the pay roll on account of no funds being in the treasury, and as the General President has been acting as the organizer for our craft, and without an organizer being in the field the Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers Union will soon be on the decline; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized by this convention to give to our organization assistance in the way of appointing a special organizer for a certain period of time or by giving financial aid for that period.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Resolution No. 12—By Delegate Emmet T. Walls of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:**

RESOLVED, That we favor embodying the initiative and referendum in the Federal Constitution; we favor a small tax on land values to replace some of the more burdensome tariff taxes on the necessities of life; we urge that the government loan the deposits coming in to the Postal Savings Banks to individuals in small sums, in the communities where the deposits are made, preferably to working people seeking to acquire homes; and we request our delegate to the American Federation of Labor to introduce and support resolutions on these subjects at the annual national convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 13—By Delegate George L. Berry, of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union:**

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the Executive Council of this Federation be instructed to arrange conferences between the representatives of the various International

Unions where there is more than one international membership employed in any given industry, and that every effort by the Executive Council be extended to bring about a federation of such unions to the end that joint action may be assured in all disputes between organized labor and the employing classes.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

**Resolution No. 14—By Delegation of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America:**

WHEREAS, In the lock-out instituted against the members of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union by William Randolph Hearst, in the City of Chicago, and joined later by all members of the Publishers' Association of that City; and,

WHEREAS, It became necessary for the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union to bear the expense of financing the controversy for other organizations that joined in sympathy; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Board of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union requested financial assistance from the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and an endorsement of their position, and same having been given through the authorization of the issuance of an appeal to organized labor and its sympathizers for financial assistance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this resolution of thanks submitted by the representatives of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union to organized labor and its sympathizers throughout the North American continent, be adopted.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

**Resolution No. 15—By M. M. Donoghue, President Montana State Federation of Labor:**

WHEREAS, In the western portion of the state of Montana, there are many thousands of men employed in the lumber industry; and,

WHEREAS, These men were formerly organized under various heads and forms; and,

WHEREAS, They now are thoroughly disorganized, there not being a local union of any kind, connected with this industry in the state of Montana; and,

WHEREAS, We believe that the time is now opportune for the organization of the employes engaged in this industry, under the banner of the A. F. of L.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. fully consider and grant the request of the Montana State Federation of Labor, and its affiliated locals, that an organizer be specially sent into this district, said organizer to be un-

der the direction of the President of The Montana State Federation of Labor and under salary from the A. F. of L. for a period of not less than four months in each year, not exceeding two years.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Resolution No. 16—By Delegate Milton Snellings of the Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union:**

**WHEREAS,** The people of the District of Columbia have been deprived of the right of local self-government, and a form of government under which an immense majority have neither voice nor influence has been forced upon them by Congress without their consent; and,

**WHEREAS,** The present form of government in the capital of the republic—the political heart of the nation—is contrary to the fundamental principles of American liberty, to establish which our revolutionary forefathers pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor; and,

**WHEREAS,** The ballot is the workers' most effective weapon, deprived of which they are powerless to redress many of their grievances or to prevent the few from despoiling the many; and,

**WHEREAS,** The Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C. has repeatedly petitioned the Congress of the United States for the restoration of a republican form of government in the national capital, and has presented a plan for such a form of government; and,

**WHEREAS,** The people in no other city in this country are deprived of the right and opportunity to express their views and register their will through the ballot box; and,

**WHEREAS,** Opportunity having been afforded the people of the Federal District on the recent general election day, to express themselves by a "straw ballot," nearly ninety-three per cent of those availing themselves of this opportunity thereby declared that "The people of the District of Columbia should be allowed to vote"; therefore be it,

**RESOLVED,** That it is the sense of the American Federation of Labor that, while maintaining Federal control of Federal affairs, the Congress should at once re-establish in the District of Columbia a government of the people, by the people and for the people;

**RESOLVED,** That organized labor throughout the United States, and especially in the District of Columbia, should exert itself to the utmost to promote the enactment of such legislation; and be it further

**RESOLVED,** That the Executive Council is hereby directed to lend such aid as they may deem wise and helpful to secure for the citizens of Washington such a change in the form of government.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 17—By Delegates Kline, Kramer and Glover, of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths:**

**WHEREAS,** The St. Louis Convention of the American Federation of Labor acting upon the report of the committee on Adjustment in reference to Resolution 22-81 and which subject matter was referred to the Executive Council and the said Executive Council directed President Gompers and Secretary Morrison to act for them in the matter; and,

**WHEREAS,** The deputized officers of the Executive Council succeeded in bringing the International officers of the several organizations mentioned in the resolutions together; and,

**WHEREAS,** The result of this meeting was, that an agreement between all parties concerned was signed on the 19th day of April, 1911, for the purpose of organizing the carriage, wagon and automobile industry, according to the several clauses specified in said agreement; and,

**WHEREAS,** The agreement entered into has been willfully and grossly violated by the Carriage and Wagon Workers International Union and are guilty of disrupting Unions formerly existing under a charter issued by the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers; and,

**WHEREAS,** The Carriage and Wagon Workers International Union has repeatedly issued "shop cards" to firms whose plants were not unionized or connected with the Carriage and Wagon Workers Union except probably by one branch of the wagon and automobile industry, namely the woodworker or painter, thus permitting the blacksmith and blacksmith helper to remain at work and outside of any legitimate labor union; and,

**WHEREAS,** The Carriage and Wagon Workers International Union have taken persons into their ranks for less than one-third the amount specified in Rule 4 of the agreement; and,

**WHEREAS,** The Carriage and Wagon Workers International Union are not using their best efforts in trying to organize the carriage, wagon and automobile industry, but try to get members already in our organization; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That we, the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers, protest against the methods adopted by the Carriage and Wagon Workers, which is in direct violation of the agreement entered into; and, be it further

**RESOLVED,** That we, the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers, cease to recognize the further existence of said agreement entered into with the Carriage and Wagon Workers International Union, April 19th, 1911, and purpose to organize the carriage, wagon and automobile industry regardless, but will deal justly with organizations who recognize the value of an agreement and respect jurisdictional lines.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 18—By W. J. Kelly, U. B. of C. and J. of A.:

WHEREAS, The City Firemen's Protective Association of the City of Pittsburgh has been actively engaged in organizing the city firemen, that they may be better enabled to demand better conditions, a more humane mode of living, and that they get the proper recognition for the services they render to their fellow men; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the American Federation of Labor can, by the use of its good offices in this movement, be the means of bettering the conditions of firemen throughout the whole of the United States and thereby disenfranchise thousands of families from the present unnatural mode of living, and give these families an opportunity now denied, of becoming acquainted with their husbands and fathers; and,

WHEREAS, The firemen of the City of Pittsburgh have been organized since 1903 and affiliated with this A. F. of L. and thereby have been enabled (in the face of strenuous opposition on the part of their superiors in the fire department) to better their conditions wonderfully in the past nine years; and

WHEREAS, The fight to organize the city firemen has been and still is an uphill fight and while we have not organized all the members of the Pittsburgh department, but are slowly and steadily winning them to seeing the value of organization because they cannot shut their eyes to the fact that we are from time to time achieving something to better their conditions; and

WHEREAS, The firemen of the City of Pittsburgh lay dormant for twenty years until the rank and file of the department awoke to the fact that there should be something more than serfdom for their lot in life, even though they were servants of the public, therefore, some of the most aggressive and progressive jumped into the fray at the time of an upheaval in this city's politics, and at a, I may say, dangerous time and organized and since have attained more real, good, permanent results than were ever dreamed of by the oldest members of the department; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and organizers of the A. F. of L. be instructed and that they are hereby instructed to take up the question of organizing the fire departments throughout the United States, and lend every assistance towards obtaining better conditions of employment than these firemen have at the present time; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers and organizers be instructed also to submit a report of their progress along these lines to the next annual convention of the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate J. R. Crozier:

WHEREAS, The Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' International Union are making a determined effort to organize this industry throughout the country;

WHEREAS, The finances of this organization will not permit them to put organizers in the field where most needed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor appoint a special organizer to assist this craft in their struggle against great odds.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate Henry Prinz:

WHEREAS, The trade union movement is on record for bettering and uplifting the conditions of women wage workers; and

WHEREAS, A great majority of the women wage earners of the state of New York receive far less than living wages; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention place itself on record for a statute establishing a minimum wage for women and that the Legislative Committee be instructed to draft a minimum wage bill and have same introduced in the 1913 session of the Legislature.

Our committee reported that the subject matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, for such consideration as they deem best on this subject.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate John Sinclair, Fish Splitters and Handlers Union No. 14,270:

WHEREAS, The spirit of unionism requires stimulation in Gloucester and vicinity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates in convention assembled take such action as will result in sending a member of the Executive Council to the City of Gloucester, Mass., sometime during the months of March or April of 1913, to strengthen and stimulate unionism.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 22—By John Henley, Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The Carpet Mechanics' Union of San Francisco, Cal., is affiliated with the Building Trades Council of San Francisco, Cal.; and

WHEREAS, The Carpet Mechanics' Union referred to is a dual union and not affiliated with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America, whose jurisdiction covers the carpet layers, cutters, measurers and estimators; and

WHEREAS, Resolutions have been introduced at several conventions of the A. F. of L. by the representative of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America requesting that the Carpet Mechanics of San Francisco affiliate with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America or to be denied affiliation with central bodies affiliated with the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, No action has been taken by the Building Trades Council of San Francisco indicating the compliance with the action requested by the Convention of the A. F. of L. in the case of the union referred to; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to appoint a representative who shall, in conjunction with the repre-

sentative of the Upholsterers' International Union, confer with the Carpet Mechanics of San Francisco, Cal., for the purpose of inducing them to affiliate with the Upholsterers' International Union; and, be it further

RESOLVED, Should the Carpet Mechanics of San Francisco fail to apply for a charter to the Upholsterers' International Union before February 1, 1913, the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall instruct one of their organizers to organize a union of Carpet Mechanics of San Francisco, under the jurisdiction of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

At 12:45 the convention was adjourned, to be reconvened at 2 p. m.

## Second Day—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 p. m., Tuesday, November 12th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Gengenback, Barnes, Fitzgerald (W. H.), Zuckerman, McNulty, Yount, Ford, Feeney, Rickert, Langer, Daley (Margaret), Dyche, Pattberg, Taggart, Bryan, Healey (Dennis), Price, Leary, Crane, Holland, Curran, Weber, Winkler, Rodriguez, Hannah, Murphy, Whitehead, Halpine, Miller (J. F.), Gallagher (T. J.), Paquin, Huddleston, Welch, Tobin, Starr, Young (Wm.), Swick, Brockhausen, Darling, Fitzgerald, Laurentz, Campbell, Sause, Gildden, Landers, Burke, Hicks, Kane, Ferguson, Drackert, Pace, Morgan, Stokes, Simpson, Bates, Cunningham, O'Rourke, Bohm, Waldron, Beckman, Plasterer.

Vice-President Duncan continued reading the report of the Executive Council until it was completed. (See Executive Council's report. Pages 104-179.)

President Gompers—The report of the Executive Council will be printed with today's proceedings and distributed to-morrow morning, at which time reference will be made of the various subjects to the appropriate committees. The Secretary will now read the reference of the various matters in the President's report.

Secretary Morrison read the following list of references:

References of sections of the President's report:

That section under the caption "Citizenship for Porto Ricans" referred to Committee on Resolutions.

That section under the caption "Union Label Trades Department" referred to Committee on Labels.

That section under the caption "Carl Legien's Visit" referred to Committee on President's Report.

Those sections under the captions "Labor Forward Movement," "Organizing Steel Workers," "Migratory Workers" referred to Committee on Organization.

That section under the caption "Arbitration, Mediation and Conciliation (The Erdman Act—Extension of)" referred to Committee on President's Report.

That section under the caption "Labor Day and Labor Sunday" referred to the Committee on Education.

Those sections under the captions "American Federation of Labor Political Campaign—Its Result," "Extension of Eight Hour Law," "The New Eight Hour Law," "Construction by the Government," "Injunction Limitation Bill," "Jury Trial in Contempt Cases," "Seamen's Rights," "Immigration and Chinese Exclusion," "Child Labor and Children's Bureau," "Initiative, Referendum and Recall," "Limit Judges' Tenure," "Popular Election of United States Senators," "Citizenship Rights Restored," "Second Class Postal Rates," "Contract Convict Labor System," "Boiler Inspection," "Scientific Management," "Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation," "Old Age Pensions," "Occupational Diseases," "Anti-Watered Stock Gambling" referred to Committee on President's Report.

That section under the caption "Wider Use of the Schools" referred to the Committee on Education.

That section under the caption "American Federation of Labor Exhibit at San Francisco, 1915" referred to the Committee on Labels.

That section under the caption "Organizers" referred to the Committee on Organization.

Those sections under the captions "Labor Press," "American Federationist" referred to the Committee on Education.

Delegate Gallagher (A. J.)—I may be out of order at this time, but the Executive Council in its report mentions the revocation of the charter of the Alameda County body and makes reference to committees of dual organizations on the Pa-

cific Coast. The decision of the Executive Council will be appealed from. I now rise to ask that the proof your Executive Council has been brought here, if it is not here now. It will be called for, I believe, when the discussion comes on the appeal that will be made.

#### **Supplemental Report of Committee on Credentials.**

Delegate McDonald, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

During the day some credentials have been presented that the committee has not had time to act on. They will be taken up later and another report made. Following is the partial report we now desire to submit:

Rochester, N. Y., Nov. 12, 1912.

To the Officers and Members of the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials desires to make a further partial report:

We recommend the seating of John H. Mallin, representing the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, with 35 votes.

On the request of the United Association of Plumbers, Gas and Steam Fitters, we recommend that E. W. Leonard be seated as delegate from the United Association in the place of James Malley.

On the request of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, we recommend the seating of W. T. Brown as delegate from the Railroad Telegraphers, in the place of C. A. Mulhall.

On the matter of the protest filed by the International Association of Machinists against the seating of the delegates from the American Flint Glass Workers Union, your committee gave both parties in interest a hearing, and after listening to the arguments presented, have decided that under Section 6, Article 4 of the constitution of the A. F. of L., they could not be seated. Said article provides as follows:

Sec. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

Owing to the fact that the charter to the American Flint Glass Workers Union was granted on October 21, 1912, the organization has not been affiliated one month, and your committee recommends that they be not seated.

Credentials have been presented to the committee from John Mangan and J. T. Kinsella, representing the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America. The

seats of the above named delegates have been contested by John R. Alpine, President of the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters Helpers. Your committee gave both sides a full hearing. President Alpine, in presenting his protest, cited the action of the Atlanta Convention, which instructed the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to bring about an amalgamation of the two organizations, and the subsequent action of the Executive Council on this matter. The representatives of the International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters claimed that Section 12, Article 9 of the Constitution of the A. F. of L., which provides as follows, had not been complied with:

Sec. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charters of an affiliated national or international union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor by a roll call vote.

The representatives of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters also claimed that they had not been notified to turn in their charter. Both sides presented able arguments before the committee. On account of the complications in connection with this matter, and believing that the matter will in all probability be discussed on the floor of the convention, no matter what action the committee should take, we refer the matter of seating John Mangan and Thomas Kinsella as delegates from the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers, to the convention, without recommendation, with the hope that this long drawn out controversy will be settled in this Convention for all time.

In the case of the protest of the United Association of Plumbers, Gas and Steam Fitters against the seating of Edward H. Mead, representing the Hudson County, N. J., Central Labor Union, your committee is of the opinion that the action of the convention on the protest entered against the credentials of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers by the United Association of Plumbers, Gas and Steam Fitters, will decide the case of the representative of the Hudson County, N. J., Central Labor Union, he being a member of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters, for which reason the protest was entered, and your committee recommends that whatever decision applies in the case of the credentials presented by the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers, shall apply in the case of Edward H. Mead, representing the Hudson County Central Labor Union.

Respectfully submitted,

EDW. J. MARX, Chairman.

W. A. NEER,

DUNCAN McDONALD, Secretary.

Delegate Bonner (W. J.)—I move you that the report of the committee be received and the delegates seated. (Seconded.)

Treasurer Lennon—I offer as a substitute for the motion that the report of the committee, so far as no contests appear, be approved and the remainder be taken up seriatim. (Seconded.)

The substitute was accepted by the mover of the original motion, and was carried by a unanimous vote.

Delegate McDonald, Secretary of the Committee, read the report on the protest of the International Association of Machinists against the seating of the delegates of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union.

Delegate Van Lear moved concurrence in the report of the committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Williams (J.)—I move that the report of the committee be received, that we suspend Section 6 of Article 4 of the Constitution, and seat the representatives of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union. (Seconded.)

Vice-President Duncan, in discussing the question, said in part: The constitution provides how it shall be changed, but there is nothing in the constitution that authorizes the convention to suspend any part of it. It is true the American Federation of Labor is greater than its constitution, because it may change it; but except when the American Federation of Labor is changing its constitution the constitution is greater than the American Federation of Labor. If the American Federation of Labor cannot conform to the provisions of its own constitution it has no right to expect any affiliated body will be respectful towards the provisions of the constitution.

The information I desire from the committee is this: As I understand it, the protest of the Machinists against seating the Flint Glass Workers is not because a month has not elapsed since they got their charter, but on jurisdiction lines. There is a clear way out of the difficulty if the committee is satisfied and can report to this convention that, inasmuch as the jurisdiction question is concerned, there may be no objection to the seating of the delegates of the Flint Glass Workers. It is true a month will not have

elapsed until about the 21st of November. After that time they will be entitled to a seat. If, therefore, the report of the committee means there is nothing against the seating of the Flint Glass Workers but the fact that a month has not elapsed since the issuing of the charter, the matter might remain in abeyance until the 21st of this month when the delegates can be seated. That is not a new policy; it has been followed out in two or three instances.

Delegate McDonald—The committee took into consideration only constitutional points. If there is any constitutional matter connected with the granting of the charter it is outside the work of this committee. Whether the Executive Council erred in granting the charter was not our affair. Our affair was to decide on the constitution as laid down, and it distinctly says, "No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the convention." It may be a precedent has been established, but the constitution does not provide for that.

The committee considered this provision of the constitution. It does not say they can come in late in the convention and be seated. The committee did everything possible to get the parties together, because we wanted the Flint Glass Workers seated. Under the terms of the constitution, however, we could take no position other than the one we have taken.

Delegate Johnston, in discussing the question, said in part: Our grounds for protesting the credentials of the Flint Glass Workers were for the reason that they had not been affiliated with this organization the time required by the constitution, and for the further reason that, in our judgment, the Executive Council erred in granting the charter, which is, of course, not a subject to be discussed here. If the constitution means anything it means everything and it should not be suspended at the suggestion of any man. There may be established precedents in this matter, but I hope you will not be guided by precedents. We are not following dead men; we are living in a progressive age; and if the convention has erred in the past it is no reason, in my judgment, why we should continue to

err. If the constitution is not right then let us change it in the proper manner.

Delegate McCullough (T. W.) called attention to the fact that the section read "unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation," and asked if the matter dated back to the time of the application or from the time of the issuance of the charter. He referred to the fact that the charter of the Flint Glass Workers' Union had been held up through no fault of the applicants, and stated that he did not think any delegate would desire to exclude them from representation in the convention on a mere technicality, and that a reasonable construction of the constitution would give the organization the benefit of the time that had elapsed after the application for a charter had been made.

Treasurer Lennon in discussing the question said: They made application in ample time and the Council was restrained from issuing the charter because we were directed by the Minneapolis convention that a certain thing must be done before the charter was issued. And when that thing was done, when that agreement was reached with the Glass Bottle Blowers, it then became the duty of the Executive Council to issue the charter, and I say that the law, so far as it applies to this case, is governed by the matter of the application of the Flints for the charter, not the mere issuance of the document, and the law does not apply in this case as it would apply had the application come in within thirty days.

Delegate Hayes (D. A.), in discussing the question, said in part: Treasurer Lennon covered the point I desired to make. Our convention last August telegraphed the Executive Council while in session in Atlantic City that the terms of the agreement made last April at Pittsburg with the Flint Glass Workers Union had been carried out and we therefore withdrew our protest against their affiliation. Then the Machinists put in a protest. Their protest came in after the Flint Union had made its application. I approve of the sentiments expressed by former speakers in regard to the applicants being seated in this convention. The principle at issue between the Flint Glass Workers and the Glass Bottle Blowers was vital; it meant the preser-

vation of our union. The danger has been overcome, the cause removed and the dispute settled.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.)—I do not believe there is time to amend the constitution as the motion provides, but since hearing Delegate Hayes' and Delegate Lennon's opinion on the subject, I rise to amend that the Flint Glass Workers' delegates be seated. (Seconded.)

Delegate Woll raised a point of order on the amendment offered by Delegate Williams and the amendment offered by Delegate Barnes. He stated that the provisions of the constitution did not provide for its suspension.

President Gompers stated that two points of order could not be considered at one time, and ruled that the point raised on the amendment of Delegate Williams was well taken.

Delegate Walker (J. H.) stated that under ordinary circumstances he would favor the report of the committee, but, inasmuch as the law was enacted to cover entirely different cases, he would favor the seating of the delegates of the Flint Glass Workers' Union. He stated that under the circumstances he felt no law would be violated by seating them, and the best interests, not only of the Flint Glass Workers, but of the two organizations that had disputes with them would be served by that course.

Delegate Lynch (J. M.)—In order that the precedent, if established, may be established clearly, I move that the section of the constitution referred to in the report of the committee be interpreted to mean the time of application, and that the Flint Glass Workers be seated.

President Gompers made an extended statement, and said in part: The American Flint Glass Workers' Union had its representatives at the birth of the Federation in 1881 at Pittsburgh and remained in affiliation until seven or eight years ago. A dispute arose between them and the Glass Bottle Blowers Union. Because a decision was rendered unsatisfactory to the Flints they withdrew from the Federation. Six years ago at the Minneapolis Convention the Flints made application for affiliation. The Executive Council decided that provided certain provisions were complied with, in accordance with the decision of the council, a charter would be issued. A promise was made by the Flint Glass Workers' representatives that they would comply. The matter was reported to the Convention later

and the Convention endorsed the position of the Council. The Council believed it better to have compliance prior to the issuance of the charter. The application has been pending all these years. Several conferences were held by the representatives of both the contending organizations and the representatives of the American Federation of Labor. The contention was not settled until early in this year.

At the convention of the Glass Bottle Blowers, an agreement having been reached between that organization and the Flint Glass Workers, satisfactory to both, in which the questions at issue were settled to the satisfaction of both, the Convention instructed the President of the Glass Bottle Blowers to immediately telegraph the Executive Council of the American Federation that, inasmuch as an agreement had been reached and the decision of the Executive Council complied with by the Flint Glass Workers Union, therefore the Glass Bottle Blowers Union withdrew its protest against the issuance of the charter. The Executive Council would have immediately ordered the issuance of that charter but objection was interposed on the part of the International Association of Machinists. The Executive Council feels it would have been justified in issuing that charter there and then, by reason of the fact that the Convention instructed the Executive Council to issue the charter whenever the Flint Glass Workers Union complied with the decision; but the Council believed an effort ought to be made to bring the Machinists and the Flint Glass Workers representatives together to see whether those differences could not be adjusted. A conference was called, but they failed to agree. In view of the fact that nothing could be done to effect an adjustment of their differences, the Executive Council felt it had no alternative but to comply with the decision of the Convention and issue the charter.

As to the question of their representation to-day, it is a question for the Convention to decide by its vote, to interpret the law by its vote, rather than through a direct motion. As was stated here to-day, the provision of the constitution referred to was enacted for a purpose, and that was that some interloper might not come to this convention under the guise of representing an organization per-

haps organized for a purpose in entire contravention to the purposes of the American labor movement. It never was contemplated that it would act as an estoppel for a bona fide organization of a trade such as the American Flint Glass Workers' Union.

Delegate Woll—I move you that we interpret the issuance of the charter to the American Flint Glass Workers Union as having applied to the time they complied with the instruction of the Executive Council at their convention, and that the Committee on Credentials be instructed to bring in a report accordingly.

Delegate Tracy (T. F.)—I move that the report of the committee be non-concurred in and that the delegates from the American Flint Glass Workers Union be seated in this convention. (Seconded).

Delegate Barnes—I will accept that.

Delegate Egan discussed the question briefly, and Delegate McDonald made a short statement for the committee.

On motion debate was closed.

The motion offered by Delegate Tracy was carried by a vote of 177 in the affirmative to 29 in the negative.

Secretary McDonald read the report of the committee on the protest offered by the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers against the seating of John Mangam and J. T. Kinsella as delegates from the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers.

Delegate Carolan—I move that the report of the committee be received and the delegates of the International Association seated. (Seconded).

Vice President Duncan—I offer as a substitute to the motion, as the subject matter was dealt with in the report of the Executive Council to-day and will be in printed form for all the delegates to see to-morrow, that consideration of the subject be deferred until 10 o'clock to-morrow when all the information will be in the hands of the delegates. (Seconded and carried).

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates W. D. Huber, Frank Duffy, Fred C. Wheeler, A. M. Swartz, D. F. Featherston, William J. Kelly, W. E. Hemsell, of the U. B. of C. and J. of A.:

WHEREAS, The United Trades and Labor Council of Buffalo, N. Y., has illegally and in violation of the laws of the A. F. of L. seated in said central body a dual union of millwrights unaffiliated with the U. B. of C. and J. of C.; also two local branches of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, a dual organization of electrical workers, and representatives of the Amalgamated Wood Workers; and



WHEREAS, The matter relative to this rump organization of Millwrights has occupied the attention of several conventions of A. F. of L., and representatives have been deputized to investigate charges made by U. B. and said central body has always denied to said representatives that this rump organization was represented in the central body, further that these investigations were positively one sided, the complainants never being considered in the investigations; and since the reaffiliation of the U. B. in Central and B. T. Dept., we find delegates from these dual organizations seated in both bodies, and upon objections of U. B. delegates to the seating of dual and unaffiliated organizations, the representatives of said central body openly defied the A. F. of L. to discipline them; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 32d Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. do at once order the United Trades and Labor Council of Buffalo, N. Y., to unseat the dual, and all local unions whose national or international are not affiliated with the A. F. of L.; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That failure upon the part of the U. T. and L. C. of Buffalo, N. Y., to comply with the action of this 32d Annual Convention, within thirty days from adjournment, that the charter of the United Trades and Labor Council shall stand revoked, without further action, and immediate action taken to reorganize a central body of bona fide trades affiliated with the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate Manny Weiss of the Sugar Refinery Employees Union No. 13,053, Yonkers, N. Y.:

WHEREAS, The Sugar Refinery Employees Union No. 13,053 of Yonkers, N. Y., has and does hold a charter of the A. F. of L. for the past two years; and

WHEREAS, There are between 75,000 and 90,000 unorganized men in this industry throughout the United States, who are only too anxious to be organized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instructs its officers and organizers to do everything within their power to organize the men in this industry.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 25—By Delegates A. W. Wharton, William H. Johnston, Thomas Van Lear, P. W. Buckley, B. H. Lamb of the I. A. of M.; William P. Hannon of the Sacramento, Cal., Federated Trades and Labor Assembly; Edward V. Wood of the Syracuse (N. Y.) Central Trades and Labor Assembly; J. W. Holder of the Florida State Federation of Labor; R. L. Corley of the Georgia State Federation of Labor; J. J. Keane of the Trades and Labor Assembly, Savannah, Ga.:

WHEREAS, It has been very forcibly brought to the attention of a number of delegates attending the 32d Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. that Section 11 of Article 9 has not been complied with

by the President and Executive Council inasmuch as they granted a charter to the American Flint Glass Workers Union on October 21, 1912, notwithstanding that the issuance of this charter was protested by the International Association of Machinists, said protest being based upon the fundamental law of the A. F. of L., which guarantees protection to affiliated organizations in the maintenance of jurisdiction as per their charter rights; and

WHEREAS, The charter granted to the American Flint Glass Workers Union concedes this organization jurisdiction over all mould makers; and

WHEREAS, Mould making is a class of work, the entire product of which is of metal construction, requiring the use of machinery and tools and a well-equipped machine shop; and

WHEREAS, The American Flint Glass Workers Union is composed of men engaged in the making of glassware, which is a separate and distinct operation in connection with the completion of the article manufactured, the comparison being as between a pattern maker and a moulder; and,

WHEREAS, The granting of a charter to any organization claiming jurisdiction over work which would be a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions is in direct violation of law; and

WHEREAS, Such action not only fails to bring about the solution of the question at issue, but establishes a more serious state of affairs; and

WHEREAS, This organization that has now been granted a charter withdrew from the A. F. of L. some ten years since because of differences arising and their unwillingness to abide by the laws of the A. F. of L. and no assurance that they would not do so again; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention that the President and Executive Council are hereby instructed to immediately revoke the charter illegally granted by them to the American Flint Glass Workers Union on October 21, 1912, and thus protect the affiliated unions in their charter rights and maintain the integrity of our laws.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 26—By William P. Hannon, Sacramento, Cal., Federal Trades and Labor Assembly; M. F. Ryan, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen; J. W. Kline, Brotherhood of Blacksmiths; William H. Johnston, A. V. Wharton, International Association of Machinists; J. A. Franklin, Brotherhood of Boilermakers; M. O'Sullivan, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers:

WHEREAS, The Machinists, Boilermakers, blacksmiths, sheet metal workers, railway carmen, pipe fitters, railway clerks, painters, electricians and other shop employees of the Harriman and Illinois Central Railroad lines have been on strike on the above mentioned lines for the past fourteen months; and,

WHEREAS, Despite the fact that all efforts to bring about a settlement of the strike by the international officers of the various unions have been unsuccessful

up to the present time, it has been demonstrated that the strike has proven to have been most effective; and

WHEREAS, Among those on strike are many unskilled men who belong to the federal labor unions and many who are not members of any organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the 32d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby approve of the gallant struggle being waged by the members of these organizations and extends to them our moral support in their efforts to secure the shorter work-day and other favorable working conditions; and be it

RESOLVED, That the convention urge the national and international organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. to render all financial aid possible to the strikers on the Harriman and Illinois Central Railroad lines until such time as an amicable adjustment of the questions at issue have been reached.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate Edwin S. Burns of Logansport Trades and Labor Assembly;

WHEREAS, We recognize the trade union as the legitimate agency through which the working class will secure the just rights of labor; and

WHEREAS, There exists in many localities a wrong apprehension and misconception of the true purposes and aims of the American Federation of Labor, thereby causing confusion among the membership, and tends to create a wrong impression as to the legitimate intent and purpose of the parent body, and as this unsatisfactory condition is an impediment to the growth of our organization and our influence for progress among the toilers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council at the earliest possible date take up the question of arranging for lecture courses to be held under the auspices of the central bodies of organized labor holding charters from the American Federation of Labor throughout the United States, Canada and our insular possessions, said lecture course to be held during the winter months from January to April of each year; and be it

RESOLVED, That the salaries and traveling expenses of said lecturers be borne by the American Federation of Labor and all local expense, such as hall rent, advertising, etc., be paid by the local central bodies where such lectures are held.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 28—By Delegate J. P. Coughlin of Brooklyn Central Labor Union;

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Union of Brooklyn and Queens, New York, composed of local unions of the A. F. of L., are enforcing a regulation that no delegate be seated who has not the union label on his clothing, hat, shoes, etc.; and

WHEREAS, This body has made an exhaustive investigation as to the condi-

tions under which the union label of the Journeymen Tailors Union is being issued; and

WHEREAS, We find that the label of the Journeymen Tailors Union does not cover all branches of the industry, as the cutters and helpers are non-union men and women; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention condemn the method of the Journeymen Tailors Union in placing their label on a product that is not strictly union made; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to send copies of these resolutions to all state and central bodies of labor.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate Thomas J. Curtis of Tunnel and Subway Constructors International Union of North America;

WHEREAS, It is an indisputable fact, that the work performed by the members of the International Union of Compressed Air Workers is identical in every particular with that of the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors, including similarity of tools; and

WHEREAS, We, the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors, believe that the best interests of the workers in both of these vocations can be best conserved by the joining and amalgamating of the two organizations into one compact and solid organization; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Compressed Air Workers have expressed a desire to so join and amalgamate with the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 32d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled at Rochester, N. Y., November, 1912, direct the Executive Council to at once adopt such measures and plans as will bring about this desired result in the interest of the members of both organizations, thereby concentrating the power and effort in that industry and calling.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate Sol Sontheimer, Hartford, Conn., C. L. U.;

WHEREAS, There exists in the city of Hartford a condition in the labor movement wholly at variance to the best interests of the movement, to wit: In this city there is a Central Labor Union, working under a charter of the American Federation of Labor, living up to and abiding by the rules, laws and regulations of the American Federation of Labor; there also exists an independent organization known as the Building Structural Alliance, composed of the Brotherhood of Joiners and Carpenters, United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, an independent Union of Mason Tenders and the Bricklayers Union, all the other building trades crafts being affiliated with the Hartford Central Labor Union, which has perfected a Building Trades Council, but for unknown reasons the aforesaid unions refuse to affiliate with

the council recognized by the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That, we the delegates in convention assembled, request the Executive Council to use their best endeavors, with the national and international unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, to request their local unions to affiliate themselves with central labor unions, which are chartered under the American Federation of Labor to the end, that the deplorable situation existing in Hartford, Conn., may be brought to a speedy end.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegates C. L. Shamp and George E. Norman representing the Nebraska State Federation of Labor and the Omaha, Nebraska, Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, In the state of Nebraska there are thousands of unorganized wage workers of different trades and callings who, we believe, could be organized if visited by an organizer; and

WHEREAS, The Nebraska State Federation of Labor has at all times spent all the means at their command to organize the unorganized, but are not in a position to maintain organizers to cover only a portion of the territory that should be covered; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to at the earliest possible date place an organizer in the state of Nebraska and keep him there as long as he can organize the unorganized wage workers, and the Nebraska State Federation of Labor pledges itself to lend said organizer all the possible assistance it can to the end that all of the unorganized wage workers of the state be organized if possible in unions of their respective trades and callings.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate George E. Norman, Omaha, Neb., C. L. U.:

WHEREAS, The Building Trades Council of Omaha, Neb., is not chartered by the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L.; and,

WHEREAS, The conditions in the building trades of that city is very unsatisfactory to the C. L. U. and hindering it in improving the conditions of the workman of Omaha; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention request the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. to send a representative to Omaha, Neb., at an early date to organize a local Building Trades Council under the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L., and in conformity with the laws of the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Wesley Russell of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union:

WHEREAS, Commercial telegraphers are among the pioneers in the labor

movement of this country; first organized in 1864, they have struggled nearly fifty years for the right to organize and to build up a strong union of their craft, striking in defense of their rights in 1870, 1883 and 1907; and

WHEREAS, They were probably the earliest organized craftsmen to feel the effects of monopolistic power, being opposed from 1866 by a powerful corporation having an almost complete monopoly; control of which corporation has now passed to the telephone trust, making a combination of capital aggregating five hundred million dollars, second in size only to the notorious steel trust; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that this half-century fight of the commercial telegraphers for a principle deserves our hearty commendation and support, and that the membership of the present union, organized in 1902, and the longest lived in the history of the craft, may be encouraged to persevere in their struggle to ultimate victory, the Executive Council is hereby requested to instruct its organizers, city, central and state bodies, to make especial effort during the ensuing year to bring all commercial telegraphers into the Commercial Telegraphers Union of America.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate R. J. McGrath, Iron City Central Trades Council:

WHEREAS, Organizers are at all times needed in the different districts throughout the country for the purpose of helping to organize more thoroughly the different organizations and adjusting grievances; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the A. F. of L. instruct its organizers to have a certain headquarters in all cities where they can be reached without difficulty when wanted for assistance by any organization affiliated with the A. F. of L.; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all organizations in any city affiliated with the A. F. of L. be notified of said headquarters.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 35—By E. Lewis Evans, of the Tobacco Workers International Union:

WHEREAS, The trade union label is one of the vital instruments in advancement of the interests of the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, It is the effort on the part of every trade unionist to give the greatest possible publicity to the union label, so as to indelibly impress it upon the mind of the consuming public; and

WHEREAS, A number of state federations and central bodies have established a principle of requiring the delegates representing the various trades to stand an examination for efficiency as a delegate and be able to show that he has at least a reasonable number of labels about his person; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor heartily commends the state federations and central bodies that have already adopted this principle as part of the efficiency of a representative from a local union affiliated; be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Rochester urges the extension of the aforesaid principle and that all state federations and central bodies establish by legislation a requirement that all delegates must be able to pass an examination which requires an exhibit of not less than three labels on or about his person.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 36—By E. Lewis Evans of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

**WHEREAS**, The products of union and non-union labor are in severe competition with each other in the market; and

**WHEREAS**, It is the duty of all the union workers to increase the sale of union labeled products as much as possible; and

**WHEREAS**, The Tobacco Workers among the other trades have adopted a union label to give distinction between the fair and unfair brands of tobacco, snuff and cigarettes offered for sale; and

**WHEREAS**, A larger consumption of the union label brands of tobacco, snuff and cigarettes is necessary to the continued betterment of the conditions of the Tobacco Workers; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That it is the sense of all members of the American Federation of Labor that a greater measure of patronage should be given to the brands of tobacco, snuff and cigarettes bearing the union label; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That inasmuch as tobacco, snuff and cigarettes bearing the union label are on sale in all cities and towns in the United States and Canada, the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Rochester, New York, hereby pledges itself to the duty of creating a greater demand for union labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes by purchasing only such brands as do bear the Blue Label, accepting nothing as a substitute, the dealers' persuasive powers to the contrary notwithstanding.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate O. L. Preble of the Rhode Island Branch of the A. F. of L.:

**WHEREAS**, The state of Rhode Island has within its bounds a large number of manufacturing establishments, among which are many textile and jewelry plants, the employees of which are to a great extent unorganized and working under very poor conditions; and

**WHEREAS**, In the state of Rhode Island is a city which in size is about

the eighteenth in the United States, namely Providence, and is centrally located in a thickly populated part of the country, being within an hour's ride of nearly two million people; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor in regular convention assembled, that we establish a permanent office in the city of Providence, R. I., and place one of our organizers in charge of the same, with instructions to work in that locality and use every honorable means to aid in building up the now existing organizations, to organize the unorganized and assist them in maintaining their organizations, to the end that better conditions of employment may obtain for the workers in that locality and that the influence of organized labor under the banner of the American Federation of Labor Day may be still further increased.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 38—By Frank Scoby and James Doyle of the Coopers' International Union:

**WHEREAS**, At a convention of the Coopers' International Union, held at St. Louis in September, 1912, it was deemed advisable to establish a repair label, the same to be placed on all beer and ale cooperage that has been repaired by members of the Coopers' International Union; and

**WHEREAS**, Through the process of repairing beer kegs and barrels, the union label that is placed on the bung stave where the package is newly made, is removed when a broken bung stave is replaced by a new stave; thereby leaving the package without any guarantee that such was made by union men and under union conditions; and,

**WHEREAS**, In justice to the patrons who at all times insist that only union made packages shall be used to supply their needs; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That we, the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, do hereby endorse the beer barrel repair label of the Coopers' International Union and call on all members and friends of organized labor to see to it that the repair label is placed on new heads and staves when such packages are placed upon the market.

Facsimile of



repair stamp.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

At 5 p. m. the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9.30 a. m., Wednesday, November 13th.

# Report of Executive Council

Rochester, N. Y., Nov. 12, 1912

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Greeting: One of the duties devolving upon, and which is the privilege of, the Executive Council, is the submission at each convention of a report of the more important matters to which attention has been given during the year. To attempt to touch upon all of the many subjects with which we have dealt since the adjournment of the last annual convention, would make our report too voluminous for your time. Therefore, in coming before you now with this, our report to the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, we shall endeavor to be as brief as the importance of the various subjects contained herein will permit.

The Executive Council has held six meetings since we last met in convention, as follows: November 27, 1911; January 8-13; May 17-22; August 12-21; October 18-23; and November 9-10, the last meeting having been held in this city previous to the opening of this Convention.

Our President submitted by mail to the Executive Council during the year 88 documents dealing with various matters, some of the most important of which we shall make part of this report.

In view of the engrossing and immediate work of the Convention, not only during its actual sessions, but in committee meetings, the members of the E. C. being required to serve upon committees, as well as to perform their full share of the work on the floor and in the proceedings of the convention, the hope is entertained that, so far as consistent with the necessity, the urgency or importance of the subjects which you may desire to lay before the Executive Council, that all such matters may be kept until the meeting which we shall undoubtedly hold immediately after the adjournment of this Convention.

## Charters Granted.

For the fiscal year of 1911-1912 we issued charters to 2 national and international unions as follows:

Diamond Workers Protective Union of America.

Fraternity of Railway Express Messengers of America.

We also issued charters to 1 department, 2 State federations of labor, 57 central labor unions, 149 local trade unions of which there are no national or international unions of the trades represented, and where there were an insufficient number of workmen of any one trade to form a local trade union we issued charters to 49 federal labor unions.

We are proud of the record thus made, the organizations formed, the charters issued, the increase in membership of affiliated unions, but we are also proud to say that some applications for charters have been denied. We insist that an organization must be bona fide in character and purpose before it may be afforded the privilege of being recognized as one among the great family of trade unions under the head of our Federation.

Again, other applications are being held pending adjustment of jurisdictional claims with other organizations.

Attention should be here called to the folder issued at headquarters in which is published a chart showing the growth of the Federation since its beginning in 1881. Copies of these can be secured upon request at our Washington headquarters. The chart is also printed in the official proceedings of the Atlanta Convention, 1911.

Despite the heavy obstacles our Federation has had to overcome during the year, its growth has not been retarded, but it has steadily advanced as evidenced by the reports already submitted to you by our President, Secretary and Treasurer.

## Extension of Jurisdiction.

### TAILORS

Upon the application of the Journeymen Tailors for extension of jurisdiction over cleaners, pressers and dyers, the application was granted and the local unions of these workers directly affiliated to the A. F. of L. were transferred to the jurisdiction of that organization.

### METAL POLISHERS

We approved the application of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers' International Union of North America for change in title so as to include silver workers, the title of

that organization now reading "Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America."

#### GLOVE WORKERS

The application of the International Glove Workers for jurisdiction over cloth glove workers was granted.

#### BLACKSMITHS

Your Executive Council also approved the application of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths for jurisdiction over chain makers.

#### TILE LAYERS

Upon the application of the Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union, the local unions of marble and mosaic workers directly affiliated to the A. F. of L. were transferred to the jurisdiction of that organization.

#### HOD CARRIERS

By Resolution No. 129 of the Atlanta Convention, the International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers Union of America made application for extension of jurisdiction over "common laborers" employed in the construction of streets, sewers and tunnels. A thorough investigation was made of the matter through correspondence with each local laborers' union and Federal Labor Union affiliated directly with the A. F. of L. From the information gained through that correspondence we deemed it to be the best interests of this particular class of workers that the application should be granted, and that organization is now recognized under the title of "Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' International Union."

#### BREWERY WORKERS

The International Union of United Brewery Workmen made application for extension of jurisdiction so as to include Distillery Workers. A conference is to be held during this convention between the representatives of that organization and the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and the Coopers' International Union of North America. We hope later, during this convention, to make a report as to the result of this conference.

#### CARRIAGE WORKERS

Application of the International Union of Carriage and Wagon Workers for change in title so as to read "International Union of Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers of North America" was granted, it being understood that the jurisdiction of this international union under its newly adopted title should conform to the agreement entered into at the Atlanta Convention of the A. F. of L. between the Carriage and Wagon Workers', the Blacksmiths', the Upholsterers' and the Painters' organizations.

We trust that the course we have taken in these matters will be given your endorsement and approval.

#### Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union.

Obedying the instructions given by you at our last Convention that the Bricklayers and Masons should again be invited to affiliate with the A. F. of L., we authorized President Gompers and Mr. James Short, President of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L., to attend the Convention of the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union, then in session at St. Joseph, Missouri, and as duly appointed representatives of the A. F. of L., to urge the affiliation of that organization with the Federation. Important matters in connection with our movement having arisen to prevent President Gompers attending the Convention, he addressed a letter to the officers and delegates of that Convention, which President Short submitted.

President Short was cordially received, read President Gompers' letter and addressed the Convention. The matter of affiliation was thereafter ordered to be submitted to a referendum vote, which thus far has not been taken, but we are advised that the matter will be submitted to a referendum vote of the membership in the very near future.

#### Unaffiliated Organizations.

Our Federation was organized in 1881. It has ever, without diversion, served the cause of labor. It has demonstrated its right to existence. It has earned the good will and confidence of the people, and particularly the working people of our continent. Its work, its achievements, are

known and recognized abroad. Other movements inaugurated in behalf of the toilers have degenerated, have been diverted into improper channels, have been destroyed, but our Federation has stood the acid test of time for the thirty-two years of its life and demonstrated its service to the toilers. It can be made of immeasurably more help by greater unity, extension and federation.

We have continued our efforts to secure the affiliation of those national bodies of wage earners which have thus far not identified themselves with our Federation. Advances have been made and invitations extended to them to join the A. F. of L. It is the policy of our Federation to pursue a consistent course toward all unions even though they are not affiliated. It respects their jurisdiction and refrains from chartering any union which would intrench upon their territory. In pursuance of this policy, President Gompers on May 17, upon the invitation of its officers, attended and addressed the Convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers at Harrisburg, Pa. His address to the Convention was published in the July, 1912, issue of the official journal of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

Vice-President Perham addressed the Convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen at Minneapolis, and he, President Gompers and several other members of the Executive Council addressed several conventions of affiliated internationals, namely: Vice-President O'Connell, the Convention of the Molders at Milwaukee; President Gompers and Vice-President Alpine the Granite Cutters at Quincy; Secretary Morrison the Garment Workers at Toronto; and President Gompers and Vice-President Alpine the Carpenters and Joiners at Washington.

We believe that if it were possible to make more frequent addresses to the conventions of international unions, a better understanding of trade unionism and a greater spirit of unity and fraternity would result, much to the advantage of the general labor movement and to the great interests of the toilers in general.

In connection with the subject of the attitude of the international unions unaffiliated to the American Federation of Labor, we are impelled to call attention

to the fact that generally members of unaffiliated internationals work with the members of affiliated internationals, enjoying advantages and receiving protection from comradeship and co-operation. We hold that such advantages and benefits carry with them duties and responsibilities. The members of unaffiliated unions enjoy much of the prestige of our movement or they share in every advantage secured on the economic field, as well as by laws enacted through the efforts of the American Federation of Labor. They should share in the performance of the work and in the duties and the responsibilities. The question of moral rights and moral obligations in the labor movement is also involved, for it logically follows that the deprivation of the right to hold aloof and remain apart from the American Federation of Labor involves the very same principle as for a local union to hold aloof from the international union of its craft, and further involves the moral right of a workman to remain and hold aloof from the union of his trade.

In no civilized country on the face of the globe does any bona fide national trade union hold itself aloof from affiliation with the general labor movement of the country, and the general labor movement of America regards it as an unappreciative and unjustified position when any bona fide eligible international trade union of America remains unaffiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

#### **New Departments.**

There were two resolutions submitted to the Atlanta Convention calling for a conference of the representatives of the organizations comprising the wearing apparel industries for the purpose of the formation of a Wearing Apparel Trades Department, and that the Executive Council should take such steps as might be deemed necessary for the formation of a Transportation Department. Upon correspondence with the various organizations representing the several trades and callings that would naturally be expected to make up the two suggested departments, it was found that a decided majority of them was opposed to the formation of the departments. Therefore, the project was abandoned and nothing fur-

ther will be done in the matter until the international unions which would be affected can be persuaded to favor their establishment.

However, it should be here stated that on January 22, 1912, the Executive Council issued charter to the Mining Department of the A. F. of L., this Department having notified the Atlanta Convention of its formation and having made application for charter.

#### **Carpenters—Building Trades Department.**

In accordance with the action of the Atlanta Convention our best endeavors were exerted to re-establish harmony and have the U. B. again become part of the Building Trades Department. The Building Trades Department at its Convention immediately after the close of the A. F. of L. Convention agreed with the position taken by our Atlanta Convention, and directed its officers to be helpful in having the Brotherhood of Carpenters resume its relations with the Department. The officers of the Department aided materially in carrying that into effect.

We are pleased to be able to report that the matter having been submitted to a referendum vote of the membership of the U. B., it was acted upon favorably and that organization is again part of the Building Trades Department.

#### **Building Trades Department—Plasterers.**

The officers of the Building Trades Department entered protest to your Executive Council against the Plasterers' International Union refusing to affiliate with the Department.

The matter was considered and discussed at length and much correspondence ensued in the effort to have the Plasterers' International Union conform to the provisions of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor by re-affiliating with the Building Trades Department.

Former President Donlin finally answered that he would leave the entire matter to the Convention of the Plasterers' International Union, which was then about to be held. Up to the time of our October meeting, no information having been received as to the Convention having taken action in the matter, we directed President Gompers to enter into

immediate telegraphic communication with the officers of that organization. As a result, the latest advice from President McGivern is to the effect that he will be present in Rochester during this Convention, and sincerely expects that arrangements will be made to bring about the re-affiliation of the Plasterers' International Union with the Building Trades Department.

#### **Building Trades Department—Hod Carriers—Cement Workers.**

The International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers Union appealed to your Executive Council from the decision of the Tampa Convention of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L., jurisdiction over laborers doing the mixing of concrete having been thereby conceded to the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers. After all parties in interest had been afforded a full opportunity of presenting their respective claims of jurisdiction, our best judgment was that the appeal of the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers should be sustained.

#### **U. B. Carpenters—Wood Workers.**

We are gratified to be able to report that the amalgamation of the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners has been effected. The agreement for amalgamation as signed by the representatives of both organizations and endorsed by the Executive Council was published in the February, 1912, issue of the American Federationist.

The referendum vote of the Wood Workers being favorable to the plan of amalgamation, the merging of the two organizations was effected on April 1, 1912.

#### **U. B. Carpenters—Amalgamated Carpenters.**

Our last annual convention declared that, both for harmony and for practicability, the carpentry trade should be represented in the American Federation of Labor, and also in the Building Trades Department by one general organization of the carpentry industry—the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America—and instructed the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and requested the Executive Council of the Building



Trades Department, to carry that declaration into effect. The Convention further directed that the President of the A. F. of L. should arrange a conference between the representatives of the two organizations for the purpose of carrying out its declarations and instructions.

The representatives of the two organizations were invited to meet in conference with President Gompers beginning Monday, January 15, at Washington, D. C. The conference lasted nearly the entire week. At the outset a difference arose as to one provision of the action of the Atlanta Convention in regard to the conference of these two organizations. President Gompers was called upon for an interpretation of that action. He gave the following:

"A Committee consisting of W. D. Huber and James Kirby, representing the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and Herbert Crampton and William Fyfe, representing the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, called upon me for an interpretation of the recommendation of the Committee on Adjustment and adopted by the Convention; the recommendation of the committee printed in the first column on page 311 of the official printed proceedings of the Atlanta Convention of the American Federation of Labor, is as follows:

"Your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to arrange a conference between representatives of the two organizations involved within ninety days from the adjournment of this Convention, with a view of arranging a basis of amalgamation of the two organizations, and in case of disagreement upon the terms of amalgamation agreed upon and submitted by the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the differences shall be referred to the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for a final decision, which decision shall be rendered not later than June 1, 1912.

"Should the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners fail to amalgamate with the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners on or before July 1, 1912, the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to revoke the charter of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners."

"The difference being as to whether an endeavor should first be made to reach terms of agreement between the representatives of both organizations, or whether the terms of agreement should, in the first instance, be submitted by the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

"The gentlemen named requested an interpretation of the Committee's recommendation regarding this difference.

"At the outset, I should say that the language employed in the committee's report is, in my judgment, involved, but it is quite evident that the recommendation contemplated a conference between the representatives of the two organizations involved within a specified period 'with a view of arranging a basis of amalgamation of the two organizations.' That statement is clear and unmistakable and is not modified or nullified by any later language of the committee's recommendation. My understanding of the later language of the committee's report is that if there be a failure to agree upon terms of amalgamation by the representatives of both organizations, then the disagreement is to be reported to the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, who shall jointly render a final decision not later than June 1, 1912.

"I shall submit this interpretation of the action of the Convention to Mr. James O'Connell who was chairman of the committee which submitted this report to the Atlanta Convention, and who, as President of the Metal Trades Department, has offices in this building and who will be available within a short time to review this interpretation."

"SAMUEL GOMPERS.

"President A. F. of L."

Washington, D. C., January 15, 1912.

The matter being submitted to Vice President O'Connell, who acted as chairman of the Adjustment Committee of the Atlanta Convention, he made the following statement:

Washington, D. C., January 15, 1912.

"Mr. S. Gompers, President, American Federation of Labor, Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.

"Dear Sir and Brother:

"I have read carefully the report you make regarding the conference held between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, and the interpretation you give upon the report made by the Committee on Adjustment at the A. F. of L. Convention, held in Atlanta, November, 1911. As Chairman of the Adjustment Committee, my interpretation of the recommendation made by that committee to the convention, is, as stated by you, namely:

"If the committees of both organizations cannot agree upon a plan of amalgamation, then the differences between the committees or the reasons for failure to agree upon amalgamation are to be submitted to the President and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. for final decision or in other words if the two committees fail to agree upon a plan of amalgamation, the subject matter is then submitted to the President and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to decide upon

any differences that may exist between the committees or to outline a plan of amalgamation which would be a basis upon which the two organizations should amalgamate.

Fraternally yours,  
JAS. O'CONNELL."

It will be observed that there is entire agreement in the statements of President Gompers and Chairman O'Connell of the Adjustment Committee, as to the purpose which the Adjustment Committee and the Convention had in view in the declaration it made at Atlanta. In that understanding we are in entire accord.

During the conferences of the week of January 15, the representatives of both organizations submitted propositions and counter propositions for the basis of amalgamation, but amalgamation was not effected.

The amalgamation as provided by the instructions of the Atlanta Convention was to become effective on or before July 1, the further instructions being that, in the event of the failure of amalgamation by that date, the charter of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners should be revoked.

We directed President Gompers to arrange for another conference, for the purpose of further efforts at amalgamation. The officers of the Amalgamated Society refused to participate in another conference having for its object the endeavor to agree upon terms of amalgamation between the two organizations, but insisted that in accordance with the directions of the Atlanta Convention the Executive Council render its decision setting forth the conditions upon which amalgamation of the two organizations should take place. It therefore devolved upon your Executive Council to perform the duties imposed upon it by the Atlanta Convention of the A. F. of L., that is, to render a final decision relative to the terms of such amalgamation; we had no alternative. We thereupon made the following declarations and findings, which were submitted to the officers of both organizations, accepted by the U. B. and rejected by the Amalgamated Society:

"Under instructions of the Atlanta Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in case of a disagreement upon the terms of amalgamation between the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, the President and

the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor are required to render a final decision, to be binding upon both parties as to the terms of such amalgamation.

"For the purpose of having the organizations themselves agree upon the terms upon which the amalgamation should be had, a conference was called of their respective representatives and held at the city of Washington, January 15-19, inclusive, 1912.

"At the outset the representatives of the Amalgamated Society declined to enter into any conference to formulate terms of amalgamation, and it required the rendering of a decision by the President of the A. F. of L. and the Chairman of the Adjustment Committee of the Atlanta Convention, which made report upon the subject to the convention, stating definitely and emphatically that a conference must be held prior to any further action on the part of the Executive Council.

"Instead of holding a conference as contemplated by the action of the Atlanta Convention, propositions and counter propositions were submitted in writing, resulting in failure to reach any definite plan, since each rejected the proposition of the other.

"The Executive Council, at its meeting in May, 1912, still believing that a conference should be held for the purpose of endeavoring to reach a conclusion upon the terms for amalgamation, invited the representatives of the United Brotherhood and the Amalgamated Society to meet in such conference, and directed that three officers of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. participate in that conference to be helpful in reaching terms of amalgamation.

"The representatives of the United Brotherhood appeared at the time and place for the conference. The representatives of the Amalgamated Society refused to send representatives. Hence the conference was not held.

"The Secretary of the Amalgamated Society in an official communication under date of May 20, 1912, declared that it was the duty of the President and the Executive Council to render a decision without any further joint conferences of the representatives of the two organizations: The Executive Council therefore finds it incumbent upon it to perform the duty which it sought the organizations themselves to determine. Now therefore: "The members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, having before them the proposition submitted by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, made to the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners as the terms of amalgamation, the counter proposition made by the Amalgamated Society to the United Brotherhood, and the extended propositions then made by the United Brotherhood to the Amalgamated Society, declares:

"1. That the counter propositions submitted by the Amalgamated Society of

terms of amalgamation are based upon the form of organization in all its details of the Amalgamated Society, which are so far reaching as to make it immediately impossible for the United Brotherhood to accept or adopt, and which would indeed make the United Brotherhood, under its own name, the Amalgamated Society.

"2. That the propositions made by the United Brotherhood are fair, just, advantageous and honorable, and as far reaching as the United Brotherhood, in its present and immediate future is in a position to make for the amalgamation of the Amalgamated Society with the United Brotherhood.

"The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor therefore decides that the terms proposed in the first and second proposition of the United Brotherhood for the amalgamation of the Amalgamated Society with the United Brotherhood should form the basis for amalgamation; that unless these terms are accepted by the Amalgamated Society it carries with it the revocation of its charter as directed by the Atlanta Convention of the A. F. of L.

"As part of this decision, the Executive Council directs and decides that in the event of the acceptance by the Amalgamated Society of the terms of amalgamation and amalgamation is effected, that the United Brotherhood shall at its forthcoming convention determine, or refer to its membership for determination, the adoption of the following features as part of the organization:

"(a) Uniform dues throughout the jurisdiction of the United Brotherhood.

"(b) Uniform strike and lockout benefits throughout the jurisdiction of the U. B.

"(c) Uniform sick benefits throughout the jurisdiction of the U. B.

"(d) Uniform out of work benefits throughout the jurisdiction of the U. B.

"(e) Uniform funeral benefits throughout the jurisdiction of the U. B.

"(f) Uniform accident or disability benefits throughout the jurisdiction of the U. B.

"(g) Uniform superannuation benefits throughout the jurisdiction of the U. B.

"(h) Uniform tool benefits throughout the jurisdiction of the U. B.

"(i) A general reserve fund for the guarantee of the payment of benefits.

"(j) Arranging for the exchange and acceptance of traveling cards of all union carpenters of the civilized world who have been members in good standing of such unions twelve months or more prior to the presentation of such cards.

"(k) Equalization of funds.

"A copy of the first and supplementary propositions of the United Brotherhood made to the Amalgamated Society as terms and conditions of amalgamation are in your possession."

Desirous of leaving no effort untried to effect amalgamation, we extended the time limit from July 1 to August 1. However, the Amalgamated Society refusing

to meet in further conference, or to accept the terms of amalgamation as decided by the Executive Council, there was no alternative left us other than to carry out the instruction given by the Atlanta Convention, and therefore, on August 2, having waited until midnight of August 1 for any further advice from the Amalgamated Society, the charter was revoked and the officers of the Amalgamated Society so notified in a letter which under our instructions President Gompers wrote.

Having before us the decision of the Atlanta and previous conventions, and particularly the instructions of the Minneapolis Convention which read as follows:

"It has been brought to the attention of the Grievance Committee by protests handed to the Committee on Credentials and referred to us, that a number of the Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are violating the laws of that body by seating the representatives of dual and seceding organizations, or those who are antagonistic to the Federation and its affiliated bodies and illegally unseating or refusing to admit delegates, representing National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

"Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to rigidly enforce the laws of the American Federation of Labor, governing the action of Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Any Central Body failing to comply with the laws shall have its charter revoked."

And Section 1 of Article 11, of the Constitution of the A. F. of L. as follows:

"No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with, a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next convention."

We authorized the issuance of a circular to all affiliated central and state bodies, directing that the local bodies of organizations coming under the above category should no longer be recognized, or allowed representation therein. A copy of this letter and a copy of the circular issued to all affiliated organizations were published in the September, 1912, issue

of the American Federationist beginning page 744.

In a letter dated July 31, and received at the office of the A. F. of L. during the day of August 1, the day when the time limitation expired, the officers of the Amalgamated Society asked for an extension of time, they knowing that it was a physical impossibility for that request to be conveyed from the headquarters to the members of the Executive Council and a reply thereto received at headquarters on that same day. That request for an extension of time could just as well have been made earlier in July, or even in June, and the request might have been complied with, but in any event, even in all the correspondence and even in the letter in which the request for extension of time was made, it was stated definitely and emphatically that the decision of the Executive Council would not be accepted by the Amalgamated Society, and, therefore, the charter was revoked.

**Steam Fitters — Plumbers — Building Trades Department.**

The Atlanta Convention declared that both for harmony and practicability the pipe fitting trade should be represented in the A. F. of L. also in the Building Trades Department, by one general association of the pipe fitting industry—the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada, and further, that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed, and the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department be requested, to carry that declaration into effect. That Convention further declared that a conference should be held between the representatives of the two organizations at interest, for the purpose of effecting their amalgamation. The conference was duly held on January 6, 1912, when, acting upon our authority, the following letter containing the decision of the Executive Council was sent by President Gompers:

"Headquarters

American Federation of Labor.

"Washington, D. C., Jan. 12, 1912.

"Mr. Thomas E. Burke, Secretary, United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of United States and Canada, 411-416 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.

"Mr. W. H. Davies, Secretary, International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America, Room 206, Merrick Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

"Dear Sirs and Brothers: The Atlanta Convention of the American Federation of Labor directed amalgamation should take place, whereby the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of United States and Canada and the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers of America shall be formed into one organization under one charter from the American Federation of Labor, namely, the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of United States and Canada. The Convention directed that a conference of the interested parties should be held for that purpose, at which a representative of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. should be present.

"We herewith notify both organizations in interest that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. received a report from President Gompers of the A. F. of L. and President Short of the Building Trades Department that the conference called for had been held January 6, 1912, at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor.

"Representatives of the U. A. and I. A. were present together with President Gompers of the A. F. of L., representing the Executive Council; and President Short representing the B. T. D.

"President Gompers and Short reported that though the conference was held, no agreement was reached, due to the fact that the representatives of the I. A. refused to confer with the representatives of the U. A. to determine upon any plan of amalgamation, the representatives of the International Association declaring that, in accordance with the action of the Atlanta Convention, it was for the Executive Council to submit a plan to effect amalgamation.

"In view of these facts, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. herewith submits to the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada, and to the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America, terms of amalgamation as incorporated in this letter.

"Owing to the importance of the subject and the necessity for constructive action in the pipe-fitting industry and for the greater development of the purposes of the Building Trades Department, and its relationship to the general labor movement, both organizations in interest, the U. A. and the I. A. are hereby informed that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor expects a report of the action taken by the respective organizations on the following proposed general terms of amalgamation not later than April 1, 1912. Both organizations are hereby also notified that the interests involved in the pipe-fitting industry, as well as in the Building Trades Department and the labor movement generally, require that in the event of amalgamation, as directed by the Atlanta Convention, not being agreed to by

April 1, 1912, that the whole labor movement relies upon the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to announce that there is but one organization of the pipe-fitting industry, recognized by the American Federation of Labor, namely: The United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of United States and Canada.

#### AMALGAMATION AGREEMENT

"The following agreement is entered into this \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, 1912, by and between the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada and the International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers of America, in compliance with the action of the American Federation of Labor Convention, held at Atlanta, Georgia, November, 1911:

"Sec. 1. All beneficial members of the International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers of America, in good standing at the time this agreement is consummated, shall be placed in full beneficial standing on the books of the United Association, as provided for in the general constitution and laws of the United Association governing payment of benefits and donations.

"Sec. 2. It is agreed that all members of the International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers of America thus becoming members of the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada, shall be entitled to all rights and privileges accorded other members of the United Association.

"Sec. 3. All apprentices at present in good standing in International Association shall, upon affiliation to the United Association, be credited with full length of time served and shall be entitled to all benefits and privileges of the United Association as provided for in the Constitution of that Association.

"Sec. 4. In cities or districts where two or more locals of the Amalgamated Association are located a joint council shall be formed.

"Sec. 5. Separate charters shall be granted local unions composed of steam fitters or steam fitters' helpers where a sufficient number of applicants for such charter exist, in accordance with the laws of the United Association.

"Sec. 6. Increased effort shall be made to organize all non-union steam fitters and helpers employed in the pipe-fitting industry.

"Sec. 7. It is hereby agreed that steam fitters shall be entitled to, and shall have, complete control over all steam fitting work and it is further agreed that in order to promote the success of this amalgamation, a com-

mittee of six (6), composed of equal numbers representing the parties at interest, shall be created for the purpose of determining the division of the work. This committee shall meet and so determine within fifteen days after the consummation of this agreement.

"Sec. 8. In case any differences arise relative to carrying out the provision of Sec. 7, that cannot be settled by the representatives of the organizations in interest then the question in dispute shall be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for settlement."

"The above is the decision in the case of the Plumbers, and the Steamfitters as rendered by the Executive Council at its meeting the week of January 8th.

"Both Secretary Morrison and I have been absent on official business since the adjournment of the Executive Council meeting, or the decision would have been more promptly transmitted to you.

"Trusting that I may hear from you in regard to the above at your early convenience, and with best wishes, I remain,

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

President

American Federation of Labor."

To this the following replies were received:

United Association Journeymen Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada.

"Chicago, Ill., Jan. 27, 1912.

"Mr. Samuel Gompers, President, American Federation of Labor:

"Dear Sir and Brother: I have your esteemed favor of recent date which is the decision rendered by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its recent meeting held the week beginning January 8th, 1912, which is in relation to the case of the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada versus the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters of America.

"In reply beg to say that I am instructed by the General Executive Board of the United Association to inform you that we unanimously accept the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in all its details in this case, and further that we are prepared now and at the date set to carry its provisions into execution, as desired by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

"Trusting that your efforts and the efforts of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will meet with complete success, in settling once and for all this long drawn out controversy, assuring you of my best wishes, I beg to remain,

Fraternally yours,

THOS. E. BURKE,  
Secretary-Treasurer."

International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers.

Chicago, Ill., April 3, 1912.

"Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.:

"Dear Sir and Brother: At the outset I must apologize for the seeming delay in replying to your communication referring to our amalgamation with the Plumbers. Can assure you that same was sent promptly to our Executive Board, which naturally caused much deliberation and delay in getting their replies to me, as no doubt they felt the subject matter was of the utmost importance.

"I beg leave to report that our Executive Board has decided to reject the proposition as submitted. With best wishes, I am,

"Yours fraternally,

W. H. DAVIES,

Secretary-Treasurer International Association."

At our January meeting we decided that, in accordance with the action of the Atlanta Convention of the A. F. of L., "the officers of the A. F. of L. will, after May 1, 1912, receive per capita tax from only one organization in the pipe fitting industry, namely the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada." In view of the instructions of the Atlanta Convention and particularly the instructions of the Minneapolis Convention, and Section 1 of Article II of the Constitution of the A. F. of L., both of which have been quoted in the section of this report dealing with the Amalgamated Carpenters and the U. B. of Carpenters, and further, in view of the declarations on the part of the Steam Fitters, as indicated in Secretary Davies' letter of April 3, on May first we directed the issuance of a circular letter to all affiliated organizations, calling attention to the fact that in conformity with the action of the Atlanta Convention, the officers of the A. F. of L. would after May 1, 1912, receive per capita from only one organization in the pipe fitting industry, the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers, and calling upon all affiliated organizations in the interests of the workers in the pipe fitting industry, as well as all wage earners in our country to aid by every means within their power to carry into effect the decision of the American Federation of Labor and the Building Trades Department.

It should be stated that the Building Trades Department, the Metal Trades Department, and the Railroad Employees Department at their several conventions since the Atlanta Convention of the A. F. of L. have taken such action as to conform to the decision of that convention that there shall be but one organization recognized in the pipe fitting industry, namely, the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada.

#### Sheet Metal Workers—Metal Polishers.

In view of the many existing jurisdictional controversies, it is pleasing to submit to you the agreement as entered into between the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance and the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers Union of N. A.:

August 15th, 1912.

"Jurisdiction agreement entered into this date between the Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance and the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America.

"It is understood by the parties whose signatures are hereto attached:

"First, That all sheet metal work as registered with the American Federation of Labor, the Building Trades Department and Metal Trades Department shall be the work of the Sheet Metal Workers.

"Second, The Sheet Metal Workers waive the right to the manufacture of gas and electric fixtures, and beer pump supplies, such as are used in the drawing of beer, soda and mineral waters to the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers.

M. O'SULLIVAN,

"General President, Sheet Metal Workers,

T. M. DALY,

"General President, Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers Union of N. A."

#### Glass Bottle Blowers — Flint Glass Workers.

At our meeting in August, we received a communication from President Hayes at the 36th Annual Convention of the Glass Bottle Blowers Association then in session at Olean, New York, that an agreement had been entered into with the American Flint Glass Workers and that the Glass Bottle Blowers Association therefore withdrew its protest against the Flint Glass Workers being granted a charter by the American Federation of Labor.

At the same meeting, however, a protest was entered by President Johnston of the International Association of Machinists against the charter being issued to the Flint Glass Workers until the question of jurisdiction over mold making should be adjusted. We thereupon directed that at the earliest date possible a conference should be held between the representatives of the three organizations. This conference took place at our Washington headquarters on September 23rd.

It was decided at the conference that President Hayes of the Glass Bottle Blowers and President Rowe of the Flint Glass Workers should formulate in writing a request to the International Association of Machinists to withdraw its protest against charter being issued to the Flint Glass Workers. This was done. The Machinists' organization, however, declined to withdraw its protest. Thereupon the officers of the three organizations involved were invited to a conference with us during our October meeting. An entire afternoon session was devoted to the conference, with an endeavor to reach an agreement, but without avail.

At the Minneapolis Convention the Executive Council rendered a decision regarding the application of the American Flint Glass Workers Union for a charter. That decision was reported to the Norfolk Convention of 1907, found on page 77 of the official printed proceedings of that year, and which the convention approved and made its own:

"Upon the application of the American Flint Glass Workers for a charter, it was decided that charter be issued upon the condition that they refrain from making bottles and fruit jars, which constitute the class of work performed by the Glass Bottle Blowers Association of the United States and Canada now affiliated to the American Federation of Labor."

That decision was ratified at a later convention. This was the clear and emphatic instruction to the Executive Council, and inasmuch as the American Flint Glass Workers Union complied with the decision of the Executive Council rendered at Minneapolis and endorsed at subsequent A. F. of L. Conventions, and the A. F. G. W. U. had entered into an agreement with the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association carrying the decision into effect, the Executive Council had no al-

ternative and directed that charter be granted and it was granted.

As will be observed from the report we have thus far submitted to this convention, every effort has been made to carry into effect the spirit, as well as the letter, of the declaration of the Atlanta Convention of one organization for one trade; that duality and rivalry must cease so far as we have the power to enforce it.

Nor were the efforts of the Executive Council directed to that policy and practice because of the Atlanta Convention's declaration. That has been the course pursued by the Executive Council and by our Federation ever since its inception, and particularly since the autonomy declaration of the Scranton Convention. Inasmuch as eleven years have elapsed since that declaration, we believe it entirely appropriate to quote it in this report, so that it can be made a part thereof to refresh your minds and the minds of our fellow workers. It is as follows:

#### AUTONOMY DECLARATION\*

Scranton, Pa., December 14, 1901.

"To the Officers and Delegates to the Twenty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

"Greeting—The undersigned, your special committee appointed to consider the question of the autonomy of the trade unions, beg leave to say that it is our judgment the future success, permanency, and safety of the American Federation of Labor, as well as the trade unions themselves, depends upon the recognition and application of the principle of autonomy, consistent with the varying phases and transitions in industry.

"We realize that it is impossible to define the exact line of demarcation where one trade or form of labor ends and another begins, and that no hard and fast rule can be devised by which all our trade unions can be governed or can govern themselves.

"We emphasize the impossibility of the establishment of hard and fast lines; but if history and experience in the labor movement count for aught we urge upon our fellow-workmen that toleration and forbearance which are proverbial of our movement; for, without the recognition and application of these qualities any decision we may formulate will be futile. We, therefore, recommend as follows:

"1. As the magnificent growth of the American Federation of Labor is conceded by all students of economic thought

\*(The above declaration as here given is as corrected by the New Orleans Convention, page 143.)

to be the result of organization on trade lines, and believing it neither necessary nor expedient to make any radical departure from this fundamental principle, we declare that, as a general proposition, the interests of the workers will be best conserved by adhering as closely to that doctrine as the recent great changes in methods of production and employment make practicable. However, owing to the isolation of some few industries from thickly populated centers where the overwhelming number follow one branch thereof, and owing to the fact that in some industries comparatively few workers are engaged over whom separate organizations claim jurisdiction, we believe that jurisdiction in such industries by the paramount organization would yield the best results to the workers therein, at least until the development of organization of each branch has reached a stage wherein these may be placed, without material injury to all parties in interest, in affiliation with their national trade unions. Nothing contained in this declaration is intended or shall be construed to mean a reversal of any decision rendered by former Executive Councils or previous conventions on questions of jurisdiction.

"2. We hold that the interests of the trade union movement will be promoted by closely allied and sub-divided crafts giving consideration to amalgamation, and to the organization of District and National Trade Councils to which should be referred questions in dispute, and which should be adjusted within allied crafts' lines.

"3. The American Federation of Labor being a voluntary association, cannot direct and should not adopt methods antagonistic to or in conflict with established trade union laws, and in order to carry the above recommendations into effect, and in full recognition of its logical position, the American Federation of Labor pledges its officers to aid and assist in the adjustment of such craft encroachments as disputants may be willing to submit to its arbitration.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
JAMES DUNCAN,  
JOHN MITCHELL,  
JOHN MULHOLLAND,  
C. N. HUGHES,  
Committee."

In connection with this declaration it is necessary to call attention to a frequent misconception of the term "autonomy" as it is used by the American Federation of Labor. Some have mistakenly interpreted it to mean that a trade union cannot expand its jurisdiction, or amalgamate with another organization of the same or if a kindred trade in the same industry. The term "autonomy," as applied, has been used as an obstacle to such extension, growth, and amalgamation. No such construction or interpreta-

tion can be justly given the term. Broadly and specifically speaking, the term "autonomy" means self government, as automaton and automatic, self-acting; autobiography, self-writing the history of one's own life; automobile self-propelling; deriving its general application from the root word auto, self. We are prompted to this explanation by several instances in which the term "industrial unionism" is applied, as against trade unionism, with its autonomous self-government, as well as by a circular which was recently issued by the Metal Trades Council of Toledo, Ohio, in which the affiliated organizations and the delegates to this convention are urged to favor an amendment to the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, so that,

"National and International trade unions shall have the right to amalgamation; such amalgamation must be endorsed by a referendum vote of the organizations affected, and a two-thirds affirmative vote of the members voting upon such amendment in each organization, shall be necessary to make the amendment legal and binding."

Such a proposition is based upon the misconception that the American Federation of Labor prevents, or has the power to prevent or place obstacles in the way of, amalgamation of national or international trade unions when they so desire to amalgamate, when as a matter of fact every effort has been made by the A. F. of L., the Executive Council, and our organizations to bring about amalgamation of national and international unions, and where that has been impossible for the time being, to endeavor to have them co-operate and federate for their mutual advantage.

Attention is also called to the provision of this suggested amendment to the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, that if it were adopted it would require a two-thirds affirmative vote of the members voting to bring about amalgamation, when as a matter of fact, amalgamation of several organizations has been effected by conference and agreement ratified by a majority of the membership, or a majority of the convention, voting upon the question. Thus it will retard and not facilitate.

Years ago we severed the affiliation of the American Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and declared



that inasmuch as its members performed the work in several of the machinery trades, the members thereof should belong to the International Association of Machinists. The Allied Metal Mechanics' International Union became part of the International Association of Machinists, and the Machinists' Helpers unions have become part thereof.

The Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union amalgamated with and became a part of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and the American Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters has had its charter revoked because it refused to amalgamate with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

In accordance with the instructions of the Atlanta Convention, efforts were made to have the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers amalgamate with the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers. Because of the refusal of the former, we have endeavored to carry the instructions into effect that there should be but one organization recognized in the pipe fitting industry, and that the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers. The United Association has within its membership those branches of the trades included in its title.

The International Molders' Union of North America now encompasses molders of all metals, and some years ago the Core Makers' International Union became amalgamated with it.

The Longshoremen have pilots and steam shovelmen in addition to their own workers, longshoremen.

Blacksmiths have chain makers and helpers.

The Lasters' International Union became amalgamated with the Boot and Shoe Workers International Union.

The Iron and Steel Workers are organizing the unskilled with the skilled of the trade.

The Miners have jurisdiction over all work in and around the mines.

Granite Cutters have added polishers, rubbers, sawyers, and the tool sharpeners have been part thereof from the beginning.

Quarry Workers have added derrickmen, boxing and strapping.

Railroad Telegraphers have added station agents, signalmen, train dispatchers, telephoners, pneumatic interlockers, and staffmen.

The Journeymen Tailors' International Union, the United Garment Workers of N. A., and the Ladies Garment Workers International Union are endeavoring to bring about an amalgamation of the three organizations, or to bring about a closer co-operative effort.

So on might we quote nearly all of the national and international unions in their constant effort to a more thorough and comprehensive organization of their own fellow workers in the trade, or in kindred trades.

And yet it is also true that in some few organizations the amalgamation of various branches of one industry having been accomplished, they have voluntarily separated into a number of international unions of their respective branches. That is especially true of the International Typographical Union, which until some years ago had under its jurisdiction and part of the organization the compositors, proof readers, pressmen, book-binders, stereotypers and electrotypers, mellers, news-writers, photo-engravers. By agreement, the book-binders, stereotypers and electrotypers, and photo-engravers, have formed separate organizations from the International Typographical Union, and generally co-operating in their local and national councils.

The American trade union movement is one of constant growth, development and expansion. Since its inception, the American Federation of Labor has been the most practical and beneficial general organization of the wage-workers of the continent; has taken cognizance of the constant change and transition in industry and by every means within its power has sought not only to effect the organization of unorganized workers, but to bring about unity, solidarity and fraternity among organized workers, and has stimulated by every means within its power the necessity for closer co-operation, federation and amalgamation of existing trade unions to the end that each may be helpful to all.

The American Federation of Labor realizes that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link; that the grand army of organized labor cannot advance much further than its most backward column; that the labor organizations are made up of human beings who are not cast in plastic molds; cannot be placed in rigid forms, and therefore, it must concede that the authority vested in the affiliated unions and their members must be the largest consistent with the general progress and the welfare of the entire wage-working masses.

The American Federation of Labor has organized central bodies in hundreds of cities, and State federations in nearly all the states in America; has instituted a large number of international unions and numberless local unions, and has developed the system of Industrial Departments which federate the organized workers of the different crafts, trades and callings and which co-operate for the common protection and advancement of the interest of all.

The American Federation of Labor realizes that there is still much to do, but repudiates the insinuation which is implied by the term "Industrial Unionism" as it is employed by the so-called "Industrial Workers of the World" in antagonism to "Trade Unionism" for in that implication the false impression is conveyed that the trade unions are rigid, unyielding, or do not adjust themselves to meet new conditions and do not advance, develop or expand, whereas the whole history of the trade union movement in the past thirty years demonstrates beyond successful contradiction, that there is not a day which passes, but which witnesses in the trade union movement in America the highest and loftiest spirit of sacrifice in order to co-operate with our fellow-workers for their interest and common uplift.

In line with the historic, intelligent and comprehensive attitude which the American Federation of Labor has pursued since its inception, we urge still greater effort and energy in the work of more thoroughly organizing the unorganized workers, pursued to its fullest extent; to urge upon the organized workers a more thorough co-operation, to advocate amalgamation of organizations of kindred

trades and callings, and a more thorough federation of all organized labor, to the end that economic, political, moral and social justice shall come to the toilers, the wealth producers of America.

#### **Teamsters—Newspaper and Mail Deliverers.**

By Resolution No. 40 of the Atlanta Convention—the claim made by the Brotherhood of Teamsters of jurisdiction over a certain class of the members of Newspaper and Mail Deliverers' Local No. 2463, it was directed that these members should be transferred from that local to the jurisdiction of the Teamsters' organization.

In conveying to the officers of both organizations the action of the convention, every effort was exerted to reach a mutually satisfactory basis of agreement between them, and yet to carry out the instructions of the convention. Much correspondence passed between both organizations and President Gompers. Local No. 2463 was loath to abide by the Atlanta decision. The Brotherhood of Teamsters insisted that the decision should be enforced. Endeavoring in every way to relieve the situation, and realizing that the revocation of the charter of the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers for failure to abide by the Atlanta decision would not change the situation, and in so far as concerns the organized labor movement of the country that local would not be identified with it, we deferred from month to month revoking the charter hoping that some way out of the difficulty might be found without having recourse to such drastic measures.

#### **Teamsters—Brewery Workers.**

The Atlanta Convention directed the President of the A. F. of L. to arrange a conference between the representatives of the Teamsters and the representatives of the Brewers for the purpose of endeavoring to bring about an adjustment of their jurisdictional controversy, that failing to secure such an adjustment your Executive Council should render a decision setting forth clearly the jurisdiction of each organization. At several different times during the year President Gompers succeeded in arranging a date that was mutually satisfactory and at a time when a representative of the Executive Council could be present. Upon each occasion,

however, some unforeseen matters arose which prevented either one or both of the organizations from participating in the conference.

We urge and recommend further conference during the sessions of this convention.

#### **Teamsters—Bakers.**

The conference between the representatives of these two organizations was duly held as directed by you at our last convention. Secretary Frank Duffy of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America representing the American Federation of Labor.

The representatives of the Bakers asked for a modification of the recommendations of Mr. Duffy and requested that a further conference be held between the representatives of the two organizations.

The second conference was held and the recommendations and findings of Secretary Duffy were approved and adopted by us. They are as follows:

"I therefore again recommend that Resolution No. 43 be concurred in by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and that the President and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. put in force and effect the decision of the Atlanta Convention that in one craft there must be one organization only;

"I further recommend that after this is done a conference of the representatives of both organizations be held for the purpose of arriving at an agreement governing the relationship of one organization to the other on the matters hereinbefore mentioned."

The officers of both organizations were duly advised of our decision and were requested to meet in further conference. The officers of the Teamsters declared that as soon as the officers of the Bakers complied with the action of the E. C., the Teamsters would then be ready to meet with them.

#### **Blacksmiths—Tunnel and Subway Employes.**

Your Executive Council did not concur in the jurisdictional claims of the Brotherhood of Blacksmiths as set forth in Resolution No. 26 of the Atlanta Convention in connection with which that convention directed that a conference be held between the representatives of the Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and of the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors. As the result of the conference and

much correspondence, we are pleased to be able to report that the following agreement was reached:

New York City, May 2, 1912.

"TERMS OF AGREEMENT made and agreed to by and between Mr. T. J. Curtis, President of the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors, and Mr. Richard Brereton, Business Agent of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Local Union No. 17, as a basis of settlement determining the demarkation lines between both organizations.

"President Curtis on behalf of the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors agrees to concede the jurisdiction of all blacksmiths except those employed in the sharpening of drills used by his members in their work.

"He further agrees that any member of his organization doing general blacksmith work shall be turned over to Local Union No. 17 of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths.

"He further agrees to render moral support wherever and whenever possible to the representative of Local Union No. 17 of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths in having unorganized blacksmiths affiliate with that organization.

"Business Agent Brereton, representing Local Union No. 17 of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, agrees to accept the above conditions offered by President Curtis as a fair basis of settlement of dispute between both organizations and agrees to work and co-operate with President Curtis of the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors in not only promoting harmony between the two organizations but to render moral support wherever and whenever necessary in assisting and building up the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors.

"THOS. J. CURTIS,

"President, International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors.

"RICHARD BRERETON,  
"Business Agent, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Local Union 17.

"HUGH FRAYNE,  
"General Organizer, American Federation of Labor."

#### **Tailors—Garment Workers.**

On October 19, 1902, an agreement was entered into between the representatives of the United Garment Workers of America and the Journeymen Tailors Union covering disputed points of jurisdiction. That agreement has been in force since that time.

Some months ago the officers of the Tailors alleged transgression of jurisdiction on the part of the United Garment Workers and requested that the officers of the A. F. of L. should arrange a con-

ference with the representatives of the United Garment Workers and the Ladies Garment Workers International Union, for the purpose of devising plans to bring about a better understanding in the best interests of the several organizations and with a view of possible federation or amalgamation. This conference was held September 30, Secretary Morrison representing the A. F. of L. The conclusion reached was that the amalgamation of the three organizations into one would be to the best interests of the garment working trade; that in order to develop this idea, the headquarters of the three organizations should be located in the same city; that there should be selected by each organization three members to meet jointly at least once in three months or as often as either of the organizations might call for a conference for the purpose of developing and working out a practical plan of amalgamation. A further conference will be held during this convention when the three organizations will be prepared to submit such plans as they believe will assist in finally bringing about amalgamation.

#### **Brick Makers—Steam Engineers.**

In conformity with instructions given by you at our last convention, as per Resolution No. 132, a conference of the representatives of the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance and the International Union of Steam Engineers was arranged, Vice-President Alpine representing the Executive Council. No agreement was reached upon the disputed points of jurisdiction and it was referred to the Executive Council. We thereupon sustained the Steam Engineers in their contention for jurisdiction over men operating electric machines in brick yards.

#### **Amalgamation Steam-Shovelmen's Organizations.**

We were authorized by the Atlanta Convention to call a meeting of the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Steam-Shovel and Dredgemen, the representatives of the Associated Union of Steam-Shovelmen, and such other organizations as are interested in the subject, for the purpose of uniting all organized members of this trade into one organiza-

tion in conformity with the laws of the A. F. of L. As authorized by us, President Gompers arranged for several conferences. They were barren of results. The last conference was called to be held during our August meeting.

The representatives of the several organizations in interest were then given hearings. Immediately after the adjournment of our August meeting, another conference was held in Chicago at which Vice-President Mitchell represented the Executive Council. He submitted the following report of that conference:

Mount Vernon, N. Y., Sept. 9, 1912.

"Mr. Samuel Gompers, President, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.:

"Dear Sir and Brother:

"In pursuance of the action of the August meeting of the Executive Council, I arranged a conference of the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen and the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen, at Chicago, August 30th. Those present at the conference were Messrs. Dolan and Carrigan, representing the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, James Hannahan, representing the International Brotherhood of Stationary Engineers, John W. Tracy, representing the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen, Edwin Perry, representing the Mining Department of the A. F. of L., and the undersigned representing the American Federation of Labor.

"The purpose of the conference being the unification of the organizations having control of steam shovel work, I requested the representatives of the parties at interest to submit proposals for amalgamation. As neither side was prepared to submit any definite proposition, which the other would accept, I proposed amalgamation on the following basis: That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor should recommend to the respective organizations of steam shovel men that during the month of December a committee of ten, five representing each organization, meet in the city of Chicago for the purpose of revising the laws of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen in such manner as could be agreed upon, it being understood that in the revision of the law the right of the steam shovel men to continue their affiliation with the International Brotherhood of Stationary Engineers and the International Longshoremen's Association or to make other affiliations of mutual benefit, should not be interfered with; that this recommendation of the Executive Council be transmitted by the American Federation of Labor to the officers of the respective organizations of steam shovel men and by them be submitted to a referendum vote of the membership of the organizations at interest, in accordance with the provisions of their own laws.

"The above proposal was accepted by all those present at the conference and the statement was made by Mr. Dolan, representing the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, and by Mr. Tracy, representing the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen, that they would recommend to the membership of their respective organizations that the proposal of the Executive Council be adopted.

"On the following day—that is Saturday, August 31—Mr. Dolan, of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, advised me that he had consulted with the members of his executive board, and that they would not agree to amalgamation on the terms proposed. On that day—August 31—Mr. Dolan wrote me as follows:

Chicago, Ill., August 31, 1912.

"Mr. John Mitchell, Kaiserhof Hotel, Chicago, Ill.

"Dear Mr. Mitchell:

"Since my talk with you yesterday in reference to your proposition affecting our Brotherhood and the dual organization of steam shovelmen, will state that I talked your proposition over with the members of our executive board on the long distance telephone and they will only agree to the following proposition, namely: The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen will agree to accept the entire membership of the dual organizations into our Brotherhood with the exception of the men who are now scabbing in the Purington Brick Yard at Galesburg, Ill. With the exception of these men who are scabbing on 600 brickmakers and 25 of our members who have been on a strike there for the past eighteen months, we will take in their entire membership free of all cost.

"Trusting the American Federation of Labor can induce these dual organizations to come into our Brotherhood through the regular channels according to the principles of the American Federation of Labor, I remain,

Yours fraternally,

T. J. DOLAN,  
General Secretary-Treasurer.

"From the foregoing you will perceive that my efforts to unite the organizations of steam shovelmen have failed and that failure is due to the refusal of the Executive Board of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen to endorse the action of their representatives in the conference herein referred to.

I shall write to-day to Messrs. Tracy and Perry informing them of the refusal of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen to proceed further in the movement for amalgamation. I am,

Yours truly,

"JOHN MITCHELL,  
Second Vice-President A. F. of L."

The basis of amalgamation as proposed by Mr. Mitchell was accepted by all of those present at the conference, and the

representatives of the Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen and of the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen stated that they would recommend to their respective organizations that the proposal of the Executive Council as represented by Vice President Mitchell be adopted. The Executive Board of the International Brotherhood declined to accept. Believing that the necessity for unity warrants us in urging that another conference be held by the representatives of the organizations in interest, they have, therefore, been invited to send representatives to hold a conference in this city, during the time of this convention. We hope to make a report to you later as to the result of such conference.

### Electrical Workers.

The long standing controversy in the courts between the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the seceding section of that organization was decided by Judge Phillips in the Court of Common Pleas of Cleveland, Ohio, on March 21, 1912, in favor of the Brotherhood affiliated to the A. F. of L. The Executive Board of the Brotherhood immediately thereafter held a meeting and adopted the following as the basis upon which the local unions of the seceding faction of the electrical workers would be admitted to membership in the Brotherhood:

"1st. In the event of the members of Local Union No. — again joining forces with our Brotherhood, they will be placed immediately in benefit to the amount of \$100 in case of death.

"2nd. All members of Local Union No. — that have been in good standing for five continuous years in either organization or in both, will be entitled to transfer their membership into any other local union of the same branch of our trade without examination or difference in initiation fee.

"3rd. All members of Local No. — who have been less than five years in continuous good standing will be given credit for the full length of their good standing.

"4th. All members of Local Union No. — to be placed in good standing on our books on payment of current per capita tax."

A number of local unions immediately accepted the proposition and from time to time additional unions came into the Brotherhood until at the time of making this report it has been reported to us that 65 local unions of the seceding faction of Electrical Workers have united with the

International Brotherhood, with an increase in membership of 4,088.

**Jurisdiction Over Newsboys, Carriers, Newspaper Solicitors, Printer Roller Makers.**

We have given much thought and discussion to, and there has been much correspondence upon, the matter of jurisdiction over newsboys, news carriers and newspaper solicitors and printer roller makers. Your Executive Council expressed the belief and opinion that the International Typographical Union has original jurisdiction over news writers. A conference is to be held during this convention between the representatives of the printing trades, when it is hoped that a mutually satisfactory agreement may be reached regarding the matter of jurisdiction over the trades mentioned. We hope to be able later during this convention to make a report to you in regard to this matter.

**Authority and Self-Imposed Discipline.**

In connection with the general subject matter of the electrical workers, and questions of a kindred character, attention should be called to the fact that in conformity with the laws of the A. F. of L. and the actions and declarations of its conventions, the charter of the Alameda County Central Labor Council, California, was revoked because that body refused to abide by the decision and the laws of the A. F. of L. in the electrical workers' matter.

Information has come to us that a committee of three representing the Alameda County C. L. U. has visited several places in California, soliciting support in their refusal to abide by the laws and decisions of the A. F. of L. and for the organization of a dual and rival body to the A. F. of L. on the Pacific Coast.

Your attention is called to this particular case for several reasons, only a few of which need here be stated. Somewhere in the labor movement of America, there must be lodged some degree of authority, or expression of judgment. To this authority, interested parties should defer for investigation, discussion, final judgment and ultimate determination, all disputed matters affecting the internal relations of the organized labor movement

coming properly before the American Federation of Labor.

This authority to adjudge as to which disputant is held to be right and which to be wrong, and should endeavor, with all the influence which can be brought to bear through our movement, to adjust such disputes, conflicts and claims so that the unity and solidarity of the labor movement may be maintained.

If this position be right, the question arises as to where that authority shall be vested. If the American Federation of Labor in its conventions, or between conventions, the Executive Council, is not the constituted authority, where, pray, shall such authority be lodged? In any one central body? If that be justified, than why not a single local union? And if that be proper, then each individual member of a union may be constituted a law unto himself. Then, how can any general policy or purpose be outlined or a coherent practical course be pursued in the interests of the general welfare of the toilers of our continent?

The laws, the policies, and the decision of the A. F. of L. are based upon the combined judgment of the toilers of America. There is no power lodged any where in our movement by which the laws, policies, and decisions thereof can be made effective, unless it be the general consensus of opinion and judgment of the organized wage earners, and the respect and confidence which they have in the movement and the men they have chosen to represent them. It depends for success upon the devotion of the rank and file of organized labor to the cause of unionism for furtherance of their own interests and the common welfare.

In the absence of any power to enforce laws, policies and decisions (and our movement aims at the avoidance of such force and power), there must come to our fellow workers the understanding that some degree of discipline must be maintained, but that only through discipline which is self-imposed and maintained for the progressive and orderly conduct of the labor movement of our time, can the integrity and entity of our movement be safeguarded; so that it may be of the greatest value and influence in securing for the toiling masses of our country, the opportunity and the means for the at-

tainment of the highest and best possible conditions.

Because of the action of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, and other instances of a similar character, we believe that this convention should express itself in no unmistakable terms as to the moral duty and obligation of every affiliated body loyally to give effect to decisions of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, the highest authority in the organized labor movement of America.

#### **Strikes and Lockouts of Directly Affiliated Local and Federal Labor Unions.**

During the year many applications were made for financial assistance by directly affiliated local trade unions and federal labor unions, where their members were involved in strikes or lockouts. Whenever the unions were entitled to such assistance under the Federation constitution, your Executive Council gave speedy and effective aid, and in some cases where assistance was urged we supported the strike or lockout even though there were no actual obligations resting upon the Federation. It has been our desire and endeavor to deal as generously in such cases as is permissible under the constitution, but yet we wish to take this opportunity of impressing upon the local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated the necessity for complying with the requirements of the constitution in giving notice where there is a likelihood of a strike or lockout being inaugurated.

It is not necessary that we should repeat in this report the data given in the Secretary's report of the number of unions involved in strikes and lockouts during the year, the amount of benefits paid, but we do desire to call particular attention to the strike of the button workers at Muscatine, Iowa, and the strike of the railway employes on the Harriman and Illinois Central Railroad lines. In the case of the former the contest lasted considerably over a year. Although the button workers were almost wholly unorganized at the beginning, yet the strike ended without rancor or bitter feeling, with considerable enthusiasm for the union and without one dollar indebtedness. Benefits were paid to the mem-

bers of the organization to the amount of \$21,718, and during the entire contest one or more representatives of the Federation were constantly on the ground assisting, encouraging and helping in every possible way. President Gompers, by our direction, finally visited Muscatine on May 22, it being upon his advice and with his counsel that the strike came to an honorable end. Since that time the Button Workers' Union of Muscatine has been conducting an aggressive campaign for the organization of the workers of that trade, not only in that vicinity, but in various other localities where the industry is established. Through the help of our Federation organizers, assistance has been given whenever and wherever possible.

In the case of the railway strikes there were benefits paid for forty-eight weeks to nine unions, varying in members from 344 to 99. The men made a noble fight. When it finally became necessary to notify the various organizations that after a certain date no further benefits could be allowed, one local after another wrote to headquarters expressing its deep appreciation for the generous financial and moral assistance given by our Federation.

There were several directly affiliated trade unions and federal labor unions whose members have been on strike, and to whom benefits have been paid from the defense fund, but better than all the financial assistance rendered in these several controversies has been the fact that many improvements in wages, hours and conditions of labor have been secured by reason of the affiliation of these local unions to the A. F. of L., the practical suggestions and advice given them by our Federation officers and organizers, and the defense fund which, if necessary, was at their back.

Nor should we omit to make reference here to the many instances in which strikes have been averted and agreements reached through the efforts and with the assistance of the Federation organizers, the organizations' representatives and officers of the national and international unions, by conferences with employers and their representatives. It is the endeavor of the officers of the A. F. of L. and of its affiliated organizations to leave no honorable effort untried to prevent

strikes, consistent with the rights and promotive of the interests of the workers.

We believe that the intelligent public is beginning to realize that a well organized, orderly labor movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor is the most effective safeguard against unnecessary strikes and industrial disturbances.

### Organizers.

A number of resolutions were introduced at our last convention requesting the appointment of special organizers for many of the different trades and callings, or requesting assistance in special organization work. Many requests of a similar character have been made during the course of the year. In all instances we authorized the President of the A. F. of L. to comply as fully as warranted by the funds of the Federation available for that work.

In Secretary Morrison's report to this convention the statistics are given of the number of unions organized and chartered during the year, both direct by the A. F. of L. as well as by the affiliated national and international unions. There must be taken into consideration, however, the fact that not all of the affiliated national and international unions have been able to make accurate reports along these lines. It must be further borne in mind that these statistics are but a partial demonstration of the work of the organizers, both of international unions and the American Federation of Labor. It is often the case that an organizer is required to devote days of his time to a particular locality, performing most excellent work in the interest of a special trade, as well as of the movement in general, and yet not be able to report the organization of a new union. Such work as this is not susceptible of statistical tabulation. It is, however, of none the less value to the progress, strengthening and building up of the movement in general.

There are now working directly for the American Federation of Labor organizers who speak English, German, Bohemian, Polish, Slavish, Lithuanian, Russian, Latium and Yiddish.

It should also be stated that for the purpose of assisting in the organization work of the Women's Trade Union League we authorized the payment of \$150 per month for one year.

In many of the international unions a considerable number of the members speak foreign languages. These organizations also have special organizers for the trade who speak various languages. They publish their constitutions and by-laws in foreign languages, as well as organizing literature and their various journals in part.

We recommend to our national and international unions, and to all organized labor, that a greater effort than ever before be made during the coming year to organize the yet unorganized workers in every trade and calling, and thus have them identified with, and become part of the great organized labor movement of America.

We further recommend the continuation of the special organization work of the A. F. of L., as far as warranted by the state of the Federation funds.

### Organizers' Salaries.

The Atlanta Convention considered a resolution for the amendment of section 7, article XI of the constitution, relating to the salaries of organizers, the proposed amendment being to:

"Strike out the figures \$5.00 per day and insert the figures \$6.00 per day on line 4."

The matter was referred to the Executive Council with power to act. Owing to the fact that the funds were not then available to meet the proposed added expenditure which would thereby be entailed, we finally decided in favor of the proposition, the amendment to go into effect January 1, 1913. When considering this amendment, it was also decided that where organizers for any specific trade are employed by the A. F. of L. to perform special trade organizing work, that such organizers shall receive the stipulated salary as provided by the national or international union in whose interest the work is being performed, provided, however, that such salary does not exceed \$6.00 per day.



**Contempt Case.**

In the report which was submitted to the Atlanta Convention, attention was called to the fact that a "committee" consisting of the attorneys in the original injunction and contempt case against us had been appointed by Justice Wright to investigate and report whether or not there was good reason to "believe Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison guilty of contempt of court," and that this committee brought charges against our colleagues and reported them to the court. The committee recommended that it might be that Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison had believed that "the injunction was not binding" upon them because of what they claimed to be their "constitutional right of free speech and free press"; that it might be that, now that their contention had "not been sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States," they might be prepared to make such "due acknowledgment, apology and assurance of future submission" to the court; that should such acknowledgment, apology and submission not be forthcoming after due notice and opportunity, the course necessary to be pursued to maintain its dignity and due respect for and obedience to the law, was submitted to the court for its consideration. No such apologies or acknowledgments were made, and in pursuance of these charges the re-trial of the case began before Justice Wright, December 30, 1911.

While the three defendants were the parties on trial for contempt of court in the alleged violation of the terms of the injunction, there were more than personal interests, personal freedom, personal equations involved. Time and again the American Federation of Labor had declared, as we trust it will repeat and emphasize, for the untrameled freedom of the press and freedom of speech; that when an opportunity should be presented a test case should be made before the courts. Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison were making that test. Regardless of consequences, they believed that they had not the right, and neither had they the inclination, to stultify our movement and degrade their consciences in making an apology for the lawful course they had pursued in having our rights determined before the courts, or to make

acknowledgment that they were unjustified in the course they pursued in welcoming the making of a test. The case had been brought against the Federation. We could not abstain from a defense, and it afforded the best method to utilize it as a test case.

The taking of testimony lasted 25 days, during all of which time there was not a scintilla of evidence adduced which in any way reflected dishonorably upon our movement or our men. It clearly emphasized the fact of our determination to uphold, at whatever peril, the right of free speech and free press. Perhaps it may not be amiss to call attention to the fact that the editorial printed in the March, 1908, issue of the American Federationist, reviewing the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the *Hatters' Case*, was taken as a text for a speech in the House of Representatives by Honorable William Sulzer of New York, and was made part of that speech. Because he incorporated therein a reference to the company which brought on the original injunction, that, too, was used as evidence against "Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison." Congressman Sulzer was called as a witness and took the stand and declared that he made that speech and made the editorial a part of it on his own volition, with the purpose of giving the subject the widest publicity in the interests of the people. His testimony closed the case.

Then began the argument, Mr. Darlington arguing for the prosecution against Messrs. Gompers and Morrison, and Mr. Wilson against Mr. Mitchell, Judge Alton B. Parker and J. H. Ralston arguing for the defendants, the closing argument being made by Committeeman Davenport on Friday, March 15. The arguments on both sides lasted in all five days, when the court took the case under advisement.

Our attorneys made magnificent arguments in presenting our case, taking up each specific bit of evidence and argument presented by the prosecution, and utterly demolishing them. They indicated the struggle on the part of our ancestors to secure the great principles of liberty, now embodied in the Constitutions of our Federal government and our State governments, and how organized labor, finding that the courts were infringing upon their constitutional and

statutory rights by usurpation, and through the abuse of the injunctive power, had determined to carry some test case to the court of ultimate authority in order to get a ruling. The legal principle involved in the case is whether or not an order is void when issued by a department of the government in excess of its authority. The injunction issued against the defendants in this case was declared by the District of Columbia Court of Appeals to be in excess of the court's power to issue. The injunction, as issued, gave the court censorship over the press. Our counsel argued that the constitutional provisions were to prevent all previous restraints to publication.

The argument of the case was completed March 15 and more than three months later, that is, on June 24, Justice Wright delivered his decision. As was expected, he confirmed his previous opinion. He declared Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison guilty of contempt of court, and sentenced them to imprisonment for twelve, nine and six months respectively. The decision aroused considerable comment because it was felt that Justice Wright had allowed personal opinions and feelings to determine his course. Besides unfavorable comments, by individuals and the press, the Democrats of Nebraska, in their state convention, incorporated into their state platform the following paragraph:

"We denounce the usurpation of power on the part of the Federal Judiciary as shown by the decision of Judge Daniel Thew Wright of the District of Columbia wherein he sentenced to imprisonment such champions of the wage earners of the nation as Samuel Gompers and John Mitchell for daring to exercise the prerogatives of free speech. We call upon Nebraska's representatives in Congress to investigate the record of this procedure with a view to the Judge's impeachment."

In accordance with these instructions the Democratic members of the Nebraska delegation conducted an investigation, which, we are advised, will be shortly resumed.

Mr. Francis T. Tobin, a lawyer from Philadelphia, Pa., advised us that he had sent to the Speaker of the House, Hon. Champ Clark, a petition for impeachment proceedings against Justice Wright. The petition asked that impeachment proceedings be instituted and that he be removed from office. Speaker

Clark was requested to present the petition to the House of Representatives for action.

Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison have furnished bail in the sums of \$5,000, \$4,000, and \$3,000 respectively for their appearance. An appeal from Justice Wright's decision and sentence has been taken to the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia.

In connection with this case there are a few instances of an interesting character and which we feel in duty bound to report. One is already known to you; the other was communicated to the Executive Council (outside of the defendants themselves) only at our October meeting. The first is that our colleagues have stood firmly and unequivocally in defense of the right of free speech and free press. In that they have the almost universal approval and endorsement of the American people as well as of all men of other countries with whom we have had any contact or correspondence, and of the press of foreign countries which has come to our notice.

The stand of the American labor movement, the position of our three colleagues, is the stand which right-thinking, liberty-loving men in all countries and in all climes have taken for centuries. It was wrung from an unwilling monarch of Great Britain hundreds of years ago and writ in Magna Charta. It was given a new meaning in the Declaration of Independence, in the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and in the constitutions of every one of the States of our Union. It is a stand from which the American labor movement must not, and can not, recede. It is a stand which must ultimately be recognized and established for every citizen of our country and our time, regardless of who, in the meantime, must suffer in the struggle for its attainment. There is one fact which stands out clearly; that is, that our colleagues, Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison, even though they may have to suffer imprisonment in this case, will bear no obloquy, but it will be to their honor and their credit in having made the stand for the rights of man.

In addition, the circumstance was most unfortunate that the original appeal on the injunction itself, and which primarily involved the principle for which we were

contending, that is, free speech and free press, became a moot case because, in the logical work in connection with our movement, we could not refrain from entering into an agreement with the company which had obtained the injunction. Therefore, the appeal on the injunction was dismissed and nothing but the appeal upon the contempt case was before the Supreme Court. In connection with this fact, we desire to lay a second matter before you and which, as we have already said, was so recently communicated to us.

When the agreement with the company was reached our attorneys realized that in all likelihood the case would be regarded as moot, and therefore an amended agreement was reached the month following the original in the hope that the status of the case might be saved before the court. However, that too proved futile. Realizing this state of affairs, a conference was held in Judge Parker's office at which he, Mr. Ralston and Mr. Mulholland our attorneys, were present, and in which President Gompers was invited to participate. The case in its position then was gone over. It was the opinion of the three attorneys that a statement should be made to the United States Supreme Court of the situation as it existed and the court requested to take the view that inasmuch as the appeals on the injunction had become a moot case that the court would dismiss the entire proceedings, including the sentences in the contempt case; that is, that the court should dismiss the entire proceedings, leaving the matter as it finds it. Against that proceeding President Gompers protested, insisting that, for the mere sake of saving himself, it would have every appearance of surrendering the principles for which he and his co-defendants, and all of us, were contending. Feeling, however, that he could not speak for his associates, he requested the attorneys to place their proposition in writing which he would submit to Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Morrison. That letter was received, conference of the three men was held, and an answer made. The following is the letter of the attorneys:

Washington, D. C., Dec. 21, 1910.

"Mr. Samuel Gompers, President,  
"Mr. John Mitchell, First Vice-President,  
"Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary, Wash-  
ington, D. C.:

"Gentlemen:

"At the conference of July 19, 1910, held in the City of Cincinnati, Ohio, at which the Buck's Stove and Range Company was represented by Mr. William H. Cribben and Mr. Thomas J. Hogan, and the American Federation of Labor and other affiliated organizations interested in the controversy with the Buck's Stove and Range Company, were represented by Mr. Samuel Gompers, and others, an agreement was entered into with the purpose and intent of ending the entire trouble existing between the parties to the conference. This purpose went not only to the termination of the questions between the parties as to the terms of employment within the plant of the Buck's Stove and Range Company, but also to those matters that have arisen in the courts as between the Buck's Stove and Range Company and the parties, or some of the parties, to the conference.

"Paragraph four of the agreement entered into on July 19, 1910, provided as follows:

"4. That the Buck's Stove and Range Company, through its representatives, Messrs. Cribben and Hogan, agrees that it will withdraw its attorneys from any case pending in the courts, which have grown out of the dispute between the American Federation of Labor and any of its affiliated organizations on the one hand, and the Buck's Stove and Range Company on the other, and that said Company will not bring any proceedings in the court against any individual or organizations growing out of any past controversies between said Company and organized labor."

"Subsequently, to wit, on the 7th day of September, 1910, a conference was held at the Southern Hotel in the City of St. Louis, Missouri, to consider the questions presented under paragraph four above quoted. This meeting was attended by Mr. Gardner, a majority stockholder and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Buck's Stove and Range Company, with Messrs. Lee and Lehman, his attorneys, and by Mr. Samuel Gompers with Mr. Jackson H. Ralston and Mr. Frank L. Mulholland, his attorneys.

"It is well for you to understand that this conference was arranged because of the suggestion of the fact that paragraph four, above quoted, would, and in and of itself did, terminate all litigation as between the Buck's Stove and Range Company and yourselves and others in the American Federation of Labor. This result was contrary to the wish of Mr. Gompers, who desired that the litigation in reference to the so-called injunction case and the so-called contempt cases, be prosecuted to a final decision upon the questions involved by the Supreme Court of the United States.

"With this end in view, and as a result of the St. Louis conference, an amended or supplemental memorandum of agreement was prepared and executed by and between the parties to the original or Cincinnati agreement.

"In the 'amendment or substituted memorandum,' paragraph four was changed so as to read as follows:

"4.—The Buck's Stove and Range Company will not bring any proceedings in the courts against any individual or organizations growing out of any past controversies between said Company and organized labor."

"(It was the understanding that notwithstanding the second agreement, original paragraph four should still remain in force.)

"This, you understand, was an effort on the part of the conferees, and at the earnest request of Mr. Gompers, to leave the matter of the cases then pending—that is—the injunction and contempt cases—open for prosecution before and consideration by the Supreme Court of the United States.

"Wide publicity was, however, given to the purpose, language and effect of the Cincinnati agreement. It was published *in toto* in the public press throughout the country and gave the fullest possible public notice that all matters in controversy between the Buck's Stove and Range Company and organized labor were fully and satisfactorily adjusted.

"We are now upon the eve of the time set for the presentation of these cases to the Supreme Court, they being upon the assignment of that Court for January 16, 1911. We cannot believe but that the Judges of this court are conversant with the terms of the Cincinnati agreement. They, together with the public generally, must know that there is to-day no issue between the parties to this litigation. You desire this tribunal to nevertheless consider the cases, and pass upon the questions involved, in order that there will be an adjudication of these questions by the supreme authority. If the case ostensibly proceeds, we will go into the court upon a 'moot case,'—not to settle a real controversy between the parties of record,—but to settle a mooted question of law.

"In our opinion, the court being conversant with the entire situation, or having some information and gaining a thorough understanding by catechising counsel, will decline to sit as a 'Moot Court' to pass upon matters not actually in controversy.

"This situation would then dispose of the appeals of both complaint and defendants in so far as the case relates to the injunction originally issued by the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia and the injunction as modified by the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.

"In this event, the only matter left for the consideration of the court is the contempt case,—the only issue, whether or not three men go to prison. The Buck's Stove and Range Company says it has no such purpose or interest. The Buck's Stove and Range Company wishes to be relieved of counsel who anticipate, prosecuting this case to that end. You gentlemen directly involved certainly have no desire to go to jail, except in the neces-

sary vindication of a principle dear to you, and the situation is such that this is not obtainable. There is, then, a mutual interest rather than a controversy upon this question, and if the Supreme Court decides that all matters of difference between the parties have been fully and satisfactorily settled, they may decide to leave all parties where they were found.

"If the Supreme Court refuse to consider the so-called injunction case, we can see nothing left to fight over. There is no issue worthy of the risk incident to the pressing of the contempt case.

"The original injunction has been greatly modified and a learned judge of the Court of Appeals has rendered a dissenting opinion that contains much of comfort. You, although charged with contempt, are under sentence, but not imprisoned. Regardless of the adverse decision of the court below, you have won your contest with the Buck's Stove and Range Company. They recognize the rights of your organization and the members thereof and propose to deal justly with all. In so far as public information goes and in a very practical way, you are the victors at every point put in issue in the progress of this controversy.

"We now ask what would be the effect upon the public mind and upon the individual member of organized labor, uninformed as to the details of the questions involved, if the Supreme Court refusing to pass upon the fundamental questions involved in this litigation, should nevertheless say that a restraining order when issued out of a court must be obeyed until such time as another and higher tribunal has passed upon the question of whether it was rightfully or wrongfully issued. Do not understand that we admit the correctness of this view for a moment. We are yet of the opinion that when a court of equity exceeds its jurisdiction to issue an injunction restraining a citizen from the exercise of his fundamental, constitutional rights, that citizen is not bound to obey the injunction. It appears to us that if you go to prison the labor movement will lose the benefit and support that is come from the victory so far gained, while the public, viewing only the fact of your imprisonment, forgetting all else, will consider you blameworthy.

"If we proceed with these cases in the Supreme Court we do so with a belief that amounts almost to a certainty that the court will refuse to hear us upon the issues raised in the injunction case. The attorneys for the Anti-Boycott Association might then under the guise of friends of the court, proceed with the prosecution of the contempt cases. If, however, Messrs. Davenport and Darlington are withdrawn from these cases and the information be presented to the court, in open court, of the friendly relations now existing between the parties to this litigation, and new counsel for the Buck's Stove and Range Company decline to further prosecute the charges in contempt, requesting reversal of the findings and sentences of the court below, we believe

this litigation would come to a happy end.

"With the Buck's Stove and Range Company out of the prosecution, there will be no interested party pressing the matter of contempt. The court might ask the legal department of the government to take up this prosecution, but we cannot believe that the court will deem it its duty to take up the battle when the parties directly interested desire to end the controversy.

"On Wednesday, December 14, the undersigned had a conference with Mr. Gompers in the office of Judge Parker in New York City, and after full consideration and against the protestations of Mr. Gompers, decided that we would recommend to you that the Buck's Stove and Range Company be asked to carry out the terms of paragraph four of the agreement of July 19, 1910, adopted at Cincinnati, and withdraw its attorneys, Messrs. Davenport and Darlington from the cases now pending in the Supreme Court of the United States, substituting others in accord with its present policy toward labor.

Respectfully submitted,  
"JACKSON H. RALSTON,  
"ALTON B. PARKER,  
"FRANK L. MULHOLLAND."

To the foregoing the following reply was made:

Headquarters  
American Federation of Labor,  
Washington, D. C., Dec. 28, 1910.

"Hon. Alton B. Parker,  
"Hon. Jackson H. Ralston,  
"Hon. Frank L. Mulholland.

"Gentlemen:

"Your joint letter, addressed to the undersigned, under date of December 21, came duly to hand, and at a conference in this city last evening we took it under advisement. Inasmuch as two of us (Messrs. Mitchell and Morrison) were unable to participate in the conference with you in New York, we invited Mr. Ralston to give us the benefit of his legal advice in the matters presented in your letter. Later, we determined upon the course we should pursue in the premises, and to communicate with you through the medium of this letter.

"At the outset we should say that our understanding of Section 4 of the agreement entered into with the representatives of the Buck's Stove and Range Company, Mr. Gompers and others, at Cincinnati, July 19, was in good faith changed by the supplemental agreement at St. Louis, September 7; that there was no understanding that the original paragraph No. 4 should still remain in force. All parties to the amended supplementary agreement believed that they were conserving their mutual interests and the interests they respectively represented, as well as in the appeal cases before the United States Supreme Court.

"We beg to assure you that we greatly appreciate the advice which you give and

the suggestion you make, and thereby see clearly the possibility, aye, even the probability, of escaping the enforcement of the sentences imposed upon us by Justice Wright. We do not underestimate in the slightest degree the fact that as men of honor and in view of the duty you owe to the court, you can not withhold from the court that information which is the court's due, or in any way attempt to deceive it. We feel convinced, however, that in view of the duty we owe to our fellow workers and to our fellow citizens, as well as to our own self-respect, we can not see our way clear to follow the course you have suggested for us to pursue.

"It is quite true that the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia has modified the injunction issued by Judge Gould and made permanent by Judge Clabaugh of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. We feel considerable satisfaction in the dissenting opinion of Chief Justice Shepard, but it is equally true that we are wholly unsatisfied with the injunction as modified by the Court of Appeals. It still denies to us and to our fellow workers the rights to which they and we are constitutionally and inherently entitled, and we can not even seemingly give our assent to the provisions of the injunction as modified by the court.

"For many years large numbers of the people of our country have protested against the abuse of the injunctive power of the courts. The men and women of labor have been the greatest sufferers and victims of this abuse. They have not only protested, but have sought relief at the hands of the higher courts, of the state legislatures, and of the federal Congress. For several years labor has sought the opportunity to make a test of the principles involved before the courts wherein the constitutional and inherent rights would be raised and met. Such a case presented itself when the Buck's Stove and Range Company under its old management obtained the injunction against the American Federation of Labor, its officers and affiliated organizations and their members. With great earnestness and unanimity it was decided that a case, not of our own seeking, but nevertheless a case, had been found wherein these principles could be tested, and with a clear understanding of what the possible consequences might be, it was determined that the test should be made.

"It is not necessary here to recount the varying stages of procedure of the injunction, the appeal, the ruling to show cause why we should not be punished for contempt, the brutal and prejudiced opinion delivered by Justice Wright, and the unprecedented severity of the sentences imposed. They are all matters of history with which you are entirely familiar. When labor decided that the appeal should be made to the United States Supreme Court, you advised that that course was not only consistent and profitable, but you expressed your confidence that that high tribunal would sustain our

contention. That court granted the writ of certiorari in which the injunction and contempt cases should be combined and heard as one appeal. The case was set for the October, 1910, term, and later deferred to January 16, 1911, so that the appeals might be heard before a full bench.

"Going back a little, we were always aware that if the present management of the Buck's Stove and Range Company ever got into control of the Company's affairs, the Company's policy would be charged toward organized labor. Upon the demise of the late Mr. James W. Van Cleave, who was the Company's President, Mr. Frederic W. Gardner came into control and direction of the Company's affairs. Negotiations were begun and an adjustment of the dispute and an agreement between the Company and organized labor was reached. New and friendly relations between the Company and organized labor were thereupon established. As a result of that agreement it appears that the standing of our case before the court has been impaired. Yet as a matter of fact we could not, we dared not, continue a contest with an employer who is desirous of living in friendly relations with organized labor. Being unfamiliar with the technicalities of the law, we are frank to admit that it never dawned upon us at the time that the status of our case would in any way be affected by the agreement with the Company, but such it seems is or may be the case, but we hope not.

"Substantially, you advise that the Buck's Stove and Range Company be requested to withdraw their counsel of record, appoint new counsel who together with yourselves will present the facts before the court, have the appeal and cross appeal dismissed, and that inasmuch as an agreement has been reached between the Company and organized labor (the defendants) no good purpose can be served in the enforcement of the sentences arising out of the contempt proceedings, the decision of the court should be reversed and we be set at liberty.

"As we have already stated labor has for a long time endeavored to find a case in which the principles for which we are contending could be brought before the highest tribunal in the land. The case, not of our own seeking, was found and the proceedings under it held. We have maintained this position all through, and we have received encouragement and support in our contention such as have been given to few men. That encouragement and support were given upon the belief in our integrity and sincerity. Better than all, we had faith in each other and in ourselves. If we pursue the course you suggest we would not only forfeit the respect and confidence reposed in us, but worse than all, our own self-respect. We can not upon our own initiative consent or seek to have the United States Supreme Court dismiss the appeal on the injunction, and thus establish the principles contained in the modified injunction of the Court of Appeals, with the view of having

the court relieve us from the sentences imposed upon us in the contempt proceedings.

"We respectfully suggest when our cases are called that you will make a frank statement of the present relations between the Company and organized labor, without attaching too great importance to the agreement, and then endeavor with all your power and ability to prevail upon the court to hear the arguments, and to consider and decide all the questions contained in the appeals. Because the principles involved in these appeals are so vitally important, they should be judicially determined by the highest tribunal of our land, the judicial court of last resort.

"Information has just come to us that not many months ago proceedings were begun against the 'Wall Paper Trust'; that later in order to free itself from blame the Trust formally dissolved and went out of business; that when the case was called before the court, this state of affairs was presented to the consideration of the court; that the court held that notwithstanding the fact the Wall Paper Trust had dissolved, the court said it would grant the equity relief asked, and the court would hear the arguments upon the causes upon which the Wall Paper Trust was charged. We are not quoting the language of the court, but merely the substance which was communicated to us. You can verify or discover whether it is correct. It is simply stated so that if it is founded upon fact, and if the case is applicable, it could be urged before the Supreme Court of the United States, so that it may not be regarded that our appeal is a 'moot case.'

"If we should pursue the course you suggest and the Supreme Court dismissed the appeal on injunction as being a 'moot case,' it is not certain that it will reverse the lower court's decision and sentence in the contempt case. In that event we should not only have our labor for our pains, but we would be in the unenviable position of having attempted to compromise on a principle to save ourselves from the consequences of our acts in defense of that principle.

"If after our counsel have made the statement of the relations between the Company and organized labor, and have endeavored to prevail upon the court to hear arguments, to consider and decide all the questions upon the appeal, and the court shall then say that the injunction appeal is a 'moot case' and shall still consider the contempt case, we shall at least have the mental satisfaction that the dismissal was not of our seeking.

We beg to assure you that we "have no desire to go to jail." It is farthest from our minds to attempt the role of martyrs, but there are other considerations equally important, and one is that we shall not carry to our graves the consciousness of cowardice and poltroonery.

Assuring you of our great respect for you and confidence in your faithfulness, sincerity and ability, and regretting that we cannot follow the advice contained in your recent letter, and respectfully re-

questing you to continue to proceed in the case as outlined in your briefs and in this letter, we have the honor to remain.

Very truly yours,  
 "SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
 "JOHN MITCHELL,  
 "FRANK MORRISON.

"P. S. This letter is being written in triplicate and a copy sent to each of the gentlemen to whom it is addressed at his office."

#### **New Injunction Rule.**

About two years ago the Supreme Court of the United States appointed two justices thereof to make a thorough investigation of the rules of practice which obtained in the administration of the courts of equity in various countries with the view of the application of the best of them to the rules in the United States.

A number of printed documents published by the American Federation of Labor upon the subject of restraining orders and injunctions were forwarded to the justices. The matter has been under advisement from that time and on Monday, November 4, 1912, the United States Supreme Court issued a 23 page pamphlet promulgating the rules of practice for the courts of equity of the United States.

In so far as the new promulgated rules are concerned, Rule 73 is of interest to Labor. We quote it here as follows:

#### **RULE 73**

#### **PRELIMINARY INJUNCTIONS AND TEMPORARY RESTRAINING ORDERS**

"No preliminary injunction shall be granted without notice to the opposite party. Nor shall any temporary restraining order be granted without notice to the opposite party, unless it shall clearly appear from specific facts, shown by affidavit or by the verified bill, that immediate and irreparable loss or damage will result to the applicant before the matter can be heard on notice. In case a temporary restraining order shall be granted without notice, in the contingency specified, the matter shall be made returnable at the earliest possible time, and in no event later than ten days from the date of the order, and shall take precedence of all matters, except older matters of the same character. When the matter comes up for hearing the party who obtained the temporary restraining order shall proceed with his application for a preliminary injunction, and if he does not do so the court shall dissolve his temporary restraining order. Upon two days notice to the party obtaining such temporary restraining order, the opposite party may appear and move the dissolution or modification of the order,

and in that event the court or judge shall proceed to hear and determine the motion as expeditiously as the ends of justice may require. Every temporary restraining order shall be forthwith filed in the clerk's office."

Of course we appreciate the fact that Rule 73 as promulgated by the Supreme Court of the United States is a correction of and a reform in the practice and the abuses of some of the judges sitting in courts of equity. And yet, in so far as the rights of the working people of our country are concerned, or more properly speaking, the wrongs which the working people of our country for the past several years have endured, Rule 73 fails in its most essential features.

The equity courts have extended their field of jurisdiction to the regulation of personal rights and personal relations instead of confining their jurisdiction to the useful purpose for which they were created—the protection of property rights from immediate and irreparable injury. Rule 73 fails to take cognizance of or deal with this abuse of power by the equity courts.

The inherent purpose of the injunctive processes, when there is no other adequate remedy at law, was for the beneficent purpose of protecting property rights only, thereby exercising the equity power of the courts to prevent immediate and irreparable injury.

It was never intended and there is no warrant of law in all our country to use the injunctive power of equity courts to curtail personal rights or regulate personal relations. It was never intended to take the place of government by law by substituting personal and discretionary government.

Attention should be called to the fact that injunctions and restraining orders as they have been issued against workmen, are never used or issued against any other citizens of our country, and never against workmen, except when they are engaged in a dispute affecting their conditions as wage-earners. It is an attempt to deprive citizens of our country, when these citizens are workmen, of the right of trial by jury. It is an effort to fasten an offense upon workmen when they are innocent of any unlawful or illegal act. It is an indirect assertion of a property right in men when these men are workmen engaged in a lawful effort to protect or advance their natural

rights and interests. It is an effort to make outlaws of men when they are not even charged with doing things in violation of any law of state or nation.

The issuance of injunctions in labor disputes is not based upon law, but is a species of judicial legislation, judicial usurpation, against workmen innocent of any unlawful or criminal act.

Labor asks no immunity for any of its men who may be guilty of any criminal or unlawful act, but we insist that the wage-workers of our country shall be regarded and treated as equals before the law with every other citizen; that if any act be committed by any one of our number to render him amenable to the law, he shall be proceeded against by the ordinary forms of law and by the due process of law, and that an injunction does not lawfully and properly apply, and ought not to be issued even in cases in which men are charged with any unlawful act.

In all things in which workmen are enjoined by the processes of restraining orders or injunctions during labor disputes, if those acts are alleged to be criminal or unlawful, there is now ample law and remedy provided. Hence, the issuance of such restraining orders or injunctions covering such allegations or charges are perverse of fundamental rights and the true function of equity courts.

The injunctions against which labor protests are flagrantly at variance with law and without warrant of law; are violative of the fundamental rights of man and of constitutional guarantees of equality before the law of the workers and of all other citizens.

We are impelled to make these comments by reason of the fact that special interests of big business, and particularly that portion of the press most hostile to the cause of labor, have attempted to impose upon the people of our country the notion that Rule 73, promulgated by the Supreme Court of the United States, has affected the remedy of the evil against which labor has found it necessary to protest and against which it now re-affirms its protest. We repeat our expression of appreciation that the rule reforms some of the abuses in which judges, acting in equity courts, have indulged. But we also reiterate the fact that it falls in its most essential features to remedy the greater wrongs. And

therefore labor, in the interests of the common citizenship, of inherent rights, asks and insists upon the enactment of law by the Congress of the United States and by the Legislatures of the several States to rectify the great wrongs inflicted upon the working people of our country by depriving them of equality before the law with all other citizens in the United States, and in conformity with this declaration we shall insist upon the enactment of the Clayton bills for the regulation and limitation of the issuance of injunctions, and the Clayton contempt bill which provides for jury trial in all cases of indirect contempt.

#### Hatters' Case.

The retrial of this case, *Loewe vs. Lawlor*, began August 20, 1912, at Hartford, Connecticut. As previous annual reports have presented the various stages of the case, only a summary up to date is included here. The suit growing out of a strike for a union shop was commenced in the Federal Court for the District of Connecticut, August 31, 1903. A demurrer filed by the defendants was sustained on the ground that the combination stated was not within the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Since the plaintiffs declined to change their complaint, the court dismissed it with costs. The plaintiffs carried the case, by a writ of error, to the Circuit Court of Appeals of the Second Circuit. For the purpose of having the points at issue decided by the United States Supreme Court speedily, both parties agreed this court should certify the case and asked the Supreme Court for a decision as to whether the Anti-Trust Act of July 2, 1890, could apply to such combinations of the voluntary organizations of the working people. February 3, 1908, Chief Justice Fuller delivered the opinion of the Court that suit could be brought under the Anti-Trust law, invoking sections one, two and seven. The case came on for trial before Judge James P. Platt, at Hartford, Connecticut, October 12, 1909, and continued on trial until February 4, 1910, when the judge submitted the case to the jury with instructions to find for the plaintiff, leaving them to fix the amount of damages. The trebled damages awarded amounted to \$232,240.12. The American Federation of Labor then appealed the



case for the Hatters to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals and secured a unanimous decision from that court on April 10, 1911, reversing the judgment and remanding the case for retrial, on the ground that the jury ought to decide whether any damages at all should be awarded as well as the amount. D. E. Loewe Company, or the Anti-Boycott Association, sought to have this decision reviewed. The legal principle they wished to establish was the responsibility of all the members of the Hatters' Union for what had been done by their representatives. They contended:

"The evidence showed that officers and agents of the United Hatters acted within the scope of their authority in conducting the 'conspiracy,' and the defendants are liable even without knowledge of wrongdoing."

To substantiate this contention they argued:

"As interpreting the authority of the agents and officers of the United Hatters, it was undisputed that all the 'wrongful' acts that were done were to benefit the members of the union, and it was shown that they had been constantly engaged in these strikes and interstate boycotts for their members for many years past. Under such circumstances, the plaintiffs contended that the members of the United Hatters, paying dues thereto, were responsible for the strikes and boycotts being conducted on their behalf by their officers and agents, as such strikes and boycotts were obviously within the scope of the objects of the union and the authority of its officers. The very essence of trade unionism is concerted action, and such action must take the form of withdrawal from employment or withdrawal of patronage. Since also the union was engaged in promoting the interstate sales of union goods to the exclusion of non-union goods through its duly appointed agents, the members of the union were responsible for the boycotting acts of these same agents committed in connection with their business of promoting the sale of union goods to the exclusion of non-union goods."

"The plaintiffs acknowledged that it was aiming at 'the very essence of trade unionism.'"

On January 15, 1912, the Supreme Court of the United States dismissed this petition for certiorari in the Hatters' case. Hence it devolved upon the plaintiffs to establish personal connection on the part of each defendant with the prosecution of a boycott. The President and the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor and members of the Executive Council were summoned to testify before

the Court that the American Federation of Labor had never taken any official action upon the boycott of the Hatters, or taken any part in it, as had been charged by the plaintiffs in trying to establish that a concerted unanimous movement of all organized labor had existed to "destroy" the business involved. The principles involved in the suit which the Anti-Boycott Association and the National Manufacturers' Association wished to establish are:

That labor unions which succeed are a conspiracy and a combination in restraint of trade; that human power to work shall be considered of the same nature as material commodities of trade or industry; that union funds and the individual savings and property of union members can be seized and appropriated to satisfy damages awarded against the unions; that union officers may be fined and imprisoned for executing those duties upon the performance of which "the very essence of unionism" devolves.

On October 11, the jury returned a verdict awarding to D. E. Loewe and Company damages of \$80,000 and costs. Under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust law the sum named is trebled, making the total amount \$240,000 and costs.

In his charge to the jury, the Judge said that many of the defendants testified that they had no knowledge their officers and agents had been members of a "conspiracy" to interfere with interstate trade and the commerce of the plaintiffs, but that nevertheless the associations were voluntary, and individual members had vested authority in their representatives. The judge told the jury that if there was a "plot" to boycott the plaintiffs' trade in other states in order to unionize the plaintiff's factory and that if such boycotting had been resorted to, then the plaintiff should be awarded full damages. Steps were at once taken to appeal the case.

We are accustomed to refer to the Dred Scott decision as the example par excellence of juristic heartlessness in subordinating human rights to property rights. But the court interpretations arising out of this case have been more far-reaching and drastic. It has been determined that the sale of hats is of more

consequence than human welfare. It has been maintained that successful efforts to secure better wages and working conditions, under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act are conspiracies. There have been committed into subjection, not former slaves, but supposed free men enjoying the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It is out of keeping with modern progress and the social conscience of the times that a law intended to restrain the greed and the cut-throat manipulation of corporations in the products of labor should be invoked to repress the activity of voluntary humanitarian organizations instituted not for profit. A labor organization is not a trust—that which it possesses cannot be separated from the living body and cannot be manipulated and controlled at will as can the material products of a true trust. If you can speak of a trust in labor power, you can just as well have a trust in brain power or any other human faculty—a manifest absurdity except under slave conditions.

Such a decision and interpretation could only result from long isolation from the affairs and problems of the industrial world. Those who are engaged in the modern struggle against the industrial aggression of employers and for human betterment know that the trade unions are the bulwarks of liberty of the present industrial organization. To render them helpless by confiscation, to subject their members to fines or irrational and whimsical imprisonment, only opens the way for un-American violence and anarchy. In the interests of industrial peace, of progress, and of humanity, some remedy must be found. The remedy lies in legislative action. The paramount legislative issue for organized labor is the amendment or repeal of the Sherman Anti-Trust law so that we may have relief from an act never intended to apply to us. Sturdy determination, co-operation, unfaltering persistence will secure us the rights and privileges of free men.

The Bacon-Bartlett Anti-Trust bill, which has been reported to the House by the Committee on Labor, if enacted into law, will secure to all organizations instituted and conducted not for profit the full rights of association. It will restore to organized labor and to other voluntary

associations organized not for profit, the lawful rights to which they are entitled as obtained prior to the interpretation placed upon the Sherman Anti-Trust law by the Supreme Court of the United States in the Hatters' case.

The full force and far-reaching danger which are carried with the Supreme Court's decision have not even yet been realized by the rank and file of labor. There are so many of us who are prone not to realize directly the full extent of a wrong, an injury or a danger when we ourselves have not felt its stunning effect. And no instance more distinctly emphasizes the fact than the decision of the Supreme Court in the Hatters' case—how it affects the rights and interests of the working people of the country, farmers included. As interpreted by the Supreme Court the Sherman Anti-Trust law not only holds that the voluntary associations of our trade unions are combinations in illegal restraint of interstate commerce, but that by withholding our labor, striking, or withholding our patronage, boycotting, an employer or business man who can show that his business has been injured may sue for an amount of damages and recover a treble amount with costs of the case; that each member of the organization may be included in such suit and mulcted in the proportionate damages awarded; that in addition, the government, through its attorney-general or through a Federal district attorney, may begin proceedings against any of the officers or members and prosecute them and impose a sentence of a fine of \$5,000 and imprisonment for one year. Under that interpretation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, at the whim or fancy or pique of any Federal administration proceedings may be begun against any of our unions, and even our Federation itself, for dissolution.

All these proceedings to mulct the men of labor in damages, fine them, send them to prison, have for their purpose the punishment of the men and women of labor who associate themselves, either permanently or temporarily, to protest against deterioration in their conditions or to secure a better standard of life in their work, in their homes, and for their dependants.

It seems to us that this convention should, with the utmost emphasis, declare that legislation of a definite, affirmative character should be secured which shall relieve the voluntary organizations of the workers from the position in which they are placed by the interpretation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law by the Supreme Court, so that the humanitarian organizations of the workers may be removed from the category of the combinations of gamblers in human products, the trustified owners of the products of labor.

Quite apart from any other subject which may come before this convention, there is not any one ranking in importance with the one we have here presented. It is paramount to any question with which this convention will deal. It is not only the duty of the convention to give this subject the important consideration which it demands but to authorize and direct that such action shall be taken as to arouse our fellow-workers throughout the country to the full consciousness of the gravity of the present situation under the Supreme Court's anti-labor interpretation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law.

We recommend that prior to the report of the committee to which this subject will be referred, that the convention devote a session or a day to a general discussion of this question and as to the best ways and means to secure the relief which we seek and to which we are so justly entitled.

#### **Post vs. A. F. of L. and Buck's Stove and Range Company.**

Our last report contained a statement of the origin of this suit through which C. W. Post endeavored to restrain the parties to the settlement of old difficulties—the American Federation of Labor and the Buck's Stove and Range Co.—from carrying out the terms agreed upon. He invoked the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and claimed damages to the amount of \$750,000. We entered a demurrer which was sustained and the bill ordered to be dismissed. From this decision of the Court, an appeal was taken to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals.

The suit was fully argued before that Court at St. Paul last May. The Court took the matter under advisement but has not yet given its opinion. This litigation is an illustration of the lengths to

which a hostile and unscrupulous enemy of organized labor, such as C. W. Post, will go, in an endeavor to destroy effective and genuine protection for the workers. Having failed in efforts to undermine our movement, Mr. Post now seeks to destroy us by the process of litigation.

#### **Universal Label.**

A resolution was introduced at the Atlanta Convention calling for the appointment of a committee of three to study the cost of label agitation and to consider the feasibility of a universal label. Several years ago, it will be recalled, the matter of a universal label was very thoroughly investigated and the plan was found to be impracticable.

This matter having been referred to your Executive Council by the Atlanta Convention, we in turn referred it to the Union Label Trades Department, requesting the Secretary of that Department to give earnest consideration to the proposition of adopting a distinctive universal mark or design for labels to be used by the organizations affiliated to the A. F. of L. in connection with their own labels.

We recommend that the Executive Council be authorized, and the Union Label Trades Department and the international unions be requested, to consider further the idea of devising some general design which may be used by international unions in connection with their own labels, the aim being not to supersede or subordinate the individual union label, but to further popularize the existing union labels and the demand for union labeled products.

#### **Convention of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America.**

In conformity with the custom of the past few years, and also the action of the Atlanta Convention that a fraternal delegate should represent the A. F. of L. at the annual convention of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union, Treasurer Lennon was selected to act in that capacity. The convention was held in Chattanooga, Tenn., beginning the first Tuesday in September. Treasurer Lennon's report on that convention is as follows:

"The annual convention of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of

America was held at Chattanooga, Tenn., opening on Tuesday, September 3, 1912, the undersigned being in attendance as a fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Labor. Brother Barrett, the president, and Brother Davis, the secretary, of the Farmers' Union were exceedingly cordial in their greeting, and manifested very great interest in the work of our Federation.

"At the afternoon session of Tuesday, I was called on to address the convention which I did at some length, dealing with matters wherein practical co-operation could be developed between trade unions authorized and directed this committee to and the organized farmers. The closest attention was given to all I had to say, and my address was received with evidence of real approval.

"I talked personally with many of the delegates who were in attendance from nearly all the States of the Union. All with whom I talked were interested in trade unions. They stand for essentially the same social reforms as does our Federation. They informed me that the sale of union labeled products was on the increase in their respective communities, this being especially true as to men's clothing, hats, shoes, and tobacco. This I believe to be true because of the continued and persistent work of the unions making those commodities in advertising their label so that the farmers have become deeply interested. This field is open and ripe for effective work by all label trades and the Label Trades Department.

"The Farmers' Union I found to be in a flourishing condition, having made material growth during the past year. Not only has the membership been increased, but effective work is being done by the union in promoting better results in return for the products that their labor brings from the land. I most heartily recommend that the Federation extend its efforts to help the Farmers' Union wherever it may be possible, and secure their co-operation to a still greater extent in behalf of the members of the Federation.

"I highly appreciate the honor of being a delegate to their convention, and extend to their officers and delegates my sincere thanks for courtesies received."

We recommend that efforts be continued during the coming year to secure better co-operation between the Farmers' Union and the organizations of labor, and that authority be given for a representative of the A. F. of L. to attend the next annual convention of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union.

#### Labor's Political Program, 1912.

The progress and successes on the legislative field as shown in our President's Report, are gratifying and show also the results of our efforts politically, in all of which we fully concur. We quote the re-

port made to us by the Labor Representation Committee as follows:

#### LABOR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

Rochester, N. Y., November 9, 1912.

To the Executive Council, American Federation of Labor.

Colleagues:

We herewith submit to you and through you to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, a report of our action upon the matters confided by the American Federation of Labor to you, and by you to the undersigned.

Four years ago acting upon the authority and by direction of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, you selected the members of the Executive Council located at Washington as the Labor Representation Committee, and authorized and directed this committee to carry on labor's political campaign in the furtherance of the purposes, principles and rights upon which the American Federation of Labor had made declaration. We were at all times to act in consonance with these declared policies and submit to your further direction and approval. From time to time we have made report to you, the substance of which was conveyed to the conventions.

During the meetings of the Executive Council in the early part of the year you instructed us to inaugurate and conduct an active campaign to the full limit of our opportunities, in accordance with the instruction of the Atlanta Convention that the Labor Representation Committee be continued and authorized and empowered to act in union with the Executive Council for the purpose of taking such action as may be deemed advisable and necessary for the successful consummation of our legislative demands by the federal government, and in compliance with your instructions that upon the adjournment of Congress, or at as early a date as possible if Congress did not adjourn before the conventions of the political parties, that President Gompers submit a tentative statement covering the legislative demands of the American Federation of Labor to the members of the Executive Council, to be submitted to the dominant political parties with the further direction that the subject matter be held in abeyance until the adjournment of Congress, and, if it adjourned before the conventions were held, that the resident members and visiting members and officers of the departments affiliated to the A. F. of L. formulate the legislative demands and submit it to you for your consideration. The instructions of the convention and your directions were complied with in every particular. The demands were prepared in accordance with your directions and they were submitted to the dominant political parties at their conventions.

No special fund was raised this year to carry on the political campaign, and the few dollars remaining in the treasury were expended and this campaign more

than any other has been carried on by the volunteer work of the officers and members of the labor movement.

One hundred thousand copies of the Weekly News Letter, containing the 1912 political program, as unanimously approved by the Executive Council, were distributed. A copy was mailed to the secretary of every affiliated and unaffiliated organization, urging them to use their best efforts to secure the election of trade unionists to Congress and to the legislatures of the various states.

Too much credit cannot be given to the officers of state federations and city central bodies for the efforts they put forth to secure the election of trade unionists to office.

On account of the election having just been held, we have been unable to secure sufficient information to definitely report the results. We have sufficient, however, to warrant us in expressing the belief that the results will be gratifying.

We feel that the campaign inaugurated by the American Federation of Labor in 1906, and which was again taken up with renewed vigor in 1908 and continued in 1910, which resulted in the election of fifteen men holding trade union cards, to the House of Representatives, and a great number of trade unionists in the legislatures of the various states, has been a means of increasing the efficiency of the committees that have been appointed by state and central bodies and local unions for the purpose of questioning candidates as to their attitude toward labor measures, so that the machinery for carrying on labor's 1912 political program existed in nearly every city where we had an affiliated central body or local union.

Our activities were devoted particularly to securing the election of trade unionists to the Congress of the United States and to the State Legislatures, but the reports received indicate that many labor men have been elected to offices of importance in state and municipal governments. We desire to say that the trade unionists have good cause for gratification at the results achieved, and we take this opportunity of expressing our appreciation to the volunteer workers of the trade union movement for their active co-operation and earnest work to bring about the election of their fellow workers to legislative offices.

Fraternally yours,  
SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
JAMES O'CONNELL,  
FRANK MORRISON,

Labor Representation Committee.

We present this report of the Labor Representation Committee with our full approval and expression of appreciation of the efforts which they put forth in the interests of our cause.

#### Commission on Industrial Relations.

On August 23, 1912, there was enacted a law "to create a Commission on Indus-

trial Relations." The purpose of the creation of this commission is set forth in Section 4 of the Act, which is as follows:

"That the commission shall inquire into the general condition of labor in the principal industries of the United States including agriculture, and especially in those which are carried on in corporate forms; into existing relations between employers and employees; into the effect of industrial conditions on public welfare and into the rights and powers of the community to deal therewith; into the conditions of sanitation and safety of employees and the provisions for protecting the life, limb and health of the employees; into the growth of associations of employers and of wage earners and the effect of such associations upon the relations between employers and employees; into the extent and results of methods of collective bargaining; into any methods which have been tried in any state or in foreign countries for maintaining mutually satisfactory relations between employees and employers; into methods for avoiding or adjusting labor disputes through peaceful and conciliatory mediation and negotiations; into the scope, methods, and resources of existing bureaus of labor and into possible ways of increasing their usefulness; into the question of smuggling or other illegal entry of Asiatics into the United States or its insular possessions, and of the methods by which such Asiatics have gained and are gaining such admission, and shall report to Congress as speedily as possible with such recommendation as said commission may think proper to prevent such smuggling and illegal entry. The commission shall seek to discover the underlying causes of dissatisfaction in the industrial situation and report its conclusions thereon."

It was further provided in Section 1 of that act that,

"Said commission shall be composed of nine persons, to be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, not less than three of whom shall be employers of labor and not less than three of whom shall be representatives of organized labor."

Having the provisions of this law under consideration, your Executive Council, by unanimous vote, recommended to the President for appointment upon the commission, John B. Lennon and James O'Connell. Realizing that a number of organized wage earners are not affiliated to our Federation, the railroad brotherhoods, and believing that fairness required that these brotherhoods should be represented by one of their choice, in making the recommendation to the President of Brothers Lennon and O'Connell, the point was clearly brought out that the

third representative of organized labor should be the choice of the railroad brotherhoods. We felt constrained to take this attitude because it was out of the disturbed conditions in industry which have prevailed for a considerable period of time, that there arose that sentiment which prompted the presentation of the petition to the President which resulted in the drafting, presentation and passage of the Industrial Relations' Act.

We further felt that in view of the fact that the organized working people of our country are to be judged by the commission, that good or ill may ensue to our movement and the cause it represents from the results of the investigation of the commission, and inasmuch as both the President of the United States and Congress recognized that at least not less than three of the commissioners should be representatives of organized labor, we deemed it our duty to make the recommendations we did to the President.

The law requires nine members of the commission shall be appointed by the President, by and with the consent of the Senate. Hence the President will send his nominations for membership on the commission to the Senate after that body convenes in December. There is therefore time for this convention to give its endorsement to the action of the Executive Council, in recommending to the President the names of John B. Lennon and James O'Connell for appointment as members of the Industrial Relations Commission as two of the representatives of organized labor.

#### **Federal Bureau of Health.**

The original bill of Senator Owen, providing for a Federal Bureau of Health, was redrafted and the alleged objectionable medical provisions removed. It was then favorably reported to the Senate. Though it was frequently debated in the Senate, yet no action was taken. The Executive Council recommended its amendment so as to include a special Bureau of Plumbing and Sanitation.

Surgeon-General Blue of the public health service, in co-operation with the Interstate Commerce Commission has instructed the surgeons in his department to make such observations upon sanitary conditions as their duties and experience

may reveal to be necessary and to make a detailed report to him, for forwarding to the Commission on the Sanitary Conditions in Interstate Traffic. He has just issued the following order:

"Hereafter all commissioned officers of the public health service when travelling under official orders on trains and vessels engaged in interstate traffic, will make such observations as may be practicable of the sanitary conditions of the trains and vessels on which they travel and the stations and wharves at which they stop. The result of these observations will be noted in a report to be submitted to the bureau upon completion of the travel authorized.

"These observations are desired for the information of the bureau and for the compilation of facts relative to the sanitary conditions prevailing in interstate traffic."

The reports which will be compiled from these observations will give the results of a nation-wide observation, as officers of the service are scattered all over the country and are constantly on the move. If we attempt action upon this investigation it will be best, therefore, to seek it through the Interstate Commerce Commission, pending the establishment of a Department for the Public Health. The public health service, as now organized, only exercises jurisdiction in cases of grave menace to the public health or contagious or infectious diseases.

In spite of its many virtues, the Owen bill has been made the subject of bitter attacks by agencies whose special interests it threatens—patent medicine venders and others. We, therefore, urge more activity on the part of our membership for the principles contained in the Owen bill.

#### **Pure Food and Pure Drugs.**

The American Federation of Labor has continued its efforts along the lines of having enacted better pure food and pure drugs laws, and in this work has co-operated with the American Society of Equity, the National Consumers' League and other reform associations interested in and working along similar lines.

#### **Industrial Education.**

In December, 1911, a conference was called by Senator Page of Vermont to give technical consideration to his bill S. 3, which provided for vocational educa-

tion and trade training. Reference to this bill has been made by us in our previous reports. Prominent educators, agriculturists, and representative employers, together with the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L., considered proposed amendments to the bill and the best methods to pursue in order to secure favorable action. Senator Page re-introduced his bill with the suggested changes. Most of these were embodied in the technical features and in the agricultural extension sections of the bill. They were not applicable to the interests of urban labor represented by the American Federation of Labor. The result was that when the amended bill was considered by the Senate Committee on Agriculture, Senator Page was ordered to report it favorably to the Senate. This was done on February 26, 1912.

The Senate considered the bill on June 14, July 24, August 10, 13 and 22. It still holds its place upon the Senate calendar, and, in accordance with a tacit agreement among the Senators, will be given further consideration in the third session of the 62nd Congress. It is the opinion of some enthusiastic supporters of the measure that it will be passed. Its enactment will depend upon the nature of the support given by those who have been urging its passage. This Industrial Education bill has been handicapped to some extent by the persistency with which several Congressmen, particularly some from the southern states, have been urging the passage of that section of the bill, relating to agricultural colleges and experiment stations, without regard to the other provisions of the bill dealing with industrial and vocational education and training.

The bill H. R. 22871 by Representative Lever, of South Carolina, was introduced by him on April 4. It is limited to agricultural educational extension work exclusively. It was referred to the House Committee on Agriculture.

Representative Wm. B. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, had previously re-introduced his bill (new number H. R. 21490) which had been changed to conform to its companion bill, S. 3, by Senator Page. Mr. Wilson's bill was also referred to the House Committee on Agriculture. A tentative understanding was reached between the Chairman of the House Committee, Mr. Lamb, and Mr. Wilson, that no action

should be taken on the Lever bill until after an opportunity had been afforded Mr. Wilson and the friends of his bill to be heard by the House Committee. In accordance with this understanding, Mr. Wilson arranged with the Chairman for hearings on his bill, to commence on April 22. He invited those desiring to be heard to come prepared to make their statements before the Committee on that date. He took charge of the hearings, which continued for four days. The Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L., appearing in co-operation with other advocates, urged that the Wilson Vocational Trade Training bill be favorably reported. The Lever bill was reported favorably by the Committee on April 13, passed by the House on August 23, and referred to the Senate Committee on Agriculture, August 24.

At our meeting in January, after the Industrial Education bill had been given some consideration, we directed Secretary Morrison to request the members of the Special Committee on Industrial Education to meet concurrently with our next meeting May 9. The Page bill was discussed by several members of the Committee at that meeting.

A digest of the special report of the United States Commissioner of Labor on Industrial Education was discussed by us. The A. F. of L. Committee on Industrial Education recommended to us that Mr. Charles H. Winslow be requested and authorized to prepare a final report for the Committee, this report to be submitted to this convention as directed by the Atlanta Convention. We complied with that request, and Mr. Winslow performed this service.

At the following meeting of the Executive Council, we had before us the report of Mr. Winslow as accepted by the A. F. of L. Special Committee on Industrial Education. It was discussed and it was decided that inasmuch as the document was of such great public value, was such a magnificent contribution to the literature upon the questions of industrial education, vocational training, household economics, and civics, that it should be made a public document by authority of Congress. Senator Page readily obtained the consent of the United States Senate to have it printed as a Senate Document.

It has been so printed, and is known as Senate Document 936, 62d Congress, second session. Several thousand copies of this document have already been distributed and a sufficient number are at the convention so that each delegate may have a copy. The members of affiliated organizations should request their respective United States Senators to send them copies for educational institutions and for the labor unions.

#### International Secretariat.

In the report of President Gompers, as submitted to you, attention was called to the next meeting of the International Secretariat. In connection therewith it should be added that President Gompers has made report to the International Secretariat for the American Federation of Labor which, together with reports of a similar character from other national centers, will be published in several languages by the International Secretariat. Copies of these reports can be secured at a small cost. It is suggested that if the officers of any international union, or others, will remit to the President of the A. F. of L. the charge made for these reports, the order will be forwarded to the International Secretariat and a copy sent by him direct to the organizations ordering them. Copies may be had in the same manner by any organized labor body or by any individual.

#### International Anti-Home Work Congress.

In July a communication was received from the International Secretariat the letter being addressed to the International Trade Union Centres, extending an invitation to all trade union centres to take part in the International Home Protection Congress which was to be held in Zurich. The letter stated that the general commission of the trade unions of Germany would send a delegate to the Congress. The matter was discussed at considerable length at our August meeting and it was considered impractical for the American Federation of Labor to be represented. In transmitting this decision to the International Secretariat we stated:

"Despite the enforced absence of any representative of the American National Trade Union Center (The American Fed-

eration of Labor) at this Congress, the Executive Council declares that home work, as it is understood and carried on as part of modern industry, is uneconomic, demoralizing to the men, women and children engaged in it, makes impossible thorough application or enforcement of sanitary conditions of work, reasonable regulation of the hours of labor or the laws limiting or abolishing child labor; that the entire tendency of 'home work' is calculated to frustrate the humanitarian work of the labor movement for the protection and promotion of the rights and interests of the working people, and particularly detrimental to womanhood and childhood. The Executive Council, therefore, endorses and will aid to the fullest extent of its ability the abolition of 'home work' as it is understood in this declaration."

We trust that the course followed in this matter meets with the approval of this Convention.

#### The Arizona and New Mexico State Constitutions.

On May 23, 1911, the House passed the Statehood bill for Arizona. An effort was made by Representative Mann of Illinois to recommit the bill for the purpose of discarding the recall, but his motion was overwhelmingly defeated. On August 8 the Senate passed the bill. On August 15 President Taft vetoed the Arizona constitution because it included the recall of the judiciary. In less than 30 days from the time the President revoked the Arizona constitution because it included the recall, the electorate of California carried the recall in their election by over 100,000 majority.

The people of Arizona—in order to obtain statehood on the President's terms—voted the recall out of their constitution on December 12, 1911. At the same time and at the same election, they elected a Legislature the members of which were pledged to resubmit the judicial recall for a special election. At the special election which was held in April, 1912, the people in Arizona voted the judiciary recall back into their constitution, and the very first act by the members of the Legislature was to enact a law providing for the recall of the judiciary. The bill passed both Houses of the Arizona Legislature with but two dissenting votes in the Senate, and it was promptly signed by the Governor on April 27, 1912. The opposition and veto of President Taft and the



prompt resentment of his action by the people of Arizona have given a wonderful impetus to the movement throughout the country in behalf of the adoption of the recall for public officers, and for judicial decisions nullifying laws of a sociological character, passed under the police power. We trust that it may be extended through the statutory and organic law in all of the states. It is a remedy absolutely within our power to institute. It can be established quickly and maintained safely and permanently. By its use it will do much to preserve fundamental principles of democracy, and instead of having a government by party, or a government by minority, we shall have a government by the people—an enlightened, progressive democracy.

The situation with regard to the constitution for New Mexico was one which called for immediate action in order that the people of that territory should be enabled to obtain such a constitution, within their own control to alter or amend, as changing industrial or political conditions require. It must be borne in mind that the constitution as submitted from the reactionary State Constitutional Convention was such as to make the constitution practically unamendable.

At the quarterly meeting of the Executive Council, October, 1911, we decided that President Gompers should place organizers in New Mexico for the purpose of aiding in securing the amendment to the constitution for the State which would permit the Legislature to submit proposed amendments to the constitution to a referendum vote of the citizens of New Mexico.

The constitutional amendments which were being advocated by the progressive citizens of New Mexico, provided an opportunity for a majority of the Legislature to submit amendments to the constitution to the people and required such proposed constitutional amendments to receive a majority of those voting to include it in the constitution and make it mandatory for the Legislature to enact it into statutory law. All of the big corporate interests which had favored the iron-clad unamendable constitution for New Mexico, fought the proposed amendment with all their vigor, and used every resource at their command to defeat it.

Mr. L. A. Tanquary of Pueblo, Colorado, Mr. Robert P. Rubin of Salida, Colorado, and Mr. John L. Lewis of Panama, Illinois, were commissioned by us to proceed to New Mexico and devote their time for the purpose of rendering such assistance as they could give. We are glad to report that the activities of our organizers whom we sent into New Mexico were successful from every point of view, and this new state and its people generally are deeply indebted to the activities of the American Federation of Labor in behalf of the effort we made to secure for them the open, free and fair opportunity to change and amend their organic law whenever they may in the future deem it necessary.

#### Conservation Natural Resources.

The Atlanta Convention authorized the continuation of the Committee of the A. F. of L. on the Conservation of Natural Resources. The personnel of that committee is as follows: Samuel Gompers, chairman, John Mitchell, D. A. Hayes, James O'Connell and Frank Morrison. The Advisory Board of the Conservation Congress met in St. Louis on May 11. We had previously authorized President Gompers to act as a member of the Advisory Board. Being unable to attend the meeting, by reason of the Executive Council being in session on that date, he authorized another representative of the A. F. of L. to act in his stead. At that meeting it was decided to submit to the annual meeting of the Conservation Congress, for discussion and exhibits, the conservation of forests, waters, lands, minerals and vital resources.

The Fourth National Conservation Congress was held in Indianapolis, October 1-4 inclusive. The members of the A. F. of L. Conservation Committee being unable to attend the Congress, we authorized the following committee to represent the A. F. of L.: Mr. J. M. Lynch, President, International Typographical Union; Mr. W. D. Huber, President, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; Mr. Daniel J. Tobin, President, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America; Mr. Jacob Fischer, Secretary, Journeymen Barbers' International Union; Mr. Edgar A. Perkins.

President, Indiana State Federation of Labor.

The American labor movement is as much interested in the conservation of the natural resources, the conservation of men, as any body of people in our country. We therefore determined and decided that unless you shall otherwise order, the A. F. of L. shall continue to remain a part of and co-operate with the Natural Conservation Congress.

### **Mother's Day.**

During the year we were approached by the representatives of the Mother's Day movement requesting our co-operation in having the second Sunday in May observed annually as Mother's Day, a day of home coming and of uplift to the home, in honor of the home. The movement appealed to us as being a decided influence for good in the lives of our people and our citizenship in general, and we therefore gave it our official endorsement. We trust our action in this respect will meet with your approval and that this Convention will declare itself in favor of affiliated organizations and their membership observing the second Sunday in May of each year as Mother's Day.

### **The McNamara Case.**

During all the conferences of the representatives of our trade union movement of 1911, all through the two weeks of the Atlanta Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and until a few days after its adjournment, so far as we knew, and know, all believed in the innocence of the McNamaras of the charge of criminality lodged against them. Our belief in their innocence was strengthened by the manner in which they were unlawfully kidnapped from their home state by the "system" of detective agencies—a system which has since become a stench in the nostrils of decent men and officially stigmatized as such by the President of the United States and the Attorney-General.

A few days after the adjournment of the Atlanta Convention not only the people of our country in general, but particularly you and we, the representatives of the great rank and file of organized labor, were stirred, stunned and shocked that the men in whom we had placed our

faith and belief in their innocence had proven by their confession that they were guilty. From such investigations as had been made by those supposedly competent to judge, the catastrophe at Los Angeles, we were led to believe, was due to a gas explosion. The solemn assurances by the men charged confirmed the general confidence in their innocence. Never for one moment did the American Federation of Labor or its representatives condone a crime, if one had been committed. Upon the contrary, every feeling and expression conveyed the hope that no man in the remotest degree associated with organized labor, or that any other human being, was guilty of an offense so heinous. Then again, long experience with the brutal side of many in the business world and their alliance with corrupt politics and unscrupulous detective agencies and *agents provocateurs*, the hostile employers association; the circumstantial evidence connected with the destruction of the Times Building; the fact that Harrison Gray Otis, owner of the building and the Los Angeles Times, had for twenty years conducted a bitter, inexorable war upon organized labor—all this evidence, accompanied by the repeated disclaimers of guilt by the men, persuaded us into the full faith and belief that the men were victims of a vengeful plot to disrupt the labor movement of our country.

If we erred in assuming the men to be innocent, we did not err, as events proved, in assuming concerted and vengeful machinations on the part of militant, hostile employers and their hirelings. If ever there was a fight made upon organized labor, if ever there were efforts made to defame and discredit trade union officials, to abuse and mislead the rank and file, they were made in the months following the change of pleas in the Los Angeles trial. The spirit of Shylock who vowed,

"If I can catch him once upon the hip,  
"I will feed fat the ancient grudge I  
bear him"—

seemed to be surging rampant through our long time foes. Throughout the length and breadth of the land, the hostile press united in a terrific attack upon the leaders and the purposes of organized labor. Bluster, innuendos, insinuations, were blazoned in a way calculated to do

the cause injury. Every device was employed to confuse the issues and to make it appear that organized labor was on trial. It was due the public and our organization that an official statement of our position be made. Accordingly the McNamara Ways and Means Committee issued the following statement which was prefaced by a greeting from President Gompers:

Headquarters

American Federation of Labor,

"Washington, D. C., December 9, 1911.

"To Organized Labor:

"Greeting: In the recent past, the good name and high ideals of our great labor movement, its men, and the cause of humanity it and they represent, have been attacked as never before. Every enemy, every 'interest,' arrayed against the organized workers has howled like derbies. They hope to bring our tried, trusted and faithful men into disrepute, to destroy your confidence in their integrity and thereby weaken, and finally crush, the organizations of labor.

"Every union member deplores violence and crime, whether committed by an ordinary outlaw, by a corporation director or agent, or by a so-called union man. Labor resents the insinuation that because one or two union members became criminally fanatical or fanatically criminal, that the rank and file, and the officers of the labor movement, are responsible either legally or morally.

"Labor in its history has met, resisted, and overcome the bitter hostility of its foes. Labor, standing for the great cause of justice and humanity, will again.

"Men and women of Labor: Stand firm, be true to yourselves and to each other. Let the spirit of fraternity, justice freedom and solidarity imbue your every thought, word and action. Stand by your union. Organize the yet unorganized workers, and labor will triumph.

"The following statement of the McNamara Ways and Means Committee is commended to the thoughtful consideration of you and all interested. Please read it at your meeting and insert it in your minutes for future information and reference. Grit your teeth and organize!

Fraternally yours,

"SAMUEL GOMPERS,

"President American Federation of Labor."

"Attest:

"FRANK MORRISON, Secretary."

#### STATEMENT

"To the American Public on the McNamara Case:

"The McNamaras stand before the world self-convicted of great crimes. They have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment—J. B. during his natural

life, J. J. for fifteen years. The position of labor in connection with the effort made to afford these men an opportunity for adequate defense before the courts has been attacked and misrepresented to such a degree as to require a clear statement at the hands of the undersigned, who are in the best position to make an authoritative statement at this time—a statement that will be strengthened by some review of the principal points of the case.

"Was there an explosion of gas in the Los Angeles Times building when it was destroyed? Immediately after the disaster, the press reports stated that men who had been at work in the building spoke of an odor of gas for some time previous to the explosion. Gas leakage in the building, it came out later, had been known to others. Many conservative trade union officials, newspaper writers and publicists, on making an investigation in Los Angeles, soon after, were positive in assuring the public that they believed gas had destroyed the building. Among the mine workers, not one man, so far as information has reached us, has believed the destructive explosive was dynamite. Prominent officials of the United Mine Workers, cautious, honorable men, whose word is taken as truth by all who know them, who are familiar with mining explosives, declared that the effect of the explosion was not that which follows a discharge of dynamite. Were all these men speaking from blind partisanship or from honest conviction? Were they utterly mistaken? The answer has now been supplied by the prosecution. While the 'gas theory' was being hooted at by enemies of the unions, while even so late as last Friday night, an editor of the New York Times was inditing a contemptuous slur at John Mitchell for supposing 'that proof would be adduced to show that an explosion of gas destroyed the Los Angeles Times building,' the prosecution knew that gas was an agency in the explosion and a great factor in the destruction which ensued. W. J. Burns in a press interview Saturday last said: 'Why, McManigal told us in his first confession that McNamara turned open the stop-cocks of the gas mains of the building when he set the bomb. We knew all the time that a part of the explosion was due to gas.' Now, the possible terrific force of a gas explosion, even in the open air, was shown in the wreckage caused by the accident at the Grand Central Station, New York, December 19, 1910, while the Los Angeles disaster was being discussed throughout the country.

"The fact of a gas explosion led all others in importance in the minds of the organized workers. Nearly all of them were convinced that it was an established fact. The most cautious reasoners among them regarded the possibilities of the fact sufficient to hold to belief in it until proof to the contrary could be produced. They were

willing to suspend conclusive judgment while awaiting evidence.

"The public also wanted such facts regarding the circumstances of the explosion as could be accepted as evidence of the way it came about. What was given the public, first and foremost? On the instant, at the hearing of the explosion, H. G. Otis broke into a savage denunciation of trade unionists, accusing them of having caused the disaster, and he has ever since declared it was the result of dynamite. By this course, he diverted the case from one in which citizens in common should have proceeded, through legal methods alone, to search for the truth. He threw the unions on their defense, outraged them, insulted their officials, raised animosities that could have been avoided. He was at once backed up by the small circle of bitter enemies of trades unionism, whose fulminations were largely made up of transparent falsehoods leveled at trade unions in general and at the leaders of trade unions.

"Despite all clamor it must be remembered that, with few exceptions, the international trade unions, more than 120 in number, are and have usually been in normal business relations with the employers of their members. Many of them have for years arranged their differences and their working conditions with employers through trade agreements or other methods resulting in a minimum loss through suspension of work. Violence in cases of dispute is not common to them. Trade unionists have been made aware, by experience, that stories of disorder by unionists during strikes or lockouts have been systematically exaggerated.

"Therefore, aware of the necessity of trade union organization, of the incalculable amount of good in various forms done by and through their unions every year, of the long and bitter campaign carried on by Otis, Kirby, Post and others, to destroy trade unionism, and perceiving the intention of these plotters and their detectives to ignore the apparent, and, to their minds, proven cause of the Times disaster, and to turn that terrible event solely to account as a means of discrediting trade unionism, the unions energetically stated their side of the case to the American public as they saw it at that time.

"When, after six months, the McNamara's were arrested, it was in Russian style, not American. Holding the members of the Executive Board of the Structural Iron Workers in confinement without warrant, hurrying J. J. McNamara away from Indianapolis in an automobile and by circuitous routes taken to California—what were these but features of high handed irregularity, and tyrannical lawlessness, known in arrests in Russia that precede transportation of prosecuted citizens to Siberia? And when Detective Burns has throughout been doubted by so great a part of the American public,

it has been largely the fault of his proceedings at this point, and of his own defouling the reputation of his craft, for has he not said: 'Private detectives, as a class, are the worst lot of blackmailing scoundrels that live outside of prisons.' (See page 357, McClure's Magazine, August, 1911.)

"J. J. McNamara had not been of sufficient prominence among labor men to be the subject of discussion as a leading figure, but what was generally known of him was to his credit. He was seen at conventions as a man of pleasing appearance and of mild manner. He was spoken of as self-educated and a faithful secretary of his organization. His speech and his writings for his magazine were reputed to be conservative. When placed under arrest, and throughout his imprisonment, his bearing was undemonstrative. His letters to officials of the A. F. of L. and telegram to the Atlanta Convention were concise and without suspicious characteristics. In no wise, to common observation, had he shown abnormal traits.

"Did organized labor properly express its condemnation of violence on hearing of the Los Angeles disaster? It did by interviews, addresses and publications. The hundreds of union labor papers, in their issues succeeding the event, contained what, taken together, would make volumes, declarative of the sentiments of their editors and of the rank and file of union membership on the subject. All recognized the case as one of mystery, the feeling shown being that of horror at the possibility of any union man being implicated in it. Unions framed resolutions in meetings, declaring that trade unionism was not to be advanced by murderous acts. Union labor officials, and many others, were quoted to similar effect. The president of the American Federation of Labor, the day after the disaster occurred, as published by the St. Louis Star, said:

"Labor does not stand for such outrages, nor contemplate such crime. I cannot believe that a union man has done it, and I deeply hope no one who was connected with the labor movement will be found to have done it. It is inconceivable that a union man should have done this thing. And yet, if it is found that a union man has done it, unionism cannot be blamed by fair-minded men for the deed of a man devoid of any human feeling, as the perpetrator of this horrible catastrophe must have been. It was the act of a madman. No one with an ounce of sympathy in his makeup could doubt but contemplate such a crime with the deepest abhorrence."

"These facts were further fully presented in the June, 1911, issue of the American Federationist, in a seventeen-page article entitled, 'The McNamara Case,' in which the leading facts up to that time were reviewed. Speak-

ing before the St. Louis Central Labor Union on Sunday, October 2, 1910, the day after the disaster, President Gompers asserted he would 'immediately turn the dynamiters over to the proper authorities if he could lay hands on them.' The Globe-Democrat also quoted him as saying: 'I only wish I knew the actual perpetrators, and if I did, take my word for it, I would turn them over to justice.' The universal condemnation of a murderous deed in labor circles ought to be a fact so far beyond question, so easily ascertainable from accessible records, that no man with any regard for his reputation for veracity could deny it. Yet, the New York Times, in an editorial last Saturday, printed this sentence: 'From the day when James B. McNamara's bomb blew his twenty-one victims into eternity, down to the present time, no authoritative voice in the ranks of labor has been raised to express the hope that the murderers would be brought to justice, even should they prove to be union men.'

'Relative to other phases of the McNamara case, the article in the June American Federationist contains these passages:

"It may be said that from that time (the kidnapping) to the present, Detective Burns, Attorney Drew, Editor Otis, C. W. Post and the active agents of the extremists in the Manufacturers' Association in general have all played to perfection the hysterical characters to which we are accustomed in the pages of cheap fiction and on the boards of the Bowery class of theatres.

"\* \* \* "Nothing more surprised us in the series of audacious acts committed by Detective Burns than his saying to a reporter for the World, May 7, 1911:

"Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, knows by this time that there was no frame-up and that the arrests of the McNamaras and McManigal were not the result of a plant. Why? Because Gompers has been conducting an investigation of his own at Indianapolis that has convinced him that there was no frame-up and no plants."

"These assertions of Burns were entirely without foundation. Nothing was brought to our knowledge in Indianapolis or elsewhere that could be used as evidence against the prisoners or to show that the Structural Iron Workers' Union has been conducting a dynamite campaign against the Erectors' Association."

"Since the McNamara's confession Burns has been reiterating this charge. The only 'investigation' in which President Gompers participated in Indianapolis was the meeting of the prominent trade unionists held last May 10-12, called by officials of the eight international unions which have

their headquarters in that city, and the meeting of the officials of a large number of trade unions called by authority of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and held at Indianapolis, June 29, 1911. What President Gompers learned there was precisely what everyone attending the conference learned, and that was nothing that helped to solve the mystery of the Los Angeles disaster, or, of criminality of any kind.

"Indeed, the unlawful and un-American kidnapping of McNamara formed one of the chief factors of fixing in the minds of the working people of our country that he was innocent. They reasoned, as they had a right to reason, that if there existed evidence of McNamara's guilt of the crime charged, every protection would and should have been accorded him to demonstrate before the courts of Indiana that he was innocent of the crime with which he was charged. His protestations of innocence, his demands to be represented by counsel, were all ruthlessly ignored.

"Violence, brutality, destruction of life or property, are foreign to the aims and methods of organized labor of America, and no interest is more severely injured by the employment of such methods than that of the workers organized in the labor movement. Therefore, quite apart from the spirit of humanitarianism and justice which prompts the activities of the organized labor movement, policy and hopes for success forbid the resort to violence. The American labor movement and its men are loyal Americans and seek to obtain the abolition of wrongs and the attainment of their rights within the law.

"Organized labor of America has no desire to condone the crimes of the McNamaras. It joins in the satisfaction that the majesty of the law and justice has been maintained and the culprits commensurately punished for their crime.

"And yet it is an awful commentary upon existing conditions when any one man, among all the millions of workers, can bring himself to the frame of mind that the only means to secure justice for labor is in violence, outrage and murder.

"It is cruelly unjust to hold the men of the labor movement either legally or morally responsible for the crime of an individual member. No such moral code or legal responsibility is placed upon any other association of men in our country.

"In so far as we have the right to speak in the name of organized labor, we welcome any investigation which either Federal or State courts may undertake. The sessions of the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor are held with open doors that all may see and hear what is being said and done. The books, accounts and correspondence of the American Federation of Labor are open to any

competent authority who may desire to make a study or an investigation of them.

"Will the National Manufacturers' Association, the Erectors' Association and the detective agencies extend the same privilege for public investigation and examination of their books and correspondence?"

"When we were selected as a Committee on Ways and Means to raise and dispense funds for the defense of the McNamaras and the prosecution of the kidnappers, we were fully impressed with the innocence of the accused men. That impression was strengthened by their written and oral protestations of innocence. We here and now, individually and collectively, declare that the first knowledge or intimation of their guilt was conveyed by the press in their confessions of guilt. From the outset we assured all contributors and the public generally that we would publish an accounting of the moneys received, from whom received, and to whom paid. This assurance will be fulfilled. A report in full will first be made to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, at its meeting to be held at Washington, D. C., January 8, 1912.

"The American labor movement has done so much for the workers of our country in improving their condition, in lightening the burdens which the workers have had to bear, bringing light and hope in the homes and in the lives, the factories and the workshops of our country, that it challenges the world of investigators. The organizations of labor of America have been the most potent factors in the establishment and maintenance of the largest measure of industrial peace. Their course is of a conciliatory character, to reach trade agreements with employers, and the faithful adherence to agreements. When industrial conditions become unsettled, they are more largely due to the unreasonableness of employers, who regard every effort of the workers to maintain their rights, and to promote their interests, as an invasion of employers' prerogatives, which are resented with consequent struggles. If employers will be but fair and tolerant, they will find more than a responsive attitude on the part of organized labor, but, of one thing all may rest assured, that with existing conditions of concentrated wealth and industry, the organized toilers of our country realize that there is no hope from abject slavery outside of the protection which the organized labor movement affords.

"The men of organized labor, in common with all our people, are grieved beyond expression in words at the loss of life, and the destruction of property, not only in the case under discussion, but in any other case which may have occurred. We are hurt and humiliated to think that any man connected with the labor movement should have been guilty of either. The lesson this grave crime teaches will, however, have its

salutary effect. It will demonstrate now more than ever, the inhumanity as well as the futility of resorting to violence in the effort to right wrongs, or to attain rights.

"In view of the great uplift work in which the men of the labor movement have been and are engaged, and the industrial problems with which they have to contend, we insist that our organizations of labor should be judged by what they do and aim to do, rather than to be opposed and stigmatized because one or a few may be recreant to the good name and high ideals of labor, and we appeal to the fair-minded citizenship and the press of America for fair treatment.

"SAMUEL GOMPERS,

"President American Federation of Labor, Chairman,

"FRANK MORRISON,

"Secretary American Federation of Labor, Secretary,

"JAMES A. SHORT,

"President Building Trades Department,

"WM. J. SPENCER,

"Secretary Building Trades Department,

"JAS. O'CONNELL,

"President Metal Trades Department.

"A. J. BERRES,

"Secretary Metal Trades Department.

"JOHN B. LENNON,

"President Union Label Trades Department,

"THOMAS F. TRACY,

"Secretary Union Label Trades Department,

"Constituting the McNamara Ways and Means Committee.

"Washington, D. C., December 7, 1911."

The following editorial was published in the January, 1912, issue of the American Federationist:

#### LABOR'S POSITION LAWFUL AND PROGRESSIVE

"We have nothing to hide. We are ready at any time for the agents of the law to begin investigating. Files, records of all kinds, account books—everything in documentary shape is open to them. All that has been printed, or spoken, or written to our correspondents is subject to their inquiries. Every act of every official may be freely looked into. No one is going to dodge or run away. Whatever can be done to aid the law will be done at these offices.

"This is our reply to headquarters of the American Federation of Labor to the clamor to get at 'the men higher up,' to the repeated announcements in the press of 'a nation-wide investigation by Federal officials,' to the assertions that behind the McNamaras were men standing high in the councils of labor.

"How to make our language on this point more sweeping we do not know. We could not do it in columns or pages. We therefore consider the point disposed of, in so far as it relates to our attitude regarding the investigation for which some men are calling.

"As to our position on the McNamara case, it is given in the statement which was sent out to the press on December 9, and which we reproduce on other pages in this issue of the American Federationist. We have seen no criticism of that statement which should cause it to be changed. We stand by every word of it.

"As affecting the Executive Council, American Federation of Labor, the officers of the international trade unions, and the active labor men throughout the country who took up the defense of the McNamaras, the gist of the outcome of the case is, in what was a mystery they were deceived.

"As to that part of the public which sided against the McNamaras—or was it against labor?—in a case which was a mystery, they knew no more, and no less, than the people who were deceived.

"As to the future, now is trade unionism to be affected? With respect to this question we have looked for light from the press and in the letters coming to us in quantities from all parts of the country. What lessons are to be derived from this case, which is one of abnormalities? What illuminating suggestion has been sent in, by friend or enemy? Is organized labor to depart from its regularly adopted policies; and if so, why? Where lies a better course than that which it has followed?

"Nothing new has come, in reply to these queries. Among the intense participants in the social conflict, the same groups are but reiterating their well-known sentiments. What could be expected from the National Manufacturers' Association, their agents and hirelings, but precisely what they are saying—which is merely what they have been saying? What from the Socialists except to employ the occasion for vote-catching? What from such reactionary organs as the New York Sun but diatribes covering half the editorial page? So long as these declared enemies of the trade unions are what they are, and unionism is what it is, no help can come from them to the labor movement.

"From the social elements that stand somewhat apart from the wage conflict, there have usually come merely the suggestions of partly informed observers. Ought our Federation at once change its officials? Some part of the daily press, seeking to create a popular cry, calls for this move. That is worth no attention. Ought our Federation forthwith change its policies? The question in reply must be, Which of them? Each represents the wisdom derived from experience.

"A few humanitarians are declaring

that a unionism must prevail which is grounded on 'industrial liberty.' It will have to be a new unionism with new unionists—and where are they to be found?—for the deceits in the catchwords 'industrial liberty' are known to all wage-workers who have suffered from the unending competition which is an inseparable feature of a so-called 'free labor market.'

"As to the critics of our Federation's officers, most of them move in a fundamental error. They assume that the separate trade unions, in their organization, work and affairs, are controlled, directed, supervised from our Washington center. This is not in the least so. To the national (or international) unions there is nothing 'higher up.' With respect to their routine procedures, their conventions, and their dues, assessments, benefits, not one of them is subject to orders from the Federation offices. They are autonomous. All of them are in the Federation under certain general regulations, chiefly such as relate to character of membership, 'jurisdiction' (the prevention of overlapping), the avoidance of duplication of effort and organization, and the adoption of methods for union agitation and education. By a vote of representatives in federation conventions the Federation can, for certain purposes only, impose a slight assessment, a step taken on the rarest occasions. The books of the Federation show how funds raised in this manner, as well as through the regular dues, are expended. They are published in detail in every issue of the American Federationist.

"So far as can be seen, at the present stage of this emergency, the friends of our labor movement, those among the general public whom organized labor has learned to trust, are standing with us, steadfast. To their minds nothing has occurred to discredit the established principles, the accepted policies and procedures, or the general body of officials, of the trade union movement. What has happened has been a deplorable incident, a misfortune, an exceptional course of action, but which does not touch the essentials of trade unionism. The Church, the State, every social institution, has had its fanatics and its criminals. No great movement but has had to survive injurious episodes and unwise advocates. In this ordeal for unionism, we have not heard of the abandonment of the cause by a single follower or a single friend. Not one 'if,' 'but,' or 'and' has been uttered by one of them to pull down or weaken the organization. On the contrary, assurances have come to us from strong men—in the ranks of labor, of the professions, and of business men—many of them strangers to us, that they understand, and approve of, the position of the American Federation of Labor throughout the whole of this chapter in the history of what is among the side issues of trade unionism. They have

not been misled by the shrieking in sensational newspaper headlines, the rabid onslaughts of our rancorous foes, or the hypocrisies of those who, professing love for labor, would profit by the present occasion to deprive organized labor of its hard-won strength.

"In truth, amidst the clamor raised by financial interest, by partisan prejudice, by sensation-mongers, or through mere shallowness and base truckling to the noise-makers, the country is being compelled to hear the voice of sanity and moral force. That voice is saying that if labor is the basic element in society, the laborer's cause should be sacred to society; if unrestricted competition among wage-workers leads to the frightful deprivation, degeneration and collective slavery of the masses which even America is witnessing, the wage-workers themselves are justified in organized opposition to such competition; if trade unionism as it exists has been the only effective agency developed to help the masses of wage-workers to get better pay and cut off the work-hours that destroy health and life, and in general improve the working conditions of labor, encouragement to it is a national obligation; if it has stood champion for labor's rights, before our legislative bodies, before the public, appealing for whatever justice can today be had, curbing avarice, performing an unparalleled work of philanthropy in its mutual benefits—then it deserves to live and to continue its mission.

"Who knows better than the trade unionists themselves the mission of unionism? How has that mission come to be shaped and developed? It has come through the free discussion, the public deliberations, the fairest procedures of a perfectly democratic organization. The voice and vote of the least man in the last rank has its due force and weight. Every suggestion from the mind of any and all of the members of a union has its open channel to reach the full membership. What step may, or ought, to be taken, in organization, in efficiency, in policy, in politics, in exclusion or inclusion of members—in all such respects each union can have its share in proposing and deciding. Hence the history of the American Federation of Labor is the story of the will and wish of its majorities. How, then, could it be other than what it has been? How can it be other than what it is? It rests on the solid rock of the economic education, the recorded decisions, the deliberate will of its membership.

"Purification? Yes; of whatever evils, of methods or men, that may appear. That is a natural part of its business, as with every other institution.

"The methods of our Federation have been defined and defended on every necessary occasion. Despite the systematic, malicious and mendacious misrepresentations of those methods, we repeat that they stop short of in-

jurious attacks on persons and property, while they unfailingly uphold, to the last point, every right of labor, and of the wage-workers—in their movements, on the highways, in their purchases, in their choice of work-fellow, and in their organization.

"The men of our Federation have each a duty to perform, according to his place. Within the organization, the membership decides who has or has not been derelict. Without, in matters of the law, the Government decides. On this score, a clamor—by the interested, chiefly—has been raised against the officers of the Federation. In reply, we say to the appropriate Government officials, proceed with your duty. We are ready. You shall have our aid. To the country we say, we have nothing to fear.

"To the men and women of labor we say, the wrongs which the workers have borne, the rights to which they are entitled, should and must achieve, can only be accomplished by thorough organization, unity and federation promoted and permeated by the spirit of fraternity and solidarity.

"At no time in the history of labor has organization been so essential as now. If the wage-earners of our continent hope, not only to promote and advance their interests, but to protect even that which they now enjoy, organization, unity and federation are an immediate and pressing necessity.

"The concentrated effort and bitter animosity of the enemies of organized labor to crush out the spirit of the toilers, and with it to enfeeble or destroy the organized labor movement, must be met by the men and women of labor with an intelligent, earnest, dignified and insistent attitude; whose solemn and imperative duty it is to openly declare the high purposes for which our movement is instituted, to show its splendid achievements already accomplished for the workers and make clear its noblest aspirations, not only for the workers, but for all humanity.

#### "GRIT YOUR TEETH AND ORGANIZE!"

A disclaimer of knowledge of the crime was issued by the executive officers of the international trade unions with headquarters in Indianapolis. They did not condone the crime, but regretted the industrial conditions and tactics of militant employers that led to what seemed to be manifestations of industrial war. They called attention to information and wholesale denunciation of trade unions that had so befogged the situation that honest men were misled.

But still the attacks did not lessen in violence or persistence. Detective Burns traveled from coast to coast,



trumpeting loudly of what might confidently be expected in the way of sensational arrests and convictions of the "men higher up." By subtle and cowardly insinuation he made it appear that officers of the A. F. of L. were the "higher ups." When the President of our Federation made reply, this centered upon him the brunt of Detective Burns' unlimited stock of billingsgate. Burns talked ceaselessly as he traveled, addressed capitalist clubs and organizations glad to listen to his attacks; harangued chance audiences and reporters, trying by every known method to destroy the reputation, to defame the good name and to undermine the life work of President Gompers. Avowing over and over that what he thought of that man was not fit to print, he continued his accusation, so planned that newspapers would give first page space to the stories. Evidently the design was by frequent repetition of falsehoods to make them so familiar that the people would regard them as truth.

Not only were attacks made on Mr. Gompers by the press and Mr. Burns, but he was subjected to a constant and irritating surveillance. Private and official detectives trailed him for weeks and even months after the confession. Their methods, combined with the press attacks, amounted to a most cruel form of the "third degree." Mr. Gompers was hounded by day and night, his acts and words noted, misconstrued, and thus proclaimed throughout the land; at night these sleuths haunted hotels, called upon him, sent messengers, called him up at all hours at his home or elsewhere. By permitting him no rest by day or night, no peace of spirit or body, they planned to break down his will-power and endurance, to crush his spirit and drive him from the cause of labor.

When the public was wearying of Burns' oft repeated charges and virulent abuse, the enemy sought to renew the attack on Mr. Gompers by a new method, namely, the canard: "Gompers desecrating the flag." The story originated with a fake picture published by Otis' Los Angeles Times, which represented Mr. Gompers standing upon a table, draped in an American flag,

trampling and soiling our national emblem. The anti-union press eagerly copied. The cuts were embellished; the story did not lose in sensational flavor or detail of slander as it traveled from city to city. Again the aim was "to get" Mr. Gompers, to spread broadcast the impression that he was a foreign agitator who was teaching anarchistic doctrines and dishonor for American ideals and citizenship.

By persistent, concerted press action this slander spread throughout the land. The victim of the campaign was, of course, unable to give his refutation of the charge as wide and as emphatic a presentment. Experts pronounced the picture a most obvious fake. The picture was taken of the Labor Day celebration at Oakland, California, in 1911.

Then the campaign of slander was carried even to the United States Senate. Labor's old time enemy (recently deceased), Senator Heyburn, of Idaho, then took up the hue and the cry against our President's integrity. The Atlanta Convention directed that a resolution and preamble protesting against the deterioration in the manufacture of the paper money of the country be presented by our officers to the President, to the Vice-President, to the Speaker of the House, and to the Secretary of the Treasury. In a communication by President Gompers that resolution was presented to the President of the Senate, was laid before that body. Senator Heyburn objected to receiving the communication. He charged that Mr. Gompers was not qualified to address the Senate, and, by indirection, charged him with criminal complicity and even crime. Senator Reed, of Missouri, came to the defense, and completely demolished the objections raised by the Senator from Idaho. Overruled in this objection and the right of petition sustained, Senator Heyburn then attacked Mr. Gompers' good standing as a citizen, and by insinuation falsely denied his citizenship. The communication was ordered received.

Meanwhile an investigation had been instituted in Indianapolis against the men "higher up." President Taft per-

sonally directed the Federal investigation. Again wild and irrational rumors were furnishing first page stories with scare headlines. Charles W. Miller, United States Attorney, was announcing that "Gompers is unsafe, he should be retired from office." Burns was ceaselessly bewailing that "Gompers is deceiving union men and must be dropped." While they were trying to create this sentiment, they were scrutinizing every scrap of evidence that might in any way implicate the "higher ups."

Another Burns fake was concocted, to be peddled around to the gullible. Ex-Mayor Bookwalter of Indianapolis was charged with having had information of the methods of the McNamaras and of being guilty of neglect of official duty in not prosecuting John J. McNamara upon evidence which was in his possession. Burns charged that Mr. Bookwalter dropped the investigation to become a member of a printing company doing union business, a firm in which Burns alleged President Gompers was interested. This rumor also died for lack of proof. Mr. Gompers never had a dollar invested in that or any other business.

John Kirby, Jr., was proclaiming to the world that the American Federation of Labor was as big a menace to society as were the Ku-Klux-Klan, the Molly McGuires, the Mafias, or the Black Hand. The Los Angeles Times proclaimed:

"And soon—it has begun to happen already—the plain citizens of every country will form a combine. Its object will be the suppression of sedition and anarchy in the persons of the professional agitators. Theirs will be a big, powerful, effective, but very unostentatious, revolt. It will work quickly, surely, silently. The first thing the Plain Citizens Combine will accomplish is the Quiet Removal of these gentlemen. They won't be blown up; they will just quietly disappear from human ken. There will be a little inquiry at first, but it will die down ever so quickly, for of all people in the world the professional agitator depends entirely upon his presence and his glib tongue to maintain any sort of interest or influence in his followers. His impassioned rhetoric is his only asset."

Nearly every capitalist publicity organ throughout the country was heralding the "Blow to Labor," and

anticipating the obituary of the American Federation of Labor and its President. With our enemies howling like dervishes, the investigation continued. Our old time "sympathizer," C. W. Post, came to the front, offered Mr. Gompers half a million dollars to subsidize a "labor movement" (?) built upon the lines which Post advocates.

Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary of the A. F. of L., and Mr. Henry H. Flather, cashier of Riggs' National Bank, were summoned to appear before the Grand Jury to give an account'ing of the McNamara funds. Secretary Morrison carried with him two trunks full of accounts, records, stubs, etc. Some of these were left for the prosecution and Grand Jury to scrutinize as long as they pleased. Mr. Flather gave information as to A. F. of L. funds which were deposited in that bank. The ordeal to which Mr. Morrison was subjected was nerve-racking. If, after all of his care and exactness, errors had been detected in his accounts, he well knew the interpretation that the prosecution and the poison press would have placed upon them, and the use that would be made of them. Nevertheless Secretary Morrison and President Gompers were, as were we all, sincerely glad to have the investigation made; they challenged examination, however searching and detailed. After thorough, minute and expert examination there were no errors found in Secretary Morrison's books, nothing in his accounts, papers, or testimony that could in the remotest connect him, or any one else, or the A. F. of L. with the dynamite case, or with any other criminal or unlawful action. It was common report that the Federal Government completely exonerated the American Federation of Labor officials, or the A. F. of L. as such. Though Detective Burns, in season and out, affirmed that "Gompers had guilty knowledge of the crime." Burns has not and could not produce a scintilla of evidence to substantiate his oft repeated mis-statement. "Gompers knew, Gompers knew," was his incessant refrain, re-echoed by the press, so that the words might take on a familiarity accorded to truth.

This man Burns, who was seeking to destroy the A. F. of L. and defame

its officials, has a record that accords with his own characterization of private detectives, which is: "Ninety per cent of them are the worst lot of crooks and blackmailing scoundrels that live outside of prisons." The following accounts show how this much self-advertised, spotlight performer always "got the man he was after."

In connection with a famous senatorial investigation, Mr. Burns and his employes used a dictograph to secure an alleged confession from a man, who, Burns alleged, had "perjured himself." Burns' agent explained his method of operation, read from the "notes" made from day to day of "conversations"; avowed that such sudden "love and affection" sprang up between himself and the man in question that upon the first day of their acquaintance the latter made the alleged confession to him. The official reporter of the Senate Committee, whose nerves were over-wrought by strain and extra work, gave the committee an exciting session when he characterized some of the "notes" used by the Burns witnesses as manufactured. An investigation and a test were made, the results of which were published in the press generally and more in detail by the Washington Post, February 11, 1912. The report described the test and showed the following conclusions:

The shorthand clerk in the employ of the Burns' agency was placed under experimental conditions duplicating as nearly as possible those under which he claimed to have taken the notes; he was in one room with his ear to the receiver of the dictograph, two other Burns' men, together with a third man interested, were in another room conducting a conversation. The shorthand reporter reproduced less than one-third of the conversation. He produced only 581 words, whereas, if his story on the witness stand had been true, he should have reported at least 1,500 words. His notes were evidently written at dictation speed, whereas he had claimed for himself reporting speed. There was no joining of words, no phrasing of words, characteristic of reporting shorthand. The test showed that the Burns agent had an average speed of 58 words a minute, while to report the conversa-

tion he claimed to have taken, he must have had an average of more than 175 words a minute.

Further evidence which discredited the story of Burns' man was the opinion expressed by expert reporters who examined the alleged notes introduced as evidence in the investigation and unanimously declared that they must have been written from slow dictation, that they were written in a crude and what is called correspondence style—a style meant to be used in recording dictation at a rate not exceeding 70 or 80 words a minute.

Another case in June, the Seattle Daily Times reported, as follows:

"Burns' detectives, caught and exposed in a desperate effort to railroad Dr. Frank D. Johnson, a young Centralia dentist, to the gallows for a crime he not only had not committed, but of which there was no evidence indicating he had even any knowledge, brought home to the people of southwestern Washington a realization of the fact that there is no limit to which that agency will not go to carry out its policy of providing a victim whenever it is called into a case."

Lawrence Bar, the aged president of the Farmers and Merchants' Bank of Centralia, Washington, was shot, while resisting an attempted hold-up of his bank, by Adelbert Clark. The Burns' Agency sought and secured employment. It was alleged that an operative, passing as a buyer of real estate, ingratiated himself into Dr. Johnson's confidence and by subtle suggestion so worked upon Johnson's fears and mind as to persuade him he might be implicated by circumstantial evidence. Then the "operative" tried to persuade him to go into hiding; next sought to induce him to flee to Canada; failing in that, tried to persuade him to offer Clark's attorney \$500 if he would not disclose the fact that Clark and Johnson had slept in the same room the night before the murder; finally, a Burns' operative, disguised as a tramp, had himself placed in the same cell with Clark, and induced Clark to write a note to Johnson asking him to smuggle a saw into the prison; when "released" he carried the note to Johnson, who promptly informed the sheriff.

When Clark and Johnson met in the jail after the latter's arrest, Clark accused Johnson of complicity in the crime, and when Johnson began a

vigorous denial a Burns' detective refused to let him talk. With such inhuman ingenuity did the Burns' agency seek to produce a victim. Upon these important points in Johnson's testimony the attorney for his defense obtained corroborative testimony in cross examining the State's own witness.

As most indisputable evidence of the criminally crooked methods employed by Detective Burns is the following statement from the Attorney-General of the United States, addressed to President Taft, upon land fraud cases of Washington:

"Washington, D. C., May 10, 1912.

"In the Matter of the Application for Pardon of Willard N. Jones.

"The President.

"Sir: On March 1, 1911, you commuted the sentences of Willard N. Jones in effect to four months' imprisonment in the county jail and to pay a fine of \$12,000. On March 16th you received a telegram from H. H. Schwartz, formerly Chief of Field Service of the General Land Office, charging irregularities in the filing of the jury box from which grand jurors and petit jurors were drawn in the Jones cases, and also in the trial of the cases, and pursuant thereto you directed a further investigation to be made and that the execution of the penalty be deferred until the investigation be completed. Shortly thereafter additional papers were filed to sustain the charge, and a report was received from United States Attorney McCourt with which he transmitted additional papers formerly belonging to William J. Burns, detective, which were found in the United States Attorney's office. All of these were sent to you April 24, 1911, with a statement that I thought enough facts were submitted to throw a very decided doubt upon the fairness and impartiality in the method of selecting the jury and that in my opinion it would not be just to allow a man to be sent to prison as the result of a trial before a jury procured in the manner in which it was shown by the papers the jury which Jones was tried was selected. I stated further that the papers also tended strongly to show an atmosphere surrounding the whole prosecution which was hardly consonant with the impartial administration of justice. I referred, however, to the fact that the papers had not been submitted to Mr. Francis J. Heney, the attorney who conducted the prosecution and who was at that time in California, and recommended in view of the delay which would result from securing a statement from Mr. Heney, that the sentence be commuted so as to relieve the defendant from actual imprisonment, or if you desired Mr. Heney's

statement before acting, that the papers be transmitted to him for an expression of his opinion concerning the points of criticism. On April 28, 1911, you replied saying that you believed the execution of the sentence should be withheld until the papers had been submitted to Mr. Heney for comment and answer.

"Mr. Heney's report, a lengthy document covering seventy-seven pages, dated May 23, 1911, was received by the Department June 28, 1911. Mr. Heney disclaims any knowledge of the matters charged, offers explanations and conjectures regarding the alleged irregularities, and expresses the firm conviction that the charges are baseless. I read the statement and referred it to the Pardon Attorney, directing him to look over the report carefully and also the papers and documents which had been received since your prior action on the case, and requested him to inform me whether or not in his opinion there was anything in the papers which should modify the conclusions shown in Mr. Heney's report. This the Pardon Attorney attempted to do. On August 26, 1911, he informed me that he had practically completed the preparation of his report, and although he had reached a fairly satisfactory conclusion, there were matters which he could not settle with absolute certainty from the papers before him and said that he thought it desirable the Department should have at least some statement from Mr. Burns; that he had in my absence caused a telegram to be sent to Mr. Burns inquiring how he obtained possession of the list of names which were in the possession of Captain Sladen and Jury Commissioner Bush prior to the filing of the jury box, to which Mr. Burns replied that there was no truth whatever in the statements that Captain Sladen or the Jury Commissioner had furnished him with advance lists of prospective jurors, and stating that he would look up data and furnish the Department with a complete report of his connection with the matter, which was entirely straight and honorable; that he expected to be in Washington within a short time and would then make a report, and answer interrogatories by any one interested. Thereupon I directed the Pardon Attorney to delay the completion of the report until he had seen Mr. Burns. Mr. Burns, however, did not make his report, or come to the Department for months afterward, although repeatedly communicated with about the matter.

"The papers received up to this time and reviewed by the Pardon Attorney in connection with Mr. Heney's lengthy report were so voluminous that the Pardon Attorney's brief had reached nearly eighty pages. He delayed the completion of his report styled 'Supplemental Report' until October 10, and then closed it with a statement that he did not think any fair or proper con-

clusion could be arrived at until the Department had received a complete statement from Mr. Burns, and that it might be necessary to receive statements from others connected with the prosecution; and in view of the size to which his report had grown he thought it would be well to make the result of his further investigations the subject of another communication. This he has done, styling it 'Second Supplemental Report.' It is well that he has done so and that he has delayed his report until this time, as the Department is now in receipt of such further information in documentary form that there is little left to conjecture as to what actually transpired regarding the filling of the jury box and the correctness of the charges made by petitioner and his friends. Fortunately this evidence is of such a character that it will not be necessary for you to follow very carefully the line of reasoning, conjecture, and comparison of documents and reports received, which otherwise would have been required in order to reach, I think, a thoroughly satisfactory and convincing idea of what actually transpired.

"Nor is it necessary to review the offenses of which Jones was convicted, for the reason that if the charges made by him are true it matters little what the offense was; he should not be required to serve a day of imprisonment or be otherwise punished. The facts relating to the conviction are, however, fully set forth in my former report, which is sent herewith.

"It is charged by the defendant and his friends that William J. Burns, who was investigating jurors for Mr. Francis J. Heney, as stated by the latter in a communication to me dated August 23, 1911, sent his agents throughout the several counties from which names of jurors had been taken for the purpose of filling the jury box, and had these proposed jurors investigated prior to the time the box was filled. It is claimed that these agents reported to Burns, and that he was able in some way to control, and did control, the selection of names that went into the jury box; that in this way the jury box was filled with names of persons predisposed to convict, to wit, Democrats, Populists, Socialists, and Republicans belonging to what is known as the Simon faction, who were antagonistic to the so-called Mitchell faction of the Republican party, to which Jones and the persons prosecuted belonged and that none of the persons objectionable to Burns were selected. It is also claimed that offenses against the public land laws were of such common occurrence by reason of the lax methods employed by the Government officials, or even by their acquiescence, that very many people in that section of the country had made themselves liable to conviction and punishment under a strict interpretation of the law; and that the prosecution, through intimidation by

threats of indictment and conviction, compelled witnesses both before the grand jury and petit juries to testify falsely, and that witnesses did testify falsely in the Jones and other cases. These charges have been substantially proven, particularly those relating to the irregularities in the filling of the jury box.

"The Department has in its possession the original reports of Burns' agents to him and those assisting him regarding the names of proposed jurors, which reports were made prior to the filling of the box. Some of the comments upon these names were as follows: 'Convictor from the word go,' 'Socialist. Anti-Mitchell.' 'Convictor from the word go; just read the indictment. Populist.' 'Think he is a Populist. If so, convictor. Good reliable man.' 'Convictor. Democrat. Hates Hermann.' 'Hide-bound Democrat. Not apt to see any good in a Republican.' 'Would be apt to be for conviction.' 'He is apt to wish Mitchell hung. Think he would be a fair juror.' 'Would be very likely to convict any Republican politician.' 'Convictor.' 'Would convict Christ.' 'Convict Christ. Populist.' 'Convict anyone. Democrat.' Burns' favorite way of describing an unsatisfactory juror was to designate him as a 's—n of a b—h,' and lists are checked as 'S. B.' 'S. B.,' etc. Attached to the Polk County list found among Burns' papers is a slip bearing the following endorsement: 'Pat McArthur checked all on Polk County list who were good; checked on said list for s—s of b—s.'

"The Department also has Burns' original statements of adversely reported names, some in his own handwriting, others typewritten. Evidently Burns, or some one for him, had gone over the reports received and picked out the bad reports and had them typewritten. This was done county by county, with the exception of Multnomah County, concerning which reports are meager, and in practically every instance all of the names on these lists were left out, and occasionally were the only names left out from a particular county unless the name bore a circular check, which indicated that although the name appeared upon the list, yet for some reason the proposed juror would be satisfactory. The conclusion is obvious. It would have been a remarkable coincidence for the jury commissioners to have selected for rejection even from one county only the names which were reported upon adversely and which had been collected and typewritten as above stated, but when the situation obtains with substantial uniformity throughout all of the counties save one, it is impossible to reach any other conclusion than that Burns in some way, either with or without the actual knowledge of the jury commissioners, caused the selections to be made in conformity with his wishes. In view of the high regard in which Captain Sladen and the Jury Commis-

sioner were held and the positive statements made regarding the probity of these men, I am disposed to regard it as improbable that they really understood the nature or the extent of what was being done, but there is abundance of evidence, in my judgment, to show that the work was probably done by Burns acting in collusion with Marsh, who was Deputy Clerk at the time. It is noticeable that the positive statements of denial are chiefly in the nature of an assertion that neither Captain Sladen nor the Jury Commissioner could have been implicated in the affair. Even Burns in his first telegram does not reply directly, but says that there is no truth in the statements that Captain Sladen or Bush furnished him with the information; and Mr. Marsh's emphatic statements have been largely of a similar nature. Indeed, some of the information which Mr. Burns secured, and secured so promptly, it would seem could not have been obtained in any other way.

"It is impracticable to go into all the details of the corroborating evidence on this point, but if there were any doubt regarding Burns' connection with the affair and what he actually accomplished it would seem to be set at rest by his own telegram in cipher to Mr. W. Scott Smith, then Secretary to Hon. E. A. Hitchcock, the then Secretary of the Interior, on August 19, 1909, the very date the jury box was filled and on which the grand jury was drawn. The Department has this original telegram. It reads as follows:

"Jury commissioners cleaned out old box from which trial jurors were selected and put in 600 names, every one of which was investigated before they were placed in the box. This confidential."

"In addition to this an affidavit was received on the 12th instant from C. N. McArthur, who was one of Burns' agents in the field and afterwards Speaker of the House of Representatives of Oregon. Mr. McArthur makes a complete disclosure of the whole situation, which leaves no possible ground for doubt. Among other things he states that on or about July 25, 1905 (the jury box was filled August 17, 1905), Burns telephoned to him that he wished to see him in the District Attorney's office, and while there, and in the presence of Francis J. Heney, Burns handed him a typewritten list and said, as nearly as Mr. McArthur can remember: 'Here, Mac, is a list of prospective jurors from several counties. Take it, weed out the s—s of b—s who will not vote for conviction, and return it to me as soon as possible, for we are going to make up a new jury box, and we want to be sure that no man's name goes into the box unless we know that he will convict, for by G—d we are going to "get" Williamson this time, you can bet your sweet life, and we will send this whole d—d outfit to jail, where they belong. We

are going to "stack the cards" on them this time.' Mr. McArthur states that he became indignant and told Burns that such methods as he proposed were altogether improper and that no self-respecting man could be a party to them, and Burns replied: 'Any methods are justifiable in dealing with these s—s of b—s.' He states further that on or about September 1, 1905, he met Burns, and the latter said to him: 'Well, Mac, we weeded out the s—s of b—s, at least I think we did, and we will "get" Williamson this time, and by G—d we will get the whole d—d crowd. Old Sladen kicked like h—d because my men worked the lists over before they went to the jury commissioners, but it didn't do the old s—n of a b—h any good, and the corrected lists went in anyhow.'

"Mr. McArthur, it is to be remembered, was one of Burns' agents and furnished many of the reports which are on file in the Department. He claims, however, that he did so with great reluctance and under duress, and after much persuasion. He does not state the nature of the duress, but I am informed is willing to do so if you insist.

"There are also on file affidavits of persons who claim that they were induced through intimidation and threats to testify falsely in the Jones case. Such representations in the absence of other corroborating evidence would not be entitled to very great weight, but when it is considered how emphatic have been Mr. Burns' denials and his statements that the whole thing is a tissue of falsehoods from beginning to end, it is apparent, notwithstanding these denials, that the prosecution very probably resorted to intimidation of witnesses also.

"In line with these practices it is further shown that one of the defendants, with Jones, a man named Sorensen, while he was presumptively being tried by the Government, was in the active employment of Burns and received compensation from the Government under the name of George Edwards. In this way Burns kept tab on Jones and the latter relying upon Sorensen because he was a fellow defendant accepted as jurors persons to whom he would otherwise have objected.

"I need not go further in a recital of the high-handed, outrageous conduct on the part of officers of the prosecution in these cases. The Government can not properly countenance, nor is it expedient in these times of attacks upon courts and the judicial system of the United States, for it to lend its approval to any such procedure. In the light of the facts as they appear from the documents and reports before the Department, it does not seem to me that any person convicted of land frauds by a jury drawn from the box referred to had a fair and impartial

trial. For this reason I feel it my duty to advise you that in my judgment Willard N. Jones should receive a full and unconditional pardon. In this connection I should say that Mr. Burns has been given the fullest opportunity to make a statement. The Pardon Attorney went to New York and interviewed him by appointment, but could not obtain a statement from him, though he informed Mr. Burns that he had with him all of the documents that had been filed, and would be glad to show him every one and receive what comment he had to make. Thomas B. Neuhausen, Burns' right-hand man in the investigation, and also closely connected with Mr. Heney in the prosecution of the cases, has been given an opportunity to make a statement, the Pardon Attorney, informing him of the nature of the representations made and the documents filed and indicating the conclusions to which the documents unanswered and unexplained must lead. No reply has been received. Such statements as have been secured are of an evasive character or are directly contrary to the documentary evidence before the Department. Even Judge Gilbert has submitted an explanation of his former emphatic statement denying that the charges made could be true. The course of the Executive, however, seems to me to be clear, and that is, he can not countenance the methods employed in the prosecution of these cases by requiring an enforcement of the sentence imposed in the Jones case; and I think also and for the same reason a pardon should be granted to Franklin P. Mays, although my impression is that the man is really very guilty and deserving of punishment. Respectfully,

"GEO. W. WICKERSHAM,  
"Attorney-General of the United States."

The Secretary-Treasurer of the State Building Trades Council of California, one of the men indicted in the case, in his annual report for 1911 stated:

"In his private office in the Postoffice Building in Los Angeles, Mr. Lawler strongly intimated to witnesses subpoenaed before the Federal Grand Jury—men who were under indictment—that they would be immune from prosecution and possibly receive a substantial consideration if they would state that Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, knew that the McNamaras were guilty before they entered their pleas on December 1, 1911. Being informed by the witnesses referred to that they would not lie or perjure themselves to please anybody or to help any one's political ambition, the Special Prosecutor waxed eloquent and forthwith delivered a lecture on good citizenship. He wound up by telling them that they would have to take the consequences."

In the course of the trial when the District Attorney insisted that Burns had nothing to do with the trial, Attorney Rogers hotly retorted:

"Burns men are concerned in every detail of this case, even to hounding our witnesses and watching our office and using telephonic devices in our places. No man could truthfully deny that William J. Burns' men employed by the National Erectors' Association were behind this case in every particular.

"It's a matter of common knowledge that the United States in this district, through Oscar Lawler, and in other districts, has made a strenuous effort to connect Mr. Gompers and to bring his name in, and it is a matter of common knowledge from the evidence in this case, that the Federal Grand Jury in Indianapolis sent for this check book; that it came into court from Indianapolis, where they are investigating these other charges. It is our contention that this prosecution against Darrow is only a step against Gompers. Mr. Burns is announcing everywhere that he is going to get Gompers, if he can, through Darrow."

Such flashes and the tactics of the prosecution brought out the real meaning of the trial—the well-known struggle waged against organized labor by militant, hostile forces, behind whom stand the relentlessly antagonistic erectors and other employers' associations.

After the end of the McNamara trial, Clarence S. Darrow was indicted for bribery on charges entered by Bert H. Franklin, a detective, who had been in the employ of Mr. Darrow. Franklin confessed his complicity in the alleged jury bribing, stated that he had first been approached with a view to getting him to turn State's evidence by a Deputy United States Marshal and that later he had applied to the National Manufacturers' Association for employment, the association that had taken such a prominent part in the McNamara trial and has for years been the most bitter enemy of organized labor.

Throughout that trial repeated efforts were made to drag in the name of President Gompers, to get his name associated in the public mind with the crime, even though no complicity could be shown, since it does not exist. They attempted to show that the money used in the alleged bribery had been sent directly from President Gompers, though there was not one scintilla of evidence upon which to base such charges, and it is common knowledge that the President of the American Federation of Labor handles none of its funds.

Mr. Darrow said in his marvelous plea in his own defense:

"Only the infinite God can judge the human heart, and I never tried to judge. I never would do it, and hope I never shall, and when Harrington told me that if I would furnish evidence against Sam Gompers in their wild crusade to destroy the trades unions, so that men and women might toil longer for less reward, do you suppose I thought or hesitated or waited to draw my breath for a single moment? I had no information to give, but I had as much as Franklin or Harrington had. I could have told them any story that I saw fit. I could have purchased my liberty at the price of my honor, and then Ford would have said that I was a noble man, and that the fellow I was betraying was a Judas Iscariot."

And again Mr. Darrow reiterates the charge:

"Franklin told Watt and Steineman that the reason they wanted to get me was because I knew something about Gompers, and that if I said anything against Gompers they would let me go as they had let him go."

If any adequate conception could be given the world of the pressing, tremendous forces brought to bear upon the principals in the California trials, if the real history of the terrible affair could be disclosed to the world, the appalling disclosure of the methods of criminal big business would cause humanity to shudder and grow sick at heart.

The McNamara offense was a social crime. Thinking people who were made to realize the poisonous, miasmatic influences corrupting the atmosphere of industrial life, were well nigh overwhelmed by the weight of collective responsibility devolving upon them as a result of the existence of such conditions. The McNamaras were either criminally insane or insanely criminal—either condition due to imperfect education, incomplete education, or defective mentality. In any case, society is responsible for not remedying the conditions. What concerns labor and society generally are preventive measures and human betterment so that life and working conditions may be pure, wholesome and clean. Those infected by deadly social poisons, due to social neglect, are the heritage of our own sins and those of our fathers.

The financial report of the McNamara Defense Fund issued August 9, 1912, contains an itemized statement of all moneys received and from whom, as well as a statement showing amounts paid out, and to whom. This report was sent to

all contributors with the statement that they would be informed as to the disposition of the balance of the funds when that question shall have been determined.

One result of the deplorable affair has been to rouse all to serious consideration of social problems and to convince thinking people of the existence of dangerous tendencies that, unmodified, might foster and intensify class hatred and terminate in class clashes. Many of these citizens formulated their conception in a petition to Congress that the President be authorized to appoint a Federal commission on industrial relations to investigate and report relations existing between employers and employes, to discover and to point out the underlying cause of dissatisfaction in the industrial situation. Congress authorized the President to appoint such a commission. This matter is dealt with in full in another section of this report.

None felt more keenly than did the men of the organized labor movement the crime resulting in destruction of life and property. None regretted and deplored the crime more than we, and none were less responsible for its commission. Such work is not the mission of the American labor movement. This great humanizing movement has lived and will live to protect the workers, to enable them to attain higher and better things of life. The American labor movement is founded upon the inherent principles of justice and right. Its men are loyal—as loyal to the institutions of our republic as are the men in any walk of life. The unions of the workers have done so much for the material, moral and social uplift of the toilers, that they are indelibly impressed upon the hearts and minds, not only of the workers themselves, but of all earnest, intelligent, liberty-loving, fair-minded citizens of our country. The unions of labor will live on, ceaselessly striving for the betterment of all mankind.

#### A. F. of L. Publicity.

##### AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

In the convention of 1893 preambles and resolutions were adopted, from which we quote the following:

"RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor, with the advice of the Executive Council, be



and is hereby authorized to issue a monthly magazine for the discussion of labor and its interests in all its phases."

In March, 1894, the first issue of the American Federationist was published by the American Federation of Labor. It has been issued regularly each month from that time until the present. Of its service to the cause of Labor and humanity, all unite in agreement. It is not necessary here to describe the high plane upon which it has been conducted and issued; that, as we have said, is agreed to by common consent.

#### WEEKLY NEWS LETTER

The St. Louis Convention of 1910 authorized and directed the preparation and distribution of a Weekly News Letter, to be sent free of cost to all publications devoted to the cause of labor or of a reformatory character. It was in pursuance of those instructions that the first Weekly News Letter was issued April 8, 1911, and has appeared regularly each week from that time until this.

In pursuance of the instructions of the convention of 1911, the News Letter has been extended in scope and volume. Instead of continuing issuing it manifolded, it was issued in printed form, and under the provisions of the new law governing second class postal rates, the Weekly News Letter was so entered.

#### SHALL PUBLICATIONS BE CONSOLIDATED.

All organizations, institutions and interests realize the necessity of publicity. To none in our time is publicity so necessary as to trade union movement—to the American Federation of Labor.

Having these facts in mind, we are issuing the American Federationist monthly, the News Letter weekly, and in addition, pamphlets, leaflets and circulars, the latter now frequently being incorporated in the News Letter.

The question of a general literary medium dealing with the fundamental principles of the labor movement, of the work of the trade union movement, of its methods and achievements, of its trend, hopes and aspirations—all these are dealt with effectively in the American Federationist, perhaps not as effectively as would be done were larger means and opportunities at our command. The American Federationist has

been and is of great usefulness to the membership of organized labor in general; it has been continually quoted by organizers, leaders, students of economic, political, moral and social questions of our time; it can be made of still greater usefulness.

The Weekly News Letter has disseminated the current events and achievements and movements of the day. It has given effective service to the labor and reform publications, has acted as a medium of news for them and has been the feeder to their support.

We have considered the question as to the relation of the News Letter to the American Federationist, the efficiency of both, the effective service which each renders to our movement and our cause, and the possibility of their consolidation into one publication to be known as the American Federationist and to be issued weekly, with the possibility of whether in the weekly issues it should not be only a news letter, but a comprehensive trade union publication, containing the news upon the field of the activity of the organized workers in America and the world over—all forms of work of a reformatory and uplift character, with such editorials and comment as may be timely and appropriate, or, whether the American Federationist, issued weekly, containing editorials and comments one issue of the month, and in the other weekly issues containing purely news matter.

Your attention has already been called to the fact that we have given this subject consideration in all of its phases, but we are not prepared to make definite, final recommendations thereon. It should be stated that if the American Federationist, with its news letter feature, is to be issued weekly, it is the intention that the publication should reach our labor and reform press about three days in advance of their respective dates of publication, just as is the case with the Weekly News Letter now, so that the labor and reform publications might have advance, or at least contemporaneous, opportunities of publishing the news features with the weekly publication of the American Federationist.

Attention should be called also to the fact that prior to the issuance of the American Federationist, the American

Federation of Labor published its financial reports quarterly in pamphlet form and forwarded copies to all international unions, state federations, city central bodies and directly affiliated locals. When the American Federationist was founded, the Constitution was so changed as to direct the publication of the monthly accounts of the A. F. of L. therein, and that copies of the American Federationist should be sent to all affiliated bodies.

If the American Federationist is to be published weekly, there is no reason why the financial accounts cannot be published each month in one of its issues. What we recommend to the Convention is:

That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and empowered to make a further investigation of the subject matter of consolidating the Weekly News Letter with the American Federationist, and to issue it weekly with such general instructions as are contained in the resolutions of the conventions of 1893 and of 1910 and having in mind the constitutional provision regarding the publication of the American Federation of Labor's financial transactions, and that if the Executive Council shall deem such consolidation and change expedient and advantageous, it shall have the authority to carry the same into effect.

#### **A. F. of L. Office Building.**

The Atlanta Convention authorized the Executive Council to carry into effect any plan for the erection of an A. F. of L. office building within the limit of the instructions of previous conventions. From time to time during the year we have inspected various building sites which have been offered for sale to the A. F. of L. for its office building. We authorized the resident members of the E. C., together with the officers of the Departments and the A. F. of L. Legislative Committee, to hold a conference for the purpose of considering ways and means of raising funds for the erection of a building, and also to consider the matter of a suitable site. It was the unanimous judgment of all who participated in the conference that an A. F. of L. office building, a Labor Temple befitting the work, character and dignity of organized labor, would be of great

moral and sentimental value to the work in which our movement is engaged.

Having these matters in consideration, together with the cost of such sites as were offered to us for possible purchase, and the limited amount of money at the disposal of the A. F. of L. to be applied to the erection of an office building, we have as yet been unable to reach any definite conclusion in the matter. We recommend, however, that authority be given to your Executive Council to further consider this matter during the coming year, with power to issue an appeal and inaugurate such project or projects which may result in obtaining the necessary funds with which to erect a Labor Temple, an office building for the American Federation of Labor, its Departments, and such other affiliated organizations whose headquarters are located in the Capital of the nation.

#### **Securing A. F. of L. Funds.**

The Secretary and Treasurer of the Federation in their reports have fully covered the subject of the A. F. of L. funds. In connection therewith, we direct your attention to the fact that by arrangement with a bank in Bloomington, Illinois, in which the A. F. of L. funds are deposited, a Bonding Company has guaranteed the funds.

#### **Boy Scout Movement.**

At the Atlanta Convention a resolution was introduced condemning the boy scout organization and the boy scout movement, which, after due deliberation, was referred to the Executive Council for investigation and for report thereon to this Convention.

The American Boy Scouts was introduced into this country some years ago. The movement originated in England. This movement was transported in its entirety and without any changes. The scouts were required to learn military drills and use the rifle. The scout organization in England originated with Lieutenant-General Baden-Powell. It followed closely the South African War that had alarmed England as to her future fighting stock. The movement appeared to be military cabal, as the scouts were being trained to arms and inured to the priva-

tions of camp life. There are about 400,000 boys organized in England and in her colonies. The founders of the movement in this country suggested the organization of the American Boy Scouts as a national institution.

Prominent workers for boy welfare attended meetings and helped to launch the movement which rapidly spread to other cities and towns. Their efforts met with hearty support from prominent men throughout the country.

Instruction for the boy scouts included the rudiments of military training, camping, cooking, signalling, woodcraft, sanitation, first aid to the injured, swimming, boating, the rescue of persons from the water, fire, etc. Special achievements were rewarded by certificates and medals. Official uniforms were adopted. Military terms were used in connection with organization, such as enlisting and recruiting, drummers and trumpeters were encouraged to join the organization. In addition to the games and drills, there was the boy scout law, which, with the scout oath, made up the code. The second section of the scout law contained the following sentences: "A scout is loyal to his parents, to his superiors, to his country and to his employers. He must stick to them through thick and thin against everyone who is their enemy or even talks badly of them."

This organization of the scouts became very popular and attracted much attention, although exact information of its aims and purposes was not generally known. The attention of organized labor was attracted to the movement by two characteristics; its tendency to foster militarism and possible interference with organized labor. Its military tendencies were emphasized by the expressions of those who were backing it so that its chief purpose seemed to be that of a feeder to the army. Military ideals were held up to impressionable youths. The possibility of its antagonism to labor organizations by using and training the boys as strike breakers was brought out by two illustrations. At Des Moines, Iowa, boy scouts were used to break a strike of bootblacks who wished to increase their prices. At Ironton, Mo., a scout musical band was organized which competed with a band of organized musicians. In Chicago, some of the teachers

in the public schools who were organized in the Chicago Teachers' Federation, became alarmed at tendencies and appointed a committee to investigate the organization and its purposes, but this committee was not permitted to attend any of the meetings of the officials. Accordingly the Teachers' Federation, after making all observations and investigation possible, adopted resolutions condemning the organization, because of its military nature, and because it appointed as teachers of immature boys persons not required to conform to the usual qualifications and standards, and because it placed instruction that properly belonged to the public schools under outside jurisdiction. The Chicago Federation of Labor also passed resolutions condemning the movement.

At the May meeting of the Executive Council, held in Washington, representatives of the boy scout movement, Mr. James E. West, the Executive Secretary of New York, and Mr. E. S. Martin, the Executive Secretary of Washington, appeared before the Council, explained the movement and filed documents. This conference and the data filed brought out the following facts:

There are in the United States two boy scout movements: The American Boy Scouts and the Boy Scouts of America. The ideals and activities of the Boy Scouts of America are for peace and the building up of body, mind and character. The rifle is not a part of their equipment. It seems that in the launching of the movement, as a result of increasing and insistent demands for information from all over the country, that a manual was hastily prepared for use. In this rather unwise haste the manual was taken bodily from that used in England and was not carefully edited. As a result, there appeared in the manual considerable emphasis on militarism, and the section just quoted which roused organized labor. As soon as popular criticism called the attention of the Executive Board to these objections, the Board directed that the plates of the book be changed as soon as possible.

Either these matters had been allowed to creep into the organization through oversight or failure to consider all their bearings, or popular criticism had convinced the leaders that a change of ideals

was necessary to adapt the movement to American boys. Changes were made in some of the scout laws and requirements, those containing the references to implicit loyalty and obedience to employers, which were most offensive to labor, were changed entirely. The clause which stated: "A scout is loyal to the President and to his officers and to his parents, his country and employers, he must stick to them through thick and thin against anyone who is their enemy and who even talks badly of them," was changed to read: "A scout is loyal, is loyal to all to whom loyalty is due; his scout leader, his home and parents and country." Another clause, which read: "A scout obeys orders from his parents, patrol leaders and scout masters without question," was revised to read: "A scout is obedient, he obeys his parents, scout master, patrol leader, and all other duly constituted authorities." Whatever the reason for the change, the revision removes the serious objection that the organization was intended to breed strike breakers.

The objection to the organization on the ground of encouraging militarism is not so clearly refuted. It is quite evident that though the letter of the constitution and by-laws may not openly favor military training, the spirit of the organization could very readily develop that tendency and could endow military purposes and ideals with a glamor that would allure many an American boy. Then, too, the lecture given in this country last winter by General Baden-Powell under the auspices of the Boy Scouts of America upon the subject of "Scouting in War and Peace," seems to indicate friendly relations with that organization and to clearly emphasize the ultimate military purposes of the organization, for which General Baden-Powell himself stands.

In a letter which Mr. James E. West wrote to Mr. Owen Miller, Secretary of the American Federation of Musicians, in regard to the difficulties which arose in St. Louis, it is stated:

"It is only fair that I should correct one statement in your letter with reference to the American Boy Scouts. That organization is still in existence, although practically all of the branches throughout the country have become affiliated with this organization. There are, however, a number of unattached groups

which are working practically without supervision. They drill with rifles, and in fact most of their activities are purely military. To this we are radically opposed."

It is not quite clear just what Mr. West implies by saying that branches of that old organization have affiliated with his organization. It is not plain whether or not these affiliated branches have ceased all connection with the older organization.

As to the specific charges of hostility to labor organizations, the following replies were made: In regard to the Des Moines incident, it was said that the bootblacks were Greek boys who were endeavoring to take advantage of a temporary increase in demand due to a fair, and increased their charges from five cents to ten cents. A scout leader who was rather indignant at the attempt at what he termed "extortion," impulsively asserted that he could supply enough bootblacks from his boy scouts to do all the work at the old price. Mr. West asserted that there was no strike or labor difficulty involved and that the speaker did not intend to imply any avowed policy of opposition to labor organizations as such. The incident was purely local and did not represent the ideals and purposes of the movement.

Referring to the Ironton band, he stated that he had known nothing of the affair until the incident was called to his attention, and that it was not the purpose of the organization to encourage the organization of scout bands, and it certainly did not approve of the organization of such bands for the purpose of competition. It was simply a case of a local authority failing to carry out the spirit and the ideals of the national movement.

In regard to the resolutions of the Chicago teachers, it is possible that in this case also the ground for opposition was occasioned by lack of harmony between the local authorities and the avowed purposes and intent of the organization. The argument of the teachers that the work done by the boy scout organization in nature study, wood craft, physical culture and ethics belongs to the teachers and the school, is not altogether convincing. It is true that some of the more progressive schools have at-

tempted something along these lines, but the greater proportion of the schools outside of the large cities do very little of this work. This is due to lack of funds, and to the low salaries paid the teachers, so that well equipped and efficient instructors are not secured. While to incorporate all of these lines in a full and complete education may be the ideal toward which the schools are working, very few have attained this ideal and there seems no present prospect of its universal attainment. In the meanwhile, if these different objects can be worked out by some outside organization, their practicability and feasibility fully demonstrated, their usefulness in child development fully illustrated, it will be much easier for the public to demand that they be made part of the ordinary school curriculum and that teachers trained in these lines be employed.

If the full responsibility of instructing the youth of our country in morals and ethics be placed upon the public schools under their present organization, the load might be more than they could carry. At present it is impossible to keep the boys and girls under their constant supervision. During the months of summer vacation, as well as during that part of the day not spent in the school, there is absolutely no control. If some outside organization can supplement this moral and ethical instruction, the American school boy will be the gainer. Under the present organization a great majority of the teachers are women, and it would not be practicable to expect them to lead the boys in cross country "hikes," outdoor gymnastics and camp life. To be sure, the change would lead to training and employment of more qualified teachers, or to the utilization of the present force in the school. But it should be noted that many of the leaders of the boy scouts are the trained, active and efficient men teachers in the public schools, so that after all the school still has an influence in the boy scout movement which should be increased and developed.

The boy scout movement seems to be one phase of a larger movement, sometimes termed the "simple life," the purpose of which is to counteract the injurious effects of our increasingly complex civilization and method of living. The

idea is to get back to the elemental things, to close contact with the earth, forest and water, to develop a strong vigorous physique so that the boy may know the pure joy of mere living, and as a strong, healthy animal be able to take care of himself under all circumstances without artificial assistance. Our artificial method of living and the strain of modern industry have so taxed the physical endurance of the race that scientists have been constantly warning us that we must conserve our physical resources or the race will deteriorate. The boy scout movement rightly directed will help to solve this problem.

Another present ideal of the organization is to develop all of the good qualities resulting from military life without the attendant evils of militarism. To gain these results, boys are taught to regard as sports the stalking of animals to learn their customs, to catch a picture of them in their native haunts, exploring, etc. There is much about the activities of the organization that would serve as a school for training the imagination, such as the emphasis laid on legends, animal life, the weird mystery of the camp fire, the long nights spent in the open with only the stars overhead and the winds telling strange stories of the stream and forest and hillside. These things bring out the poetry of life and the poetry of the world, and serve as an antidote for much of our too practical civilization.

The movement seizes the keenest interests of the boys of the adolescent age and directs them toward pure and simple things, and in this way keeps them away from much of the evil and impure that would otherwise occupy their thoughts and time. It deals with the problems of child training by the simple process of substituting good things for evil things and crowding out what would be detrimental. The lists of activities, any one of which each scout may pursue in order to win distinction, is a very wide one, and includes almost every form of useful human activity.

The ideals of the movement seem to be well chosen and calculated to develop poise, self confidence and comradeship among the boys. Of course, in any organization of such a size and scope, there

is a chance for the machinery to be misused by some of the agents selected. This is true of any organization, for only through the human agency can any ideal be realized, and in dealing with each human agent the personal equation will modify more or less the purposes and instructions of the officials. Wherever there is a great chance for good to be done there is also a great chance for evil to result through mismanagement. The causes for complaint and objection have so far been purely local. On the whole, however, the officials seem amenable to suggestion and desirous of doing what the public demands.

The officials have expressed a desire to shape the ideals and practices of the movement to accord with the aims and ideals of organized labor. The boy scout movement is now in the formative period; it is daily gaining in popularity and influence; it promises to have great power in boy life, for good or evil. Whether this power shall be directed toward militarism or toward idealizing the advocations and pursuits pertaining to peace and civic and social uplift, is now to be determined. The movement has features and tendencies that can now be turned in either direction. If organizations working to promote the general uplift, endeavoring to develop the best that is in humanity, should endorse the movement, it will be within their power to keep the boy scout movement away from militarism, in the direction of pure, wholesome ideals. If we keep in touch with the movement we may be able to shape and direct it; if we condemn it, we shall find more difficulty in defeating the military tendencies that can so easily develop and dominate the movement, and thereby exert a far reaching and potent influence in boy life.

Much of the work the boy scout is doing, might and should be under the control and supervision of the public school system. There is a growing demand throughout the length and breadth of the land, that the scope and ideals of education should be widened and adapted to needs of all of the children; that the school may not only serve for the training of the mind and for cultural purposes, but shall train the children to conserve and control their resources—mental, physical and moral; that the school shall

not only prepare for future life and work, but shall enter into and direct in the best channels, child life, interests and ideals. The possibilities open to the school for influencing standards of honor and ethics is a function that cannot be too strongly or gravely emphasized. We cannot recommend too heartily that every facility for education, for the conservation and development of the physical, mental and moral faculties be afforded to every child within our country. We are just beginning to catch a glimpse of the development possible under proper direction and control. This is the full duty of the school—let it enter into its heritage.

We recommend that the American Federation of Labor, do not denounce the boy scout movement; that on the contrary, the officers of the A. F. of L. shall keep in constant touch with that movement so as to prevent its activities or purposes being directed toward any military movement, or militarism in any form, and that in matters affecting the rights and interests of the working people, that the boy scout movement be urged to a constantly closer sympathetic attitude toward the organized labor movement in its work and struggle for the achievement of a higher material, political, moral and social standard for the toilers of our country.

#### Combining Official Reports to Conventions.

The Executive Council has had under consideration a suggestion of our President in which we not only concur, but recommend for adoption. Under the system which has prevailed in our Federation since its inception, the laws have required that the President, Secretary, Treasurer and the Executive Council shall each submit a report to our annual conventions. By reason of this custom it has frequently occurred that many of the subjects with which these officers have dealt in their reports have been duplicated, and, in some instances, triplicated. This feature is not necessarily an evil, though it may be a lack of conserving the time of the conventions. But quite apart from this feature, though it has not arisen in the past, there is a likelihood of its occurring in the future, of individual conflicting expression of judgment and recommendation. It is the opinion of the Executive Council, in

which all its members concur, that the report submitted to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor should be the expression of the judgment of the collective opinion of the men entrusted with the affairs of labor rather than any individual judgment of any individual officer thereof. We hold that the organized labor movement, as represented in the American Federation of Labor, is an entity and after a thorough discussion of all the subjects which come under the consideration of our conventions, there should be reported to the following conventions of the American Federation of Labor not only the activities of its executive and fiduciary officers, but the combined report of the activities, of the expression of judgment and of the recommendations to the convention.

It is therefore the unanimous recommendation of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. that our laws be so changed as to eliminate from the Constitution and the custom, the requirement that either the President, the Secretary, or the Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor shall report individually to the future conventions, and that the reports or recommendations of the President, Secretary and Treasurer shall, after scrutiny and determination, be incorporated in or become a part of the report of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. We recommend that this subject matter be referred to the Committee on Laws of this Convention for its consideration and report to this Convention.

### **Election of A. F. of L. Officers by Initiative and Referendum.**

#### **Investigation of Subject.**

The Atlanta convention after considerable discussion adopted the following resolutions:

**"RESOLVED** That we favor the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor by the referendum vote of the membership of the affiliated unions who are paid up and in good standing, if after thorough investigation, mature and deliberate consideration, it is found to be practicable and for the best interests of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it further

**"RESOLVED**, That the question of the practicability and desirability of electing the officers of the American Federation of Labor by referendum vote be referred to the Executive Council for investigation, with the understanding that they report on this subject to the next an-

nual convention for its consideration."

After discussing these instructions at our first meeting of the year and the best method to ascertain the information upon the election of the A. F. of L. officers by the system of the Initiative and Referendum, we directed President Gompers and Secretary Morrison to secure all the data that could be obtained from all sources, particularly from the organized labor movement of America and of some European countries; for, after all, the knowledge and experience of affiliated and unaffiliated organizations of labor in the election of their officers by the Initiative and Referendum system, if any, would necessarily largely influence the judgment and action as to whether the application of this system would be feasible, practical, or possible in the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor. Comprehensive blanks and letters accompanying were prepared and sent to all such organizations, the information sought covering the following principal points of inquiry:

The makeup of the organization;

The method of electing officers, whether by convention, or the Initiative and Referendum;

The frequency of such elections;

The terms of offices;

If elections are by the Initiative and Referendum, the method employed;

If established, whether it had been maintained or abandoned;

If established, the methods used to safeguard the right of members to vote in elections, to prevent repetition of voting, to secure the faithful accounting and report of canvassers or inspectors of election, and their faithful and accurate returns to some central point;

The opportunity of the rank and file to ascertain the fitness of officers for the positions to which they aspire;

Whether voting is compulsory;

The cost of such election;

An expression of opinion as to the desirability or prac-

ticability of electing the officers of the A. F. of L. by the Initiative and Referendum.

A copy of the circular letter and a copy of the blank containing the questions are in the hands of the Executive Council and may be consulted by any committee or delegate to this convention.

It required much correspondence and great painstaking work to tabulate and classify the replies which have been received. We have a tabulated statement, but for clearer comprehension we submit the following condensed statement from reports of the officers of American international unions and organizations of several other countries, which show the methods and manner in which the officers of these organizations are elected, and the expression of opinion in regard to the entire subject matter:

#### **Affiliated Organizations.**

**ASBESTOS WORKERS**—Officers are elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Doubtful as to practicability of use of referendum system in A. F. of L.

**BAKERY AND CONFECTIONERY WORKERS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, three years. Laws enacted by referendum and convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$500; 50 to 75 per cent of membership voting. Voting is compulsory. Believes that the growing sentiment prevailing amongst the American people for the introduction of the initiative and referendum in matters pertaining to the State absolutely requires its introduction in the American Federation of Labor. As to whether it can be practicable within the American Federation of Labor must be left to a fair trial. However, its practical operation requires a more uniform method in referendum and election in all of the affiliated organizations of the A. F. of L. Introduction of the initiative and referendum in the A. F. of L. would either force such uniform methods or would prove itself impracticable so far as the A. F. of L. is concerned.

**BARBERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, five years. Laws enacted by convention. Understands that those organizations that have initiative and referendum systems have them in name only, as is best attested

to by the percentage of members who vote when referendum vote is taken. Information received in past shows that great percentage of votes was cast through the influence of some member and was not the clear expression of thought of each individual member. The initiative and referendum as put in practice in the present day is only a misnomer.

**BILL POSTERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

**BLACKSMITHS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. There are two sides to the referendum. It can be a benefit to a labor organization or it can be a detriment, and unless it is properly safeguarded it can be used to thwart the very purpose for which the referendum is intended. Suggest that if a referendum is adopted a percentage vote should prevail and that 60% should be the basis.

**BOILER MAKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization: printing and mailing charges. Never had 50% of membership voting; voting is not compulsory. It is an utter impossibility to elect officers in the A. F. of L. by a referendum system.

**BOOKBINDERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

**BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum; 5 to 13 per cent of membership voting. To use referendum vote for election of officers of A. F. of L. was considered at a meeting of the General Executive Board of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union held in Boston, June 24 to 29, 1912, and the General Secretary-Treasurer was directed to notify the American Federation of Labor that the General Board was not in a position to give an expression of the entire membership, which could only be secured at a convention of the union; but in the opinion of the Board, as viewed from the standpoint of experience of the



Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, and realizing the difficulties that would be encountered in the American Federation of Labor because many of the organizations have no machinery or method by which a proper vote could be taken, the plan to elect officers in the American Federation of Labor by referendum system would appear to be impracticable. Prior to June, 1909, while the initiative and referendum system of election was in vogue, the percentage of membership voting in the elections averaged from 5 to 13 per cent.

**BREWERY WORKMEN**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum and convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$350; 75 per cent of membership voting. Voting is compulsory. In our opinion election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum is equally as practicable as in our own organization.

**BRICK, TILE AND TERRA COTTA WORKERS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$40. About 70 per cent of membership voting. Voting is not compulsory. If the initiative and referendum form of vote is adopted the A. F. of L. would have to make clear what constitutes a legal voter, good standing, etc. International laws on this question differ and might cause confusion.

**BRIDGE AND STRUCTURAL IRON WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by referendum. Does not approve of election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

**BROOM AND WHISK MAKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office two years. Laws enacted by referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

**BRUSHMAKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

**CARPENTERS AND JOINERS**—Officers nominated in convention and elected by referendum vote; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Cost of referendum system to organiza-

tion, \$24,000. About ¼ per cent of membership voting. Voting is not compulsory. Election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum would not be practicable for many reasons, chiefly because of the enormous expense that would be entailed. Under the present method of electing the officers the candidates as a general rule are well known to a majority of the delegates, or at least the delegates know something of their qualifications and when an organization has confidence enough in a man to send him as a delegate to the conventions of the A. F. of L. they have sufficient confidence in him to believe that he will cast his vote for the man best suited for the office.

**CARRIAGE AND WAGON WORKERS**—Executive Board and Board of Trustees chosen from the locals in the city where headquarters are located by votes of members of these locals; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. The election of officers of the A. F. of L. could be successfully put in practice, as in the inauguration of every new system, there have to be amendments from time to time to meet the requirements and to protect such a system. There is a chance with a system of referendum to arouse an extra amount of interest among the workers, which would naturally result in the betterment of the movement.

**CARVERS, WOOD**—Branches are nominated and a branch is chosen by referendum of the members, then officers are elected by members of the branch chosen; term of office, three years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. In favor of election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

**CEMENT WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Do not use the initiative and referendum system; have had no experience, nor has the necessary consideration been given to it to submit any opinion.

**CIGARMAKERS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, five years. Laws enacted by convention, initiative and referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$5,000; 79 per cent of membership voting; 50 cents fine per member not voting. An organization, such as the A. F.

of L., to be successful should be properly officered. The selection of officers should never be trusted to any haphazard, go-as-you-please system. A great many of the members have seen only a few of the officers of the A. F. of L. and the great mass don't see any of those who might aspire to and might be most capable of properly officering the A. F. of L., and after all the A. F. of L. having granted strict autonomy to each constituent or affiliated National and International Union, the officers of the A. F. of L. have not, do not, and cannot interfere with the economic, shop or craft conditions of affiliating unions, and for that reason there is no necessity, or right, even if it were practicable for the rank and file to participate in the election of officers of the A. F. of L. If the National and International Unions were subordinate to and gave the right to the A. F. of L. officers to interfere in organic affairs, trade disputes and other matters, there might be some justification in their claims to vote for such officers. While I believe in self-government, I believe the delegates to the A. F. of L. by virtue of the fact that they go to the conventions, see the other delegates, hear the reports read, hear the debates, and see the votes, are best qualified to select the proper officers.

**CLERKS, RETAIL**—Officers elected by initiative and referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**CLOTH HAT AND CAP MAKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office one year. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**COMMERCIAL TELEGRAPHERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention, initiative and referendum. Average of 30 per cent of membership voting. Inasmuch as the A. F. of L. is a delegate body with limited powers and the tendency of the Federation is against the centralization of power, any proposition to establish the initiative and referendum for the election of officers must be preceded by a policy of centralization. To this we are opposed.

We are in favor of the initiative and referendum and would like to see it in general use. We have repeatedly extended the practice to subordinate unions of this organization where possible during the last ten years, and are doing so whenever the opportunity permits. During all this time, the highest percentage of votes cast by those affected did not reach 60 per cent, the average is below 30 per cent, which is not convincing proof of its advantages. And this is upon questions in which the members are vitally interested. Now, it has been our experience to find many international officers of unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. who do not understand that the Federation is not a sovereign body, but a delegate body. I venture the assertion that this ignorance reaches very large proportions among the rank and file of the labor movement. (Needless to say that the non-unionist, including many news writers are densely ignorant on this subject.) Under these circumstances it is hard to imagine how the I. R. & R. could be put into effect in the A. F. of L. without destroying it as a delegate body and making it a sovereign organization and ruin it.

**COMPRESSED AIR WORKERS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**COOPERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. Election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum could not be successfully inaugurated.

**CUTTING DIE MAKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**DIAMOND WORKERS**—Officers elected by initiative and referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum; 85 to 90 per cent of membership voting. Voting is not compulsory. Has not been affiliated long enough with A. F. of L. to form any opinion in regard to election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

**ELECTRICAL WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, four years. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. Think the election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum is impracticable. One reason, on account of it being composed of Internationals who in turn send delegates to Central Bodies and State Federations, therefore Central Bodies and State Federations would be deprived of vote on account of delegates having right to vote in their local unions.

**ELEVATOR CONSTRUCTORS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, three years. Laws enacted by convention. Do not consider the proposition of electing officers of the A. F. of L. by referendum vote to be practicable or possible in any degree.

**ENGINEERS, STEAM**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**ENGRAVERS, WATCH CASE**—Officers elected by initiative and referendum; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$1.50; 36 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. Election of officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum is a very practicable method and should have been in force a number of years, as it is the best argument we could put up for the initiative and referendum and recall of State officers, national officers and the judiciary.

**FIRE MEN, STATIONARY**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. We have had the matter of initiative and referendum brought up by some of our delegates at each one of our conventions and so far each convention has decided against it.

**FOUNDRY EMPLOYES**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, three years. Laws enacted by convention. Opposed to the system of electing officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

**FREIGHT HANDLERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. The use of the initiative and referendum in our

organization in electing officers of the A. F. of L. would be unwise. Many of our members are not at all acquainted with or even have not possibly ever seen the name of many very worthy men in the labor movement who might aspire to be and would fill the positions creditably of officers of the A. F. of L. The delegate system, we believe as far as our organization is concerned, is preferable to the initiative and referendum system, as the men we send to conventions of the A. F. of L. are more in touch with the labor movement than the average member of our organization usually is and can have a better idea of the fitness of men aspiring for office in the Federation than if left to the rank and file.

**GARMENT WORKERS, UNITED**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. Less than 1-3 of membership voting. Opposed to election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum. The men best fitted to make laws and elect officers for any international organization are the men who act as delegates to convention. They are usually the workers and know what is best for the organization.

**GARMENT WORKERS LADIES**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. The election of the officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum is not practicable and not desirable, for the following reasons: the difficulty in getting an honest counting of the votes. The smaller organizations have no chance of having their wishes and desires attended to as they are swamped by the large vote of the larger locals. The difficulty of changing officers is very great since the new men are unknown outside of their locality, while the old officers can retain their position through their influence. It is absurd for people to vote for officers whom they have never seen and know absolutely very little about.

**GLASS BOTTLE BLOWERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Our Association believes that the same policy should be continued in electing the officers of the American Federation of Labor as has been the custom in the past.

**GLASS WORKERS, AMALGAMATED—**Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

**GLOVE WORKERS—**Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Believes that a practical system of election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum can be established the same as it has been established by other large organizations.

**GRANITE CUTTERS—**President elected by initiative and referendum; other Executive Council members elected by branches where headquarters are located; term of office, President, four years; members Executive Council, one year; 50 per cent of membership voting; 25 cents fine for not voting. The failure or shortcoming of the initiative and referendum in the election of officers is that popular men are supported for election, irrespective of their ability to perform their duty. In the initiative and referendum in municipal, State or national elections voters have generally co-equal knowledge of the personnel, ability and adaptability of candidates for election. This knowledge is reduced in national or international elections of officers of trade or labor associations, because members of a branch or local, far remote from the locality where a candidate may live, have less opportunity of knowing the personnel, ability or adaptability of candidates for election. They may know of them if they have a trade journal, and the candidates have been frequent writers therein, but otherwise they have not the same opportunity of knowing their status as if the election were discussed in the daily press every day for months before election, and where the private and public life of nominees is laid bare with the virtue of giving nominees and their friends daily opportunity for reply. The utility of the first named idea would be further reduced in election of officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum. If there were quite a number of nominations for each office, each affiliated association might or might not name a well known officer of its own organization who might be well known to the membership of that organization, but to an-

other organization might be almost unknown, especially as to his ability to deal with detailed as well as general questions of the great labor movement. If nominating and electing A. F. of L. officers were to be by wide open initiative and referendum, any affiliated organization might have from one to fifty nominees for each office. This would be cause for a qualification that one affiliated organization should be limited to one or two nominees for each office, and should in the first place decide in that association who its limit of nominees would be; or it would require perpetual motion in election of officers, for if a majority vote were essential, it would take too long to elect, and if a majority vote were not required a man might be elected who only represented a small minority. Then again, what would a Tampa cigar maker, for instance, know about a building tradesman in Vancouver; or what would a shingle weaver in the northwest know about a metal tradesman in New England?

**GRINDERS, POCKET KNIFE BLADE—**Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by Executive Board and convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

**HATTERS, UNITED—**Officers elected by convention; term of office, four years. Laws enacted by Board of Directors and referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

**HOD CARRIERS AND COMMON LABORERS—**Officers elected by convention; term of office, five years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Voting is not compulsory. Doubts practicability of election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum. Reports would not be complete, or rather only a part of the membership would return votes.

**HORSE SHOERS—**Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Does not approve of election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

**HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES—**Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Voting is not compulsory. The introduction of the

election of officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum would entail an expense entirely unwarranted. There is no demand on the part of our members to engraft such a method on the A. F. of L. We do not elect our own officers by referendum and probably never will. Our experience with what we call referendum voting has been rotten. We have used every known device except penalizing our members to secure a fair measure of action and votes, but we have failed miserably.

**IRON AND STEEL WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. The last convention of the Association instructed its representatives to favor the initiative and referendum in the election of officers of the A. F. of L. The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers having adopted the initiative and referendum at their last convention held in Chicago, Ill., May, 1912, and the same never having been put into operation, it is impossible to give an opinion as to its workings in the organization.

**JEWELRY WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by referendum. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**LACE OPERATIVES**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**LATHERS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention and initiative and referendum. Cost of referendum system in election of officers in 1911, \$467.65; about 1-3 of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. It would not be practicable to undertake to elect officials of the A. F. of L. through the referendum. If the officers of the A. F. of L. were to be elected, through the referendum, the election of all organizations should be held on the same date or there should not be more than a week's leeway in which the different organizations could register their votes. Under a referendum the A. F. of L. would have no means of knowing who of those that cast ballots were eligible for that purpose; it would be

dependent absolutely upon the fairness of the national officers of each national organization as well as the local officers of every local union from which votes are sent in, and it is our experience that locals will take a chance of having votes get by and allow men to vote who have absolutely no right to cast a vote. There is no demand or sentiment calling for the election of A. F. of L. officers through the medium of a referendum, at least I have never heard of any such expressions from the men with whom I have associated in recent years.

**LAUNDRY WORKERS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$100; 75 per cent of the membership voting. Making voting compulsory is left to locals. A well attended convention is the proper place to elect officers, but in case an organization cannot hold a representative convention the referendum is preferable.

**LEATHER WORKERS ON HORSE GOODS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention; 30 per cent of membership voting. Voting is not compulsory. Do not believe it possible for our members to intelligently determine the fitness or to acquire a general knowledge relative to the qualifications, habits of the numerous candidates for office, if the initiative and referendum was adopted in the election of the officers of the A. F. of L. We do not wish to be understood as casting any reflection upon the intelligence of the members, but we cannot conceive of any effective means whereby this defect could be overcome.

**LEATHER WORKERS' AMALGAMATED**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. If the system of election of officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum was inaugurated by the A. F. of L. it would increase the work of the Secretary to a considerable extent. It would be necessary for all candidates aspiring to office to have their names sent to the Executive Board or to the Secretary, at least four months previous to the convention, in order to have their names printed on the ballot, have those for-

warded to each local and have them returned to the Secretary before the convention. I believe this matter should be left to the decision of the Executive Board. I believe that the delegates who attend your convention have always used their best judgment in selecting its officers as has undoubtedly been proven.

**LITHOGRAPHERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by referendum; 60 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**LITHOGRAPHIC PRESS FEEDERS**—No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**LONGSHOREMEN**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Do not believe it possible to procure a representative expression by a referendum system in the A. F. of L.

**MACHINE PRINTERS AND COLOR MIXERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Should it become necessary to put in practice the initiative and referendum vote in the election of the A. F. of L. officers, it could be granted to such affiliated bodies as are in good standing, for all of those members to vote a ballot for any candidate the voter thought a proper and fit party for such office, the votes having the seal of local union attached.

**MACHINISTS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$1,050. Nearly 50 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. Favorable to election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

**MAINTENANCE OF WAY EMPLOYEES**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Do not believe election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum would be practicable to obtain a result within a reasonable time owing to the fact that our people are continuously on the move and we are unable to communicate directly with many of them without considerable delay.

**MARBLE WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Think election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum could be arranged for if necessary, but would not get full vote.

**MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, four years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. Voting not compulsory. Thinks it is absolutely impossible to get a fair expression. Our experience with the initiative and referendum in legislative matters has been that less than 20 per cent of our membership will vote. The attempt to elect the officers of the A. F. of L. by the initiative and referendum would prove an absolute failure. While the more highly skilled crafts may have a system whereby they can operate the initiative and referendum successfully, those like the Butcher Workmen, which is composed of 90 per cent common labor, and a large proportion of those made up of foreigners entirely ignorant of these methods, makes it absolutely impossible to have a successful initiative and referendum. On the propositions that have been sent out from the general office to be voted on by the membership, not 20 per cent of the membership voted; in fact only about 40 per cent of the locals paid any attention to them at all; hence the present system of the election of officers of the A. F. of L. is far preferable to attempting the initiative and referendum.

**METAL POLISHERS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$500; 70 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**METAL WORKERS, SHEET**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Deems plan of election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum altogether impracticable. Delegates in convention are surely in better position to judge as to a man's fitness than is an individual member whose acquaintance and vision is limited to his own organization.

**MINE WORKERS, UNITED**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted

ed by convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$5,362.26; 60 per cent of membership voting. Voting compulsory in some districts. Our conventions have pledged its membership to the principle of the election of the officers of the A. F. of L. by the initiative and referendum.

#### **MINERS, WESTERN FEDERATION—**

Officers elected by initiative and referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$356.43. Voting not compulsory. Believes the election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum would be practicable, although is of the opinion that better results would be obtained by nomination being made by convention and those receiving the two highest number of votes to be considered as candidates.

**MOLDERS—**Officers elected by convention; term of office, three years. Laws enacted by convention. Opposed to election of the officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

**MUSICIANS—**Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum impracticable. Who would pay the expenses and work out the details for holding such a referendum? What is to prevent a few officers casting the entire vote of the organization, as is often done now in local referendum? How would unwilling members be compelled to vote?

**PAINTERS—**Officers elected by convention when held, and by referendum otherwise; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$5,000. Voting not compulsory. Election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum regarded as entirely practicable. The trade union movement stands first, last and all the time for democracy, the right of the membership to rule. Every objection that can be raised against the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor by the initiative and referendum can be raised against the election of city, state and national officers of our legislators and congressmen by popular vote and can be advanced against the principles of

the initiative and referendum in political affairs as advocated in the platform of the American Federation of Labor and as subscribed to by the rank and file of the trade union movement.

**PAPER MAKERS—**Officers elected by referendum; term of office, indefinite. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. It would be possible to make it a practical system in the A. F. of L. if all organizations adopt referendum for electing their own officers.

**PATTERN MAKERS—**Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$100. Opposed to election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum; would not be practicable.

**PAVERS AND RAMMERMEN—**Officers elected by initiative and referendum; term of office, secretary, two years; directors, one year. Laws enacted by convention; 33 per cent of membership voting. Voting is not compulsory. Opposed to election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

**PAVING CUTTERS—**Officers elected by referendum; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by referendum. The election of officials of the A. F. of L. by the initiative and referendum would not be practicable. The rank and file of our members do not know nor would have any means of knowing the personality or qualifications of those who would naturally be called upon to serve in those important offices. Such a system would ultimately lead the labor movement into politics and turn it into a political organization.

**PHOTO-ENGRAVERS—**Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

**PIANO AND ORGAN WORKERS—**Officers elected by convention; term of office, four years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Opposed to election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

**PLASTERERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

**PLATE PRINTERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Do not use the initiative and referendum system in their organization. Because of the complex nature of the American Federation of Labor as organized, do not see the wisdom of applying the referendum in the election of officers. The rank and file is too far removed to have the requisite knowledge of the personality of the officers to be as well equipped as a delegate who has attended one or more conventions in estimating the fitness of the man for the office. The organization favors the present method of electing the officers of the A. F. of L.

**PLUMBERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. The system of initiative and referendum is impracticable and consequently not expected to give best results. Have no method for such a system of election and would be compelled to create some system which would meet the requirements, although it would be a most difficult task to undertake.

**POST-OFFICE CLERKS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. The election of officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum will stimulate the interest of the rank and file in the labor movement and such system will be practicable in every way.

**PCTTERS, OPERATIVE**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$137.65; 38 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. The success of election of officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum would depend on interest aroused to get out vote.

**POWDER AND HIGH EXPLOSIVE WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. When an organization has membership enough so that the

cost per capita is not too great the initiative and referendum is the most practical way of electing officers.

**PRINT CUTTERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. This organization does not use the referendum system. The rank and file of the members could not be induced to give the matter serious enough consideration to get out an intelligent vote; only members attending meetings should be entitled to vote on any subject, as the stay-at-homes do not seem to care, and in fact are generally the forced kind of union members.

**PRINTING PRESSMEN**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$30; 33 1-3 per cent of membership voting. Making voting compulsory is left to locals. Would not deem it advisable to elect officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

**PULP, SULPHITE AND PAPER MILL WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

**QUARRY WORKERS**—Officers elected by branches where seat of government is located; term of office, International President and Committee, one year; International Secretary-Treasurer, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$8.00. Voting not compulsory. Election of officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum can be done and prove satisfactory. Would favor the A. F. of L. furnishing individual ballots to each international or local affiliated; proper officers or committees of said bodies to canvass vote, seal and preserve same and forward proper certified returns to the Secretary of the A. F. of L., he to tabulate same and hold them in readiness for canvassing committee; result to be made known at following convention. Would favor having each candidate furnish an itemized account of all money expended in furthering his election or nomination, either by himself or friends with his knowledge, and any member spending or allowing to be spent



on his behalf more than \$40.00, shall be disqualified for office for a term of three years.

**RAILROAD TELEGRAPHERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. This organization does not use the referendum system; the system is not practical for the election of the officers of the A. F. of L.

**RAILWAY CARMEN**—Officers elected by convention; terms of office, from one convention to the next. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. Voting not compulsory. Does not use referendum system for election of officers. Our delegates at the last convention discussed the question of electing officers by the initiative and referendum, but the proposition to elect officers in this manner was defeated, the delegates being of the opinion that it would be better to elect them at each convention, as they considered that they could get together and become personally acquainted with the men they desired to elect to office. So while the initiative and referendum was adopted for the making of laws, etc., the election of officers was left for each convention.

**RAILWAY CLERKS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum and convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**RAILWAY EMPLOYEES, STREET AND ELECTRIC**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. This organization does not use the referendum system. Have no means or machinery for carrying on referendum vote, and could not get a vote of their organization to elect A. F. of L. officers. Many of the international organizations have no arrangement for this election and the result would be that only a few organizations would vote upon this subject. Hundreds of local divisions would take no interest in the matter, and it is not practical or possible under the present arrangements and policies that are carried out by the different international unions that go to make up the A. F. of L.

**RAILWAY EXPRESS MESSENGERS**—No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**ROOFERS, COMPOSITION**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted

ed by convention. This organization does not use the referendum system. It would not be practicable in the A. F. of L. There would be far too many candidates for the offices and this would cause a great deal of confusion.

**SAW SMITHS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**SEAMEN**—International officers elected by convention, district officers by referendum; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention, initiative and referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$500 to a district; 25 per cent of membership voting in district. Election of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum would be successful if international unions would have a uniform system of election.

**SHINGLE WEAVERS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization \$35.00; 40 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. The establishment of the initiative and referendum in the election of the officers of the A. F. of L. would result in getting a very small percentage of the membership to participate in the election at the outset, but the educational possibilities in the direction of self-government would be incalculable, and in the end would be to the decided advantage of the labor movement. The belief that a representative of the people can make a wiser choice of officers than the people as a whole is sophistry of the idlest sort. What applies in this case to the people would apply with even more force to the members of labor organizations, because the latter have a larger percentage of intelligent units.

**SLATE AND TILE ROOFERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. This organization does not use the initiative and referendum system. Resolution adopted by convention in favor of election of officers of the A. F. of L. by referendum vote.

**SLATE WORKERS**—Officers elected by branches. Laws enacted by referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

**SPINNERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. It would not be possible to get a representative vote from all of the unions under the present system of organization. A large number of the union men would not be interested enough to vote, and a large number of the international unions have no system for referendum or initiative action. The present system of election is the best because the men who choose the officers are the best known men in the labor movement, being picked out by the different organizations to represent them, because of their ability and interest in the labor movement, in most cases being officers of their respective national organizations; they are better able to pick the right men for officers than the few that might vote under the referendum, who would know nothing about the caliber of the men who might be up for election.

**STAGE EMPLOYEES, THEATRICAL**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Election of officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum absolutely impossible and impracticable.

**STEEL PLATE TRANSFERRERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Does not use the initiative and referendum system. It is not practicable for the officers of the A. F. of L. to be elected by initiative and referendum. Organizations like the United Mine Workers would be too powerful, while the technical branches outside of the Carpenters would be subject to the dictates of the organizations of "calling" in so far as the election or naming the officers of the American Federation of Labor. As it is now, the strong and able men are sent as delegates and they, in their wisdom, will as heretofore, select earnest, capable officers. While all workers mean well with their vote, they are hardly educated up to the standard of using it without sentiment.

**STEREOTYPERS AND ELECTROTYPERS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$100; 25 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. The election of the officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum can be accomplished without much trouble.

**STONE CUTTERS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$350; 65 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. The initiative and referendum system could be satisfactorily used in the A. F. of L.

**STOVE MOUNTERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. It would be practicable to elect the officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

**SWITCHMEN**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. It would not be practicable. It would be a large expense on the organizations affiliated to elect the A. F. of L. officers by the initiative and referendum and it would perhaps require several elections to give the candidates a majority vote to save the expense of several elections that would be necessary to elect by a plurality vote instead of majority.

**TAILORS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, four years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$35; 85 per cent of membership voting. Voting is compulsory. The election of the officers of the A. F. of L. by the initiative and referendum is practicable in every way, and officers should be elected for two years or more.

**TEAMSTERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**TEXTILE WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. This organization does not use the referendum system. For an organization like the A. F. of L., whose representatives meet in convention once a year, and whose membership is scattered over the entire United States and Canada, the present way of electing officers is preferable.

**TILE LAYERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum, 35 per cent of membership voting. The election of the officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum could be successfully inaugurated if the referendum vote is

taken with the individual members and not local organizations, as a few so-called leading members most always determine the vote when taken through a local organization, the individual members seldom, if ever, have the right to use their own minds on the subjects submitted through the referendum.

**TIN PLATE WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Whereas the rank and file bear all expense, why not have a voice in election of its officers?

**TIP PRINTERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**TOBACCO WORKERS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, five years. Laws enacted by referendum and convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, \$500 to \$800; 95 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. The practicability of the method of initiative and referendum is open to serious question, and in addition an added expense will be imposed upon the various international unions. The introduction and use of the initiative and referendum in the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor would not be feasible at this time, and in the present state and extent of the organization of the workers much confusion and expense would result. Let us rather devote attention to the organization and education of the workers along economic and political lines, this proposition is too far ahead of the day. Many international unions have not adopted the initiative and referendum in their unions, and with this method adopted for the American Federation of Labor these international unions would have to change their laws to fit the situation, and more than all, they would have to educate their members up to perfect points of the new method. In the interim, chaos would reign. A more seasonable time in the future is coming, the harvest is not yet ripe. Postponement seems now properly in order.

**TRAVELERS' GOODS AND LEATHER NOVELTY WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention or referendum when convention is not held; term of office, three years. Laws enacted by refer-

endum, 95 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. The election of officers by the initiative and referendum would bring more satisfaction than the present way.

**TUNNEL AND SUBWAY CONSTRUCTORS**—Matter taken up by referendum vote and are opposed to the election of the officers of the A. F. of L. by referendum, inasmuch as the most capable men could not be secured in that way. It has been demonstrated in our organization; a man can go among the rank and file of the organization and make promises that he never intends to fulfill, thereby gaining their friendship and support. The agitation he has started in claiming that the present officers are not doing their duty and he could gain a great deal more for them if he was in power, has been proven to be a detriment to the organization, and it also creates dissension with the employers whom the organization has dealt with for years.

**TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention and referendum, four-fifths of membership voting. No report on attitude towards election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

**UPHOLSTERERS**—Officers elected by convention or referendum if another convention is not held within two years; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, 1-3 of a cent per member; 60 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. The practicability of electing the officers of the A. F. of L. by the initiative and referendum would depend upon the time allowed for voting after the time set for closing nominations. If at least three months were allowed in order to permit the membership at large to get acquainted with the record and reputation of the nominees for the different offices, it would be quite feasible to nominate and elect by popular vote. This form of electing officers will create more interest among the membership at large in the affairs of the A. F. of L. They will better understand the aims and objects of the body. The men whose interests the officers of the A. F. of L. represent are well qualified to select who shall be their representatives. The referendum form of voting

permits the individual members of affiliated unions to select the candidate who in his opinion is best qualified to fill the office.

**WEAVERS, ELASTIC GORING**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by branches and convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, printing and postage; 90 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. Initiative and referendum works good with us because we are a small organization, but could not express an opinion as to how it would work with the A. F. of L.

**WEAVERS, WIRE**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, President, one year; Secretary, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum if considered advisable. Do not favor election of A. F. of L. officers by initiative and referendum. Too expensive and not at all practicable for so large an organization.

**WHITE RATS ACTORS**—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. It is the opinion of the officers of this organization, also the delegates from our organization who have attended the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, that the method in vogue in electing the officers of the American Federation of Labor is the only manner in which said election should be conducted. The reason for making this statement is that although the initiative and referendum is satisfactory to this organization we believe that the conditions which prevail in the American Federation of Labor are exactly the reverse of those of this organization as we are composed of actors who of necessity must travel all the while and therefore are different from every other craft in the labor movement.

#### Unaffiliated Organizations.

**BRICKLAYERS AND MASONS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN AND ENGINEMEN**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, three years. Laws enacted by convention. Doubts the advisability of the referendum system in the election of international officers,

because few of the members called upon to vote, would have any knowledge of the relative ability or merits of the candidates. Under the present method each lodge sends a representative to the convention, which representative sits for nearly three weeks assisting in the transaction of the organization's business, and at the end of that time he should be in position to cast a vote, as representative of the members of his lodge, for each international officer with a much higher degree of intelligence.

**LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, six years. Laws enacted by convention. Has never established the initiative and referendum system either in election of officers or in legislative matters. No report on attitude towards election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

**RAILROAD TRAINMEN**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**RAILWAY CONDUCTORS**—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

#### European Organizations.

##### GREAT BRITAIN.

**BAKERS AND CONFECTIONERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. In the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland there is very little interest taken by the workers generally in the initiative and referendum system of voting among the workers. Some of the trades unions adopt what is practically a second ballot in the election of their principal officers where a candidate does not obtain a majority over all other candidates, but we have never yet done so.

**BOOT AND SHOE OPERATIVES**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**BRASSWORKERS AND METAL MECHANICS**—Officers elected by annual conference except for National Executive which is by referendum. The only ballot

taken in this Society is for National Executive and the methods are as follows: Nominations are received from branches in the different districts, Northern, Midland and South and West. Ballot papers are then printed, sent to all Branches in each Division and every member connected with that Division records his votes on the ballot paper, seals the paper at the corners and hands same to the Branch Secretary who forwards all the ballot papers to the Central Office where the votes are counted by scrutineers who receive a nominal fee for their duties. The names of the successful candidates according to the number required are published to the whole of the Society through the various Branches. All the officers, except the General Secretary, are members working at their trade.

**ENGINEERS**—Officers elected by referendum. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**ENGINEERING AND SHIPBUILDING TRADES**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**PATTERNMAKERS**—General Secretary elected by referendum. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**PRINTERS WAREHOUSEMEN AND CUTTERS**—Officers elected by referendum. Laws enacted by convention. It is undesirable to compel members to vote. If they do not take sufficient interest in the union to vote without compulsion on any question, then you can take it their votes will not be cast for the benefit of the union, and on some critical question they will let you down.

**SMITHS AND HAMMERMEN**—General Secretary elected by referendum. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. Our rules are altered on the initiative of members in branches and if not frivolous they are referred to the whole membership to vote on, which the majority religiously neglect to do. Election by initiative and referendum simply a frost. The members won't vote for an advance of their own wages, so they won't bother about elections. I admire the Swiss attempt at initiative and referendum out of

course it is a failure. The idea is excellent but the practice is slow, cumbrous and unwieldy. The assembled intellects in conventions must know best who is fitted while members outside know only the candidate's name and frequently only a part of that.

**STOVE, GRATE, FENDER & GENERAL LIGHT METAL WORKERS**—Officers elected by referendum. Our organization is only a small one, totaling 1800 members, and any points we could attempt to give would be of little or no value where such big unions are concerned.

**RAILWAY WAGON AND CARRIAGE BUILDERS AND LIFTERS**—Officers elected by referendum. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**GERMANY.**

**BAKERS AND CONFECTIONERY WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention. Have had no experience in elections by initiative and referendum.

**BOOKBINDERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. We refrain from giving an opinion as we are not well enough acquainted with American conditions.

**BUILDING LABORERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. We are of the opinion that the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor by initiative and referendum is not to be recommended. The carrying out of such an election system is so very impracticable that in the end the desired result cannot be attained under any circumstances. Most of the candidates of the A. F. of L. elected by referendum vote are either entirely or practically unknown to most of the active members of the various organizations, and is it not unwise to bring up for election candidates with whom the electors are not sufficiently well acquainted? On the other hand, an election by representatives of local organizations who meet at a designated place for the purpose of voting is much more practical and wise, and is in keeping with the democratic principles—and as a sister principle of the democratic principle, having sufficient knowledge of the candidates, whether they should vote for or against them, is much

more preferable than an election by initiative and referendum.

**COOPERS AND HELPERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. We cannot recommend any definite election system as we are not in a position to know whether the election of the officers of the German organizations by the delegates to the convention, which has proved very successful here in Germany, is also to be recommended for the American organizations.

**CARPENTERS**—Officials of central committee elected by convention and district leaders appointed by Central Committee. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**COPPERSMITHS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by referendum. Do not care to give an opinion as we do not understand the exact workings of the A. F. of L. unions.

**FURRIERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**GLASS WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. We consider an election for the officers of the centrals by the centrals as sufficient.

**GLAZIERS, PLATE LEAD FRAME GLAZIER AND GLASS PAINTERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**HAIR DRESSERS, BARBERS AND WIG MAKERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**HAT AND FELT GOODS WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention. Referendum tried but abandoned 12 years ago. Laws enacted by convention. Having abandoned electing of the full paid officials by all members we are not able to offer any proposals with regards to election by referendum. Only officials, sub-officially attending to their union affairs in the pay stations are elected directly by the members using vote tickets. This system has proved to be

satisfactory because our pay stations are not so very large, the largest one counts only 3,500 members.

**LEATHER WORKERS, GLOVE MAKERS TAN AND CHROME, TANNERS, ETC.**—Officers elected by convention. Officials of the central committee are elected by conventions. The district leaders are elected by the central committee and the local officials by members of the respective unions with a right of veto by the central committee. Laws enacted by convention. The system of direct election of the officials of the Federation by all members of the trades is not to be recommended. On occasion of election of the officials this system has not proven satisfactory in a single organization in Germany. A great many factors are to the disadvantage of the direct election by the members. First, only a certain number of the members participate in the election. In different places in many cases the best and most active members are prevented from voting. Also, it has to be considered that most of the members are lacking in knowledge of the abilities of the officials to be elected. A braggart, but a person of only a little practical knowledge and ability, has sometimes more chances to be elected than a quiet but otherwise very able colleague. There exists also the danger that this system is furthering the dependency of the officials upon the tempers of the members. Conditions often demand officials of trade associations to legislate against the will of the bulk, and this could result in disagreeable consequences at the election by the members. To delegates assembled, the necessity of such actions is easier explained than to the great bulk of the members. The system of the election of the officials by all the members is only seemingly democratic, otherwise it contains the defects and faults of the democratic system to the fullest extent.

**LITHOGRAPHERS, ENGRAVERS AND ALLIED TRADES**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. Consider election by initiative and referendum superfluous.

**MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**MINERS**—General Committee (7 members) elected by convention, rest of officials by General Committee. Important resolutions of the general meeting are subjected to voting if so desired. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**PAINTERS, VARNISHERS, PLASTERERS AND WHITEWASHERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. Consider it inexpedient for A. F. of L. to elect officers by initiative and referendum.

**PRINTING AND ENGRAVING HELPERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. Have had no experience with initiative and referendum.

**ROOFERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. Up to present time election of officers has always been by convention; system more simple than by referendum.

**SADDLER AND PORT FOLIO MAKERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**STONE SETTERS AND ALLIED WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**TEXTILE WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. Cannot recommend what would be advisable for American Federation of Labor.

**TOBACCO WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. The initiative and referendum system is too difficult.

**DISTRICT AND STATE EMPLOYEES**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**METAL WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

## FRANCE.

**FURNITURE WORKERS**—Each district or branch of which there are 79, has one representative, of which 79 constitute the Federal Council. In any vacancy the branch elects another representative who is usually accepted by the General Council. Laws enacted by convention. Cannot answer questions as principle of initiative and referendum has never been put in practice by our organization.

## SWITZERLAND.

**METAL WORKERS**—Officers elected by referendum. Laws enacted by referendum. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**STONE AND CLAY WORKERS**—Officers elected by referendum. Laws enacted by referendum. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**WATCHMAKERS**—Officers elected by referendum. Laws enacted by referendum. Impossible to give opinion as to A. F. L.

## SWEDEN.

**MASONS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

## NORWAY.

**METAL WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**TRAMWAY EMPLOYEES**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. Initiative and referendum system unknown.

**UNSKILLED LABORERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

## DENMARK.

**SEAGOING DECK WORKERS**—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

**ALLIED TRADES**—Four officers elected by General Assembly, three nominated by Managing Com-

mitted. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude towards initiative and referendum.

#### NETHERLANDS.

**DIAMOND WORKERS**—Officers elected by referendum. Laws enacted by referendum. Knowing very little about internal working of A. F. of L., cannot express an opinion on the subject of election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

The tabulated statement founded upon the replies from the organizations which we have given, shows the following condensed table of results:

Number of national and international unions which elect their officers by the initiative and referendum system ..... 34

Number of national and international unions which elect their officers by the convention system ..... 75

Number of national and international unions favoring election of A. F. of L. officers by the initiative and referendum system (representing 508,116 members) ..... 23

Number of national and international unions against election of A. F. of L. officers by the initiative and referendum (representing 890,240 members) ..... 52

A number of organizations representing 21,787 members have made no report or have expressed themselves as having no definite opinion upon the matter.

We should say also that some international unions which have the initiative and referendum system of electing their own officers, have most emphatically declared that while that system is practical and successful within their own organizations, it would be impossible for practical application for the American Federation of Labor.

#### Conclusion.

We submit to your earnest, and we hope, favorable consideration, this report of our stewardship of the trust committed to our care.

Fraternally yours,

**SAMUEL GOMPERS,**  
President.

**JAMES DUNCAN,**  
First Vice President.

**JOHN MITCHELL,**  
Second Vice President.

**JAMES O'CONNELL,**  
Third Vice President.

**D. A. HAYES,**  
Fourth Vice President.

**WILLIAM D. HUBER,**  
Fifth Vice President.

**JOS. F. VALENTINE,**  
Sixth Vice President.

**JOHN R. ALPINE,**  
Seventh Vice President.

**H. B. PERHAM,**  
Eighth Vice President.

**JOHN B. LENNON,**  
Treasurer.

**FRANK MORRISON,**  
Secretary.



## Third Day—Wednesday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Wednesday, November 13th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Kline, Barnes, Zucker-  
man, McNulty, Yount, Ford, Hannahan,  
Conway, Dyche, Taggart, Bryan, Healey,  
Price, Holland, Tazelaar, Murphy, White-  
head, Halpine, Miller (J. F.), Gallagher  
(T. J.), Hanson, Huddleston, Welch, Holt,  
Swick, Darling, Laurentz, Campbell,  
Sause, Glidden, Tracy (M. F.), Landers,  
Burke, Hicks, Diehl, Weber, Doherty,  
Ferguson, Draper, Drackert, Pace, Mor-  
gan, Phillips, Stokes, Fello, Voll, Duffy,  
O'Rourke, Lawler, Lampa, McAndrews,  
Cunningham, Plasterer.

Vice President Perham in the chair.

### Supplemental Report of the Commit- tee on Credentials.

Delegate McDonald, Secretary of the  
Committee, reported as follows:

To the officers and delegates of the 32d  
Annual Convention of the American  
Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials desires  
to report that they have received the  
following credentials and recommend  
that the delegates be seated:

Belmont County, Ohio, Trades and La-  
bor Assembly, E. E. Tharp, 1 vote;

Lincoln, Nebraska, Central Labor Union,  
Clarence R. Elyea, 1 vote;

International Protective Association of  
Lithographic Press Feeders, William A.  
Coakley, 9 votes;

In accordance with the following re-  
quests, we recommend that the substi-  
tutes be seated:

Niagara Falls, N. Y., Trades and Labor  
Council, Joseph P. Hunter, in place of  
Harvey C. Berry;

American Brotherhood of Cement Work-  
ers, G. E. Strom in place of F. C. Gen-  
eback;

Western Federation of Miners, M. J.  
Scanlan in place of Dan Holland.

Respectfully submitted,

EDW. J. MARX, Chairman.

DUNCAN McDONALD, Secretary.

W. A. NEER.

Delegate McDonald—I move that the  
report be adopted and the delegates  
seated. (Seconded.)

Vice President Alpine—I would like to  
suggest that one of the delegates whose  
name has been mentioned, Mr. Tasker, is  
an International Steam Fitter, and, in-  
asmuch as his case comes in direct co-

operation with the subject matter set for  
special order at 10 o'clock, I would sug-  
gest that action on that particular case  
might well be deferred.

Delegate McDonald—The committee was  
not familiar with that fact. If it is sat-  
isfactory to the other two members of  
the committee, the request will be com-  
plied with.

Delegates Neer and Marx agreed to the  
suggestion that Mr. Tasker's name be  
withdrawn from the report.

The motion to adopt the report of the  
committee and seat the delegates, with  
the exception of Mr. Tasker, was carried.

President Gompers in the chair.

Vice President Perham—Delegate C. A.  
Mulhall, of the Railroad Telegraphers,  
being absent and Delegate Brown having  
been seated yesterday, I move that he  
be placed on the Committee on Educa-  
tion in place of Brother Mulhall.

President Gompers—If there are no ob-  
jections that course will be pursued.  
Hearing none, it is so ordered.

At 10 o'clock the chairman announced  
that the hour had arrived to take up the  
special order of business, the report of  
the Credentials Committee on the protest  
entered by the United Association of  
Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and  
Steam Fitters' Helpers against the seat-  
ing of Messrs. John Mangan and T. J.  
Kinsella, representing the International  
Association of Steam and Hot Water Fit-  
ters and Helpers of America.

The Secretary of the Committee read  
the report, as follows:

"Credentials have been presented to the  
committee from John Mangan and J. T.  
Kinsella, representing the International  
Association of Steam and Hot Water  
Fitters and Helpers of America. The seats  
of the above named delegates have been  
contested by John R. Alpine, President  
of the United Association of Plumbers,  
Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam  
Fitters' Helpers. Your committee gave  
both sides a full hearing. President Al-  
pine, in presenting his protest, cited the  
action of the Atlanta Convention, which  
instructed the Executive Council of the  
A. F. of L. to bring about an amalga-  
mation of the two organizations, and the  
subsequent action of the Executive Coun-

cil on this matter. The representatives of the International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters claimed that Section 12, Article 9 of the Constitution of the A. F. of L., which provides as follows, had not been complied with:

"Sec. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charters of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular convention of the American Federation of Labor by a roll call vote."

"The representatives of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters also claimed that they had not been notified to turn in their charter. Both sides presented able arguments before the committee. On account of the complications in connection with this matter, and believing that the matter will in all probability be discussed on the floor of the convention, no matter what action the committee should take, we refer the matter of seating John Mangan and Thomas Kinsella as delegates from the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers to the convention without recommendation, with the hope that this long drawn out controversy will be settled in this convention for all time."

Delegate Furuseth—I move you that the Steam Fitters' delegates be seated.

President Gompers—That motion is not necessary. That motion is before the house, and has been so stated by the chair.

Delegate Campbell—I move that the report of the committee be received; that the order of the Atlantic convention, and subsequent action of the Executive Council in the case be approved, and that in accordance with the orders of the Atlanta convention and the action of the Executive Council the representatives of the Steam Fitters are not eligible for seating in this convention. (Seconded.)

Delegate Leonard (E. W.), spoke at length in favor of the motion offered by Delegate Campbell. After the delegate had spoken for ten minutes a motion was made that his time for speaking be extended.

Delegate Furuseth—I move that Messrs. Mangan and Kinsella be given the privilege of the floor while this discussion is in progress, and that they be allowed to give their own side of the controversy. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Woll—I move that the two parties directly concerned in this controversy be permitted all the time necessary

to present their proposition to this convention, and not be limited by the ten-minute rule. (Seconded.)

Delegate McCullough (T. W.), stated that the rules should be suspended in order to give both sides ample opportunity to present their cases.

The motion offered by Delegate Woll was carried.

Delegate Leonard continued his discussion, going into details in regard to the relative strength of both organizations in various parts of the country. During the course of his argument he stated that a large majority of the steam fitters in the United States and Canada were connected with the United Association, and that the United Association protected them fully and adequately.

Delegate Williams (J.)—I arise at this time to make a motion, and I presume the delegates consider that I am in order. We have here attending this convention as a visitor a man who has led the fight in the interests of organized labor, a man who has done much, not only as an official of a labor organization but as a representative in Congress, and we hope soon to be able to call him the Secretary of the Department of Labor, Congressman Billy Wilson. I move that a committee be appointed to escort him to a seat on the platform.

The motion was seconded and carried, and Congressman W. B. Wilson was escorted to the platform by a committee appointed by the chairman.

Delegate Bonner spoke in opposition to the motion offered by Delegate Campbell. He dealt briefly with the history of both organizations and the work established by them in different parts of the country, and stated that the International Association members had always been loyal trades unionists whether the organization was in the American Federation of Labor or outside.

Mr. T. J. Kinsella, President of the International Association, discussed the matter at length. He opposed the pending motion and urged the seating of the representatives of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters. He quoted from the records of the Atlanta convention of the American Federation of Labor and discussed at length the action of the Executive Council in

reference to the controversy between the United Association and the International Association.

Mr. John Mangan, representing the International Association, discussed the matter at length. He read extracts from the proceedings of the St. Louis and Atlanta conventions of the American Federation of Labor and from the proceedings of the Building Trades convention, as well as from letters and documents bearing on the case. He opposed the pending motion, and urged the seating of the Steam Fitters' representatives.

Vice-President Duncan discussed the question and defended the course pursued by the Executive Council. He explained the action taken by the Atlanta convention in regard to the controversy, and stated that the Executive Council followed the instructions of that convention in every action taken by them in regard to the controversy.

Delegate Glover opposed the pending motion and spoke in favor of seating the delegates of the International Association. He referred to the connection of members of that organization with the Railroad Federation and of their loyalty to that movement during the long strike on the Harriman and Illinois Central lines.

Vice-President Perham discussed the question briefly, and replied to some statements made by Delegate Glover in regard to the attitude of the Railway Employees' Department of the A. F. of L.

Before the convention was adjourned the following resolutions were introduced and referred by President Gompers to the various committees:

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, It is now generally recognized that the millions of so-called migratory, unskilled or common laborers of this country must be organized and brought within the protecting fold of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Immeasurable assistance can be rendered in this work by the members of all organized skilled crafts if they will give every possible assistance and moral encouragement to those workers who have been falsely led to believe that the American Federation of Labor is mainly interested in the further advancement and uplifting of the crafts already organized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Fed-

eration of Labor that we urge upon all affiliated unions, and particularly upon the rank and file of same, to constantly impress upon the unorganized, unskilled workers with whom they may come in contact that all workers are welcome in the organized labor movement under the banner of the American Federation of Labor; further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to prepare a series of educational articles for general publicity, and particularly for publication in the labor press, setting forth the duty and obligation of the already organized workers as indicated in these resolutions and explaining the benefits to be derived by all workers through the thorough organization of the migratory, common and unskilled laborers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, It is a deplorable fact that in many of the universities of this country, which are financially supported by the people, the educational work is confined solely to the comparatively few who are able to give their entire time for a number of years in acquiring a so-called college education; and

WHEREAS, State-supported universities can make returns to the people who pay the bills in two ways: first, by creating in all the people the realization of their educational needs and to provide the facilities for satisfying that need—university extension; second, by making its graduates useful members of the state, who realize their obligations to the state and to the people who provided for their education; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the thirty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that we most heartily favor a popular system of university extension similar to the one provided by the State of Wisconsin; further

RESOLVED, That we urge upon all state federations, central bodies and organized labor generally to make every effort in their respective states to cause such changes to be made as will bring the work of state-owned universities nearer to the needs of the working people.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Harvey Garman of the Denver Trades and Labor Assembly:

Amend Article XI of the Constitution, by adding thereto a new section, to be known as Section 11, to read as follows:

Section 11. Local central labor unions, state federations, or other central body of delegates, shall incorporate into their constitutions the following provisions: Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the yeas and nays is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one

hundred members or major fraction thereof he represents. The secretary of each local central body, state federation or other central body of delegates, shall prepare for use of each such organization, printed roll call lists, containing the number of votes the delegates are each entitled to, based upon the membership upon which per capita tax has been paid during the year by their respective unions.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate R. H. White of the Birmingham Trades Council:

WHEREAS, The field is ripe for the work of organizing several branches in the district of Greater Birmingham; and

WHEREAS, Believing that sending an organizer to the Birmingham district will accomplish much good; be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. that the Executive Council send an organizer to the Birmingham district and said organizer be William E. Terry.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of the San Francisco Labor Council:

Amend Section 12 of Article IX to read as follows:

Section 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated national or international union, a central labor body or a state federation when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll-call vote.

Amend Section 1 of Article XI to read as follows:

Section 1. No central labor union, or any other central body of delegates shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, national or international, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with a national or international organization of their trade herein affiliated, under penalty of having their charter revoked by the next convention, as provided in Section 12 of Article IX.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has at previous world's fairs exhibited a display illustrating the aims and aspirations of organized labor as well as recording the great achievements in the various phases of our movement; and

WHEREAS, The Panama-Pacific International Exposition will be held in San Francisco, Cal., in 1915, to commemorate the opening of the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, Said Exposition will give a splendid opportunity to make the world at large more familiar with the great work constantly being done by the American Federation of Labor for the amelioration and uplifting of the country's toilers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the thirty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Executive Council is hereby directed to bring up to date and prepare for shipment and exhibition to the Panama-Pacific International Exposition at San Francisco the display herein referred to.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate James P. Holland of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity:

WHEREAS, The Central Federated Union during the past ten years has interested itself in matters pertaining to the welfare of the organized actors of this country, and during that time has had many committees act upon legislation affecting the actors as a class, and during that time has been actively interested through special committees appointed for the purpose of bringing about harmony and concerted action between the two theatrical organizations, the Actors International Union, which was affiliated with the American labor movement and the outside association, known as the White Rats of America; and

WHEREAS, During that time the American Federation of Labor, through the Executive Council, has asked the Central Federated Union to assist in bringing about an understanding between the two mentioned organizations, and therefore consider that they are vitally interested in the welfare and success of the eventually amalgamated association, known as the White Rats Actors Union, to which President Gompers requested a committee of the Central Federated Union to appear at the first conference held for the purpose of bringing about harmony between the two contending organizations, therefore the Central Federated Union, from a close knowledge of the internal affairs affecting the new amalgamated organization, believes that action must be taken at this convention to preserve the identity of that organization within the labor movement for the following reasons:

First. There is a considerable defection of members who are dropping out of the organization on account of general dissatisfaction of the present aim and purposes of that order, and an absolute feeling of general discontent;

Second. That every principle and condition of the so-called agreement of amalgamation has been violated, not alone in spirit but in each and every vital section; and

Third. That from an investigation, we believe that the organization as constituted at present is not a union in any sense of the word; that it assumes powers

through its governing board to legislate without consideration to the general welfare of its members; furthermore, assuming, through its board of directors, to wholly control its funds and investments without any consultation at any time with its general membership; and furthermore controlling a vital and important part of its membership the female branch, who have no say in any way, or no representation at any time, or no information at any time, of the conduct of their affairs, financial and otherwise; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor shall, in obedience to the decision of the Executive Council, at its meeting held in Atlantic City, which says, "Cognizance of any violation of the terms of the amalgamation agreement, which will show a division in the ranks of the White Rats Actors Union will be given by the American Federation of Labor;" and be it further

RESOLVED, That the complaint and charges, as herein contained, shall be properly investigated by this convention, and a proper and equitable decision rendered that will tend to protect the actors and actresses of this country, who really desire a protective organization conducted on trades union lines, and given that protection guaranteed by the law, constitution and usages of the trades union movement, as recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate James P. Holland of the Central Federation Union of N. Y.:

WHEREAS, The Hebrew Variety Actors Union, an organization of actors affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for over ten years, through its Chartered membership as a subsidiary local of the Actors International Union and for the past two years a component part of the White Rats Actors' Union an amalgamated association of the Actors International Union and the former White Rats of America, an independent actors organization until such amalgamation was effected during November 1910; and

WHEREAS, During the affiliation of the Hebrew Variety Actors Union with the American Federation of Labor it has continuously held its membership and representation in the Central Federated Union of New York City an American Federation of Labor Central Labor Union and has at all times obeyed any and all mandates of the organized labor movement as submitted to them through their direct affiliations; and

WHEREAS, The Hebrew Variety Actors Union did sanction and agree to the amalgamation of the Actors International Union and The White Rats of America upon the positive promise that their standing and rights as individual members of the trades union movement should not in any way suffer any change by the combination of these two theatrical associations that they should be members in full benefit and entitled to all

the rights, benefits and privileges as enjoyed by them during their affiliation and membership in the Actors International Union, in the new amalgamated organization with no interference as to their jurisdiction and local autonomy rights; and

WHEREAS, Since such amalgamation has been effected the Hebrew Variety Actors Union has been denied every chartered right granted to them by their original affiliation with the Actors International Union, they having been denied the right of any representation in the governing body of the Chartered Union, thereby forcing a condition of taxation without representation; their denial of their right of vote upon any question affecting the order as a whole, the denial of any right to vote at any general election for officials to control the affairs of the general order, the absolute elimination of their standing as members of the order entitled to all the rights, benefits and privileges as members thereof, their designation as only a branch of the general order with the sole right to pay an increased per capital tax in advance; and

WHEREAS, The governing board of the White Rats Actors' Union have attempted to interfere with their union conditions fought for and maintained at considerable expense during many years of activity and have aligned members of the order in opposition to one another in an effort to reduce wages and general satisfactory working conditions surrounding their employment, and the only answer to repeated complaints against the action of the Board of Directors has been threats of expulsion from the trades union movement of this country; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Rochester, N. Y., shall take cognizance of this complaint and charges of violation of agreement upon amalgamation between the Actors International Union and the White Rats of America, following the official decision of the Executive Council at the quarterly meeting held at Atlantic City during August, 1912, which says:

"Cognizance will be given any violation of the articles of agreement upon amalgamation, which would show any division in the ranks of the White Rats Actors' Union;" and be it further

RESOLVED, The present charter of affiliation of the White Rats Actors' Union be investigated, and it calls for a form of national organization enjoyed by all other affiliated national unions and it is being willfully perverted to a single union form of organization without any local representation or rights, and former local representation and rights denied without legal authority by either the terms of amalgamation or warrant from the general membership and a report upon their complaints and charges to be submitted to the convention with a recommendation thereon.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Joseph Morton, of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There is seated in the Chicago Federation of Labor an organization known as The White Rats Actors' Union of America, incorporated, which organization is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor as a national union; and

WHEREAS, During an investigation of this organization by the Central Federated Union of New York City, a communication was submitted by the said White Rats Actors' Union of America, incorporated, from President Samuel Gompers, disqualifying the representation of this organization in any Central Labor Union, by stating that the White Rats Actors' Union of America, incorporated, did not locally exist and therefore, he specifically states "that which does not exist cannot be represented"; and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor did institute a thorough investigation of this organization upon complaint of a committee of resident members of the aforesaid organization, who made claim, that the form, conduct and law of the said White Rats Actors' Union of America, incorporated, did not in any way conform to the law, constitution and usages of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor upon the conclusion of an investigation of the claims as submitted did upon Sunday, July 21, 1912, submit its report and findings of the Grievance Committee, which was unanimously adopted, which findings are as follows:

From evidence presented, your committee finds that the White Rats Actors' Union of America is a "membership corporation" operating under the state laws of New York.

We also find connected therewith as subsidiary corporations:

The Associated Actresses of America,  
The White Rats Publishing Company,  
The White Rats Realty Company,  
The Associated Actors Company (theatre proprietors),

The Keystone Amusement Company (theatre proprietors),

And the Lancaster Amusement Company, who are part and parcel of the order.

As to the Associated Actresses, we find they pay initiation fees and dues, yet have no voice or vote on affairs affecting them, or an accounting of their money.

We find that there is no "local union" form of organization within this "membership corporation," with the exception of "German" and "Hebrew" locals, who have "local autonomy."

We also find that "branches" are established in various cities of the "country," with a representative in charge chosen by the New York officials.

When meetings are held, no measures of importance can be adopted without the approval of the "Board of Directors" in New York City. All discussion on "Local Autonomy" is strictly prohibited and

members have been summarily expelled for advocating same.

We find that where charges are preferred against any member of the "order," the member so charged is compelled to appear (either in person or by representative member), in the city of New York, to stand trial, at their own expense—irrespective of their residence—and if found guilty there is no recourse except through the courts.

We find that legislation for or against local conditions must be referred to the New York officials of the Order for final action thereon.

The complainants in support of the "local union" form of government stated that there were upwards of 2,000 resident actors in Chicago and vicinity who "book" in and out of this city. Similar conditions exist in other large cities of the country.

They further contended that the best interests of the organization would be protected in having "local autonomy."

The defense claimed that the actors were "here to-day and gone to-morrow," and maintained that to be successful they must travel from city to city, giving this as one of the main reasons why "local autonomy" could not be established in the "order."

From the evidence presented, your committee believe that the future best interests of the White Rats Actors' Unions of America can best be served by the establishment of "Local Autonomy" and other changes necessary to conform to the "fundamental laws" of the A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, President Gompers has officially notified protesting members of the White Rats Actors' Union of America, incorporated, in Chicago, that "all letters and documents would be turned over to the coming convention at Rochester, N. Y.," and

WHEREAS, Signed charges are submitted in connection with these resolutions, certifying to the violation of the terms of agreement of amalgamation between the White Rats of America and the Actors' International Union, which charges are signed by members of the aforesaid White Rats Actors' Union of America incorporated; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this annual convention of the American Federation of America, held in the city of Rochester, N. Y., does hereby instruct its President to select an impartial committee of three, who shall make complete and thorough investigation of the charges and findings as set forth in these resolutions, they shall submit their findings to this convention with the proper recommendation thereon.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate James P. Holland, Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity.

WHEREAS, The ultimate aim of the labor movement is industrial emancipation, which means the abolition of wage-slavery and voluntary servitude;

V. HEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated state federations have devoted their energies to the

enactment of national, state and territorial labor laws as well as to the embodying of provisions for the protection of labor in several state constitutions;

WHEREAS, The decisions of the United States Supreme Court in injunction and labor cases have conclusively shown that there are provisions in the Federal constitution which have erected a wall for the protection of capitalist interests as against the interest of the toiling millions, and that no thoroughly effective and beneficial labor legislation can be secured unless the United States constitution be so amended as to wipe out the two classes of master and servant, as provided thereunder at present;

WHEREAS, Logically and inevitably the next great step in the struggle of the oppressed to secure the recognition of rights to which the toiling millions of our country are justly entitled, is the demand and propagandism for a labor amendment to the United States constitution, ordaining that neither wage-slavery nor voluntary servitude shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction, and embodying the legislative demands of the American Federation of Labor, which shall bring about the industrial emancipation of all toilers; and

WHEREAS, A petition to Congress, being primarily a petition to the American people, is circulated and has been endorsed by the representative bodies of organized labor in New York City and New York State, which petition reads as follows:

The Honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress Assembled.

Gentlemen:

The undersigned constituents petition your honorable bodies to propose to the legislatures of the several states the following article as an amendment to the constitution of the United States.

And your petitioners will ever pray, etc.

#### ARTICLE XVII.

Section I. Neither wage-slavery nor voluntary servitude shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Sec. II. The Congress shall have power:

1. To acquire all lands, forests, watersheds, lakes, rivers, mines, oil wells, quarries, railroads, ferries, bridges, marines, telegraphs, telephones, express services, and all movable, and immovable, means of production, transport, exchange, distribution and communication.

2. To regulate private services, agriculture, intrastate commerce, imports and exports; and to provide for the occupation of all persons who are able to work in such work as they are qualified to perform, and for the care of all persons who are unable to work.

3. To establish the prices of all commodities, a uniform work day, a uniform scale of compensation for work and services, a uniform educational, and sanitary, system, so as to prevent the jeopardy of

life and limb, and to protect the health, of all persons engaged in agricultural, industrial, commercial, and vocational pursuits; but sumptuary legislation shall be prohibited within the jurisdiction of the United States.

4. To regulate all money, banking, savings, and insurance institutions; but the delegation of power to issue currency shall be prohibited, and all treasury notes of the United States shall be legal tender.

5. To establish a uniform rate of interest, not exceeding two per centum per annum, and to regulate the payment of all interest-bearing public and private debts, loans, liens, and mortgages; and thereafter all interest-bearing debts, loans, liens, and mortgages shall be prohibited.

6. To restore to the people all lands and franchises alienated from the people; and thereafter the alienation of lands and franchises from the people shall be prohibited.

7. To establish uniform rules for all National, State, County, Communal, and Industrial, elections; but the right of the citizens of the United States, being twenty-one years of age, to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, creed, or sex.

8. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and for enforcing the provisions of this article.

Resolved, By the American Federation of Labor in the thirty-second annual convention assembled, that the representatives in Congress be and hereby are authorized to introduce in Congress said petition for a labor amendment to the United States constitution, when offered them by their signers.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate Edw. C. Streile, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, The policy of the American Federation of Labor is to further legislation in the interest of humanity, and the better education of the children of America; and

WHEREAS, The education of the child is conducted by the State; and

WHEREAS, Uniform school books, properly selected, with a consequent state course of study, tend to a higher degree of efficiency at a reduced cost to the taxpayers; and

WHEREAS, State uniformity of school books, in connection with the Federal copyright law, aids in the control of the school book monopoly; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 32d Annual Convention assembled, endorse State uniformity of school books, whether furnished free or by individual purchase, and hereby instructs its Executive Council to further and support, by all honorable means, all just laws in the interest of the people, and not in the interest of the publishers.

Referred to Committee on Education

**Resolution No. 50—By Delegate Oscar F. Nelson of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:**

WHEREAS, The last session of Congress enacted into law provisions that have liberated not only the postal employees but the 400,000 workers in the civil service of the Federal Government from the Executive orders commonly known as the "gag" rules, which deprived them of their rights as American citizens; and

WHEREAS, By the enactment of such provisions not only were the Executive "gag" orders nullified and our right of free speech restored but the right to organize and affiliate with such organizations as the A. F. of L. was established as a statutory provision of our Federal law; and

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Postoffice Clerks recognizes with deep gratitude the fact that the enactment of such provisions together with the notable achievement of the enactment of a law providing for an 8-hour workday for the postoffice clerks and letter carriers were the direct result of the moral support given by the American Federation of Labor and the efficient and effective work done by President Gompers, Secretary Morrison, Arthur E. Holder and John Moffitt of the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. in appearing before committees of Congress in behalf of such provisions; and

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Postoffice Clerks, now that the right of affiliation has been established by law, conscious of the fact that all remedial legislation that the postal employees have ever received has come either directly or indirectly by the assistance of the A. F. of L. and recognizing the common interests of all wage-earners whether in public or private employ, are conducting a vigorous organization campaign among the Postoffice Clerks; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, do hereby, through our officers, instruct all organizers of this body and advise all central bodies that they assist in bringing about a closer federation of all postal employees by inviting the rank and file of the letter carriers, railway mail clerks and rural carriers to become affiliated with their fellow workers in the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Resolution No. 51—By Delegate Oscar F. Nelson of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:**

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Postoffice Clerks in convention assembled has instructed its officers to endeavor to have the law classifying their salaries amended so as to provide a wage that will permit them to maintain decent living conditions for their families and themselves; and

WHEREAS, The Postoffice Clerks are wholly without redress for themselves or families in the event they are injured or killed in the performance of duty in that they cannot sue the Government and have therefore instructed their officers to seek to have established by law a provision that will establish the Government's liability and provide compensation in cases where they are injured or killed while on duty; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, do hereby instruct our Legislative Committee to assist the officers of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks in every way possible to have such legislation enacted into law.

Referred to Committee on President's Report.

**Resolution No. 52—By Delegate Fred Brockhausen of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor:**

WHEREAS, A number of State branches favor bi-annual conferences for the purpose of concerted action in the matter of State labor legislation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby instructed and authorized to assist in the arrangements of a conference of representatives of State branches to be held at a centrally located point of the country some time between August 1 and December 31 of the year 1913.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 53—By Delegate Fred Brockhausen, of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor:**

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States guarantees trial by jury; and

WHEREAS, This guarantee has been set aside because of usurpation by our Courts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee shall demand of Congress to set aside the ruling of the Courts and restore to the people the Constitution as guarantee.

Referred to Committee on President's Report.

**Resolution No. 54—By Delegate Fred Brockhausen, of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor:**

RESOLVED, The Executive Council is hereby instructed and authorized to secure from all its directly and indirectly affiliated organizations having labels, trade marks or shop cards, all items of expense in maintaining, operating and defending such labels, marks or cards, covering a period of twelve months between January 1911 and January 1912; and further



**RESOLVED**, That the result of this investigation be compiled in detail and reported in printed form to the next convention.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 55—By Delegates Edw. V. Wood, Syracuse, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Assembly; Homer D. Call, Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; E. A. Bates, Utica Trades Assembly; Henry Prinz, New York State Federation; Daniel Harris, Cigarmakers International Union; James C. Brower, Poughkeepsie Trades and Labor Council; J. P. Coughlin, Brooklyn Central Labor Union:

**WHEREAS**, The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. has recommended a Labor Forward Movement as outlined by Samuel Gompers in the October Federationist and submitted to this body in the report of the Executive Council; and

**WHEREAS**, Since the issue of the October Federationist, three cities in the state of New York have started to put the suggestion into practice; and

**WHEREAS**, The field for organization in this section is large and fertile; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this 32nd Convention of the American Federation of Labor approve and it hereby does approve the recommendations for a revival or Labor Forward Movement as outlined and recommended by the Executive Council; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That this convention authorize and it does hereby authorize the inauguration of the Labor Forward Movement in the state of New York as the starting point of the country-wide movement, to be started as early in January, 1913, as it is possible for arrangements to be made and be conducted under the supervision of the State Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 56 — By Delegate Sol. Sontheimer, Hartford, Conn., Central Labor Union:

**WHEREAS**, There are several local unions in the city of Hartford, Conn., to wit; the painters, decorators and paperhangers, the sheet metal workers, the slate and tile roofers, the bridge and structural iron workers, the tile layers and helpers, the wood, wire and metal lathers affiliated with their internationals, which are in turn affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and with the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. and with the Building Trades Council of this city, and there are other local unions that are eligible, namely, those of the United Association of Plumbers, Gas

Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers and of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, but which persistently refuse to affiliate with the local Building Trades Council; and

**WHEREAS**, The local Council has, for more than two years, used every endeavor to get these locals to affiliate, having had the co-operation of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. and of the American Federation of Labor itself, which delegated Special Organizer Henry Streifier to assist in persuading these delinquent locals to affiliate and yet they persistently refuse to do so, meeting every friendly advance with contempt; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we report said action on their part to the convention of the American Federation of Labor and request that a strong protest be sent directly from the convention of the A. F. of L. in session at Rochester, N. Y., to the delinquent locals, condemning them for their reactionary attitude towards the local Building Trades Council of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L.; and be it

**RESOLVED**, That we request the said convention to urge the forthcoming convention of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor to take drastic measures with said delinquent locals, to the end that they may be shown that in the event of their more persistent non-affiliation with the local Council, their charters shall become endangered.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 57—By the Lynn, Mass., Central Labor Union:

**WHEREAS**, There are from eighteen to twenty thousand members of independent and dual organizations to the A. F. of L. who are continually adding to their membership in Lynn, Mass.; and

**WHEREAS**, There is a large plant in the western part of the city known as the General Electric Company, employing fourteen thousand of the following trades: painters, carpenters, steam fitters, electricians, machinists, pattern makers, molders, engineers, and others who are unorganized; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the A. F. of L. send an organizer to the city of Lynn, Mass., to assist in the organizing of this plant; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the convention urge upon all national and international organizations having jurisdiction over the above mentioned trades to send an organizer to take up immediately the work of organizing this plant.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

At 12:30 the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2 p. m.

## Third Day—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Wednesday, November 13th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees** — Noschang, Klapetzky, Kline, Barnes, Zuckerman, Yount, Ford, Harnahan, Dolan, Conway, Dyché, Taggart, Bryan, Healey, Price, Tazelaar, Sheret, Murphy, Whitehead, Mallin, Miller, Gallagher, Ryan, Taber, Huddleston, Welch, Tobin, Swick, Darling, Sullivan (James) Laurentz, Tharp, Campbell, Sause, Glidden, Landers, Burke, Hicks, Diehl, Elyea, Doherty, Evans, Ferguson, Pace, Morgan, Stokes, Voll, Lampa, Cunningham, Beckman, Plasterer, Labbee.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

"Washington, D. C., November 13, 1910.  
"Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor,  
Rochester, N. Y.

"Following cable from Porto Rico repeated:

"Porto Rico Labor Federation extends fraternal greetings to you and delegates in convention assembled, and wish great success. We earnestly request the convention to pass strong resolution asking the United States Senate to pass pending bill granting American citizenship to Porto Ricans. Organized labor in the Island will progress wonderfully with definite status of our people.

"Santiago Igelsias, President Porto Rico Federation of Labor."

Discussion was resumed on the motion pending at the time of the adjournment, in regard to seating of the representatives of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters.

Vice-President Alpine spoke at length in favor of the pending motion and opposed seating the representatives of the International Association. He referred at length to the work of the United Association and of the protection afforded by that organization to all members of the pipe fitting trades. He referred briefly to the past history of both organizations and the controversy that has existed between them for years. He quoted at length from proceedings of former conventions and from various letters and documents in regard to the case.

Delegate Furuseth spoke at length in opposition to the pending motion and

urged the seating of the representatives of the International Association.

Delegate Holland (J. P.) opposed the pending motion and spoke in favor of seating the representatives of the International Association.

Delegate Short, President of the Building Trades Department, discussed the question briefly and defended the action of the conventions and the executive councils of both the American Federation of Labor and the Building Trades Department.

On a question of personal privilege Mr. Mangan was given the floor to reply to some statements in regard to himself made by one of the speakers.

Vice-President O'Connell in the chair.

President Gompers discussed the question at length. During his discussion he referred briefly to the action of the Atlanta convention of the American Federation of Labor and the action of the Executive Council.

On motion of Delegate Campbell debate was closed.

On a question of personal privilege Mr. Kinsella was given the floor to make a brief reply to a statement made by Delegate Alpine.

The motion offered by Delegate Campbell was read by Secretary Morrison.

Delegate Furuseth—I ask for a division of the motion. It is capable, I think, of being divided. It contains two points, one an endorsement of the action of the Executive Council, for which I would like to vote aye; the other a denial of the right to a seat to the Steam Fitters, on which I would like to vote no.

Chairman O'Connell—The chair rules that the motion is not subject to division; that it covers one question.

Delegate Furuseth—Does the adoption of this motion mean the expulsion, or the cancellation of the charter of the Steam Fitters?

Chairman O'Connell—The question is not mentioned in the resolution.

Delegate Furuseth—I want to understand what I am voting on. Am I voting

to expel the Steam Fitters, or to revoke their charter, or am I voting to endorse the action of the Executive Council?

Chairman O'Connell—You are voting on the seating of the delegates of the Steam Fitters in this convention.

Delegate Furuseth—Does that mean their charter is revoked already or that this convention will revoke it.

Chairman O'Connell—The provision of the law requiring the revocation of a charter would require an entirely different vote from what is now being taken.

Delegate Furuseth—In other words, there will be another opportunity in this convention, presumably, to vote on whether the charter shall be revoked.

Chairman O'Connell—The chair is not in a position to state what action will be taken later by the convention.

A viva voce vote was taken on the motion offered by Delegate Campbell.

Chairman O'Connell—The motion seems to be adopted.

Delegate Furuseth—I would like to have a roll call on that.

The request was not supported by a sufficient number of delegates to warrant the calling of the roll.

President Gompers—I would ask the division by a show of hands.

The suggestion of President Gompers was complied with, and a count by the Secretary and Assistant Secretary showed that 192 votes were cast in the affirmative and 31 in the negative.

The chairman announced that the motion offered by Delegate Campbell was carried.

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate Henry Prinz, New York State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Hat and Cap Leather Sweat Band Cutters Union, No. 11,307, of New York, on account of its isolation as a federal union from all affiliated unions connected with their craft, are unable to displace non-union sweat bands from union made hats; and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. has declared for one organization for each trade, which we heartily endorse, and which would greatly benefit this union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. use its influence to the effect that the Hat and Cap Leather Sweat Band Cutters Union become part of the United Hatters of North America, or the Hat Trimmers Union, as a subordinate body in order to

secure relief that is absolutely necessary for the maintenance and existence of their organization.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 54—By A. A. Myrup, Henry Koch and J. Goldstone of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America:

WHEREAS, The label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America represents bread and other bakery and confectionery goods made under fair and sanitary conditions, honest wages, living hours and by union men; and

WHEREAS, The label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America is the only means of distinguishing union from non-union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, re-endorse the label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That every member of each affiliated union be, and is hereby requested to ask for the union label on all products he or she may purchase, thereby showing or proving his or her loyalty to the cause of unionism in a substantial manner.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 60—By A. A. Myrup, Henry Koch and J. Goldstone of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America:

WHEREAS, The Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America for the past nineteen months has been engaged in a life and death struggle against the non-union monopolization of the bread industry by what is known as the bread trust, which is composed of the various gigantic baking concerns, such as the Ward Baking Company, operating in localities of such cities as New York, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Boston and Providence, and are the non-union manufacturers of what is known as the "Tip-Top" bread, and another component part of the bread trust known as the General Baking Company, operating at present in the localities of over thirty of the larger cities and are the non-union manufacturers of various brands of bread, such as "Pan Dandy," "Butter Crust," "Mighty Nice"; and

WHEREAS, Persons financially backing this bread trust and the methods used by this combination are identical with persons financially interested in the steel trust, and the methods used (such as the welfare plan) are a duplicate of those used in the steel industry to successfully exterminate organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The intended non-union monopolization of the bread industry, if successfully accomplished, will not alone

mean the exclusion of all organized labor from the bread industry, but will also thereby place at the mercy of the magnates of the Bread Trust the bread-consuming public and dictate to them under which terms and at what prices they shall eat bread, the main staff of life; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, denounce this intended monopolization of the bread industry, and that it endorses the anti-bread trust fight now being waged against the bread trust by the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor pledges itself to do all it consistently can to assist the Bakery Workers to create a healthy public sentiment in opposition to this non-union bread trust monopoly, to which end the President of the American Federation of Labor be directed to issue a letter containing this resolution to all international and national unions, state and city central bodies, and affiliated unions, the labor press, and to the organizers of the American Federation of Labor, requesting that they give their assistance and support to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America in the anti-bread trust fight conducted by this organization.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

**Resolution No. 61—By H. P. Corcoran, State Federation of Labor, West Virginia;**

**WHEREAS**, Thousands of men are employed on the industrial field engaged in the manufacture of stogies, one-half of whom are organized; and

**WHEREAS**, Through the effort of organization we have secured a higher standard of wages and better working conditions, which is also characteristic of the cigar making trade; and

**WHEREAS**, We believe that an amalgamation of the cigar and stogie trades would result in the elimination of much of the non-union product now being sold; and

**WHEREAS**, Conferences have been held at various times between the executive officers of the International Cigar Makers Union- and the National Stogie Makers League for the purpose of amalgamating the two branches, at which conferences they were not able to arrive at a basis of amalgamation, satisfactory to both sides; and

**WHEREAS**, These conferences were held in conformity with the policy of the A. F. of L. with reference to the two organizations combining, and failure on the part of both organizations in arriving at a satisfactory solution of the problem which has been resultant in the application of the Stogie Workers being refused a charter from the A. F. of L., and being refused, we still believe that further efforts should be made to bring the two organizations together; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention take some action looking towards a better and more thorough organization of both branches of this industry in the interest of those dependent upon the industry and in the interest of the general labor movement.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Resolution No. 62—By Delegate James Wilson, Pattern Makers League:**

**WHEREAS**, There is now pending in the Senate a bill which has passed the House of Representatives, creating a separate Department of Labor with a Secretary at its head who shall be a member of the President's Cabinet; and

**WHEREAS**, The men selected by the Presidents to serve as secretaries of the various departments have almost invariably been lawyers, professional or business men, whose environment, interests and standards are usually not in harmony or sympathy with those of the working people; and

**WHEREAS**, The contemplated department cannot be representative of labor, unless the Secretary who directs its operations and determines its policies is cognizant of labor's purposes and the forces that have shaped them, and is thereby fitted to be labor's spokesman in the Cabinet of the President of the United States; and

**WHEREAS**, This Secretary cannot be truly representative of labor unless selected by the only agency by which the working people as such have the means of giving expression to their wishes; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this Convention of the A. F. of L. instruct its authorized representatives to use every honorable means to have this bill enacted into law; that members of all affiliated organizations be urged to use their influence with their respective Representatives and Senators to the same end; and furthermore, that the A. F. of L., in Convention assembled, do demand the appointment of a recognized representative member of organized labor for the office of Secretary of the department to be created, and do authorize and direct the Executive Council to present names to the President of the United States from which to select a secretary for the said department.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 63—By Delegate Agnes Nestor, International Glove Workers Union of America:**

**WHEREAS**, A controversy has existed between the Saranac Glove Company of Littleton, N. H., and the Glove Workers Union of that city since October, 1910, because of the discharge of a number of men, all of whom had been employed by the company for a number of years, for refusing to give up their membership in the Glove Workers Union; and

WHEREAS, The Atlanta Convention of the A. F. of L. adopted a resolution instructing the Executive Council to endeavor to effect an adjustment of the question in controversy; and

WHEREAS, Repeated efforts have been made since that time by representatives of the A. F. of L. and the International Glove Workers Union to reach an agreement with the Saranac Glove Company, but without success; and

WHEREAS, The product of the company is sold largely among the working people, particularly railroad men; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That another effort be made by the Executive Council to reach an agreement and if this is not effected within sixty days, that the Executive Council be authorized to thoroughly advertise the attitude of this company, among the organized workers of the company, particularly the railroad workers and unions in the district where this product is sold.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

At 4:45 p. m. the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9:30 a. m., Thursday, November 14th.

## Fourth Day—Thursday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Thursday, November 14th. President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Noschang, Klapetzky, Thoman, Gengenbach, Tracy (Thos.), Zuckerman, Yount, Ford, Feeney, Rosenberg, Nestor, Bryan, Healey, Price, Hannah, Leonard, Murphy, Whitehead, Miller, Hanson, Huddleston, Grimshaw, Welsh, Carolan, Swick, Smith (Frank), Sause, Glidden, Burke, Hicks, Burns, Elyea, Doherty, Ferguson, Morgan, Stokes, Voll, Duffy, Lawler, Lampa, Beckman.

### Report of Auditing Committee.

Rochester, N. Y., November 11, 1912.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:

The undersigned Auditing Committee, who were selected to audit the books and accounts of Secretary Frank Morrison and Treasurer John B. Lennon, beg leave to submit their report, as follows:

### RECEIPTS.

Income from October 1, 1911, to September 30, 1912:

Per capita tax .....	\$153,433.89
Supplies .....	9,508.51
Interest .....	4,591.32
American Federationist .....	17,240.19
Assessment United Hatters .....	553.36
Defense Fund, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions .....	19,336.26
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions .....	2,710.07
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$207,373.60</b>
Balance on hand September 30, 1911 .....	189,579.56
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$396,953.16</b>

### EXPENSES.

Expenses from October 1, 1911 to September 30, 1912, inclusive:

General expenses .....	\$183,361.53
Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions .....	67,455.33
American Federationist .....	18,731.77
Assessment for United Hatters..	5,841.45
Premiums on Bonds .....	2,089.15

**Total expenses for the year .. \$277,479.23**

### RECAPITULATION.

On hand October 1, 1911 .....	\$189,579.56
<b>Total receipts .....</b>	<b>207,373.60</b>
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$396,953.16</b>
<b>Disbursements .....</b>	<b>277,479.23</b>
<b>Balance on hand September 30, 1912 .....</b>	<b>\$119,473.93</b>
<b>In General Fund .....</b>	<b>\$33,810.66</b>
<b>In Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Unions ....</b>	<b>85,663.27</b>
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$119,473.93</b>

The above sum of \$119,473.93 is distributed as follows:

McLean County Bank certificate of deposit bearing 3 per cent interest:

Certificate No. 2655 .....	\$10,000.00
Certificate No. 2702 .....	5,000.00
Certificate No. 2703 .....	5,000.00
Certificate No. 2704 .....	5,000.00
Certificate No. 2705 .....	5,000.00
Certificate No. 2706 .....	5,000.00
Certificate No. 2707 .....	5,000.00
Certificate No. 2708 .....	10,000.00
Certificate No. 2709 .....	10,000.00
Certificate No. 2710 .....	10,000.00
Certificate No. 2711 .....	10,000.00
Certificate No. 2712 .....	10,000.00
Certificate No. 2714 .....	10,000.00

<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$100,000.00</b>
McLean County Bank in name of John B. Lennon, subject to check .....	17,473.93
In name of Frank Morrison, Riggs National Bank, subject to check, September 30, 1912 ...	7,623.20
<b>.....</b>	<b>\$125,097.13</b>
<b>Outstanding checks .....</b>	<b>5,623.20</b>

September 30, 1912, balance on hand .....

**\$119,473.93**  
In auditing the accounts your committee were shown every courtesy by Mr. Morrison and his assistants, and we take this occasion to compliment him and his very able assistants for the creditable manner in which the accounts are kept and the affairs of the American Federation of Labor in his office conducted.

Respectfully submitted,

EDW. J. MARX, Chairman,  
W. A. NEER,  
DUNCAN McDONALD, Secretary.

On motion the report was adopted.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

"Globe, Arizona, November 13, 1912.  
"Samuel Gompers, President:

"The Arizona State Federation of Labor in session at Globe extends its best wishes for the deliberations of the A. F. of L.

"J. C. PROVOST,  
President,

"H. F. DEWINTON,  
Secretary."

"New Haven, Conn., November 13, 1912

"Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall, Rochester:

"The Cigar Makers Union 39 of New Haven, Conn., in meeting assembled, extends fraternal greetings to the delegates composing the convention and expresses the hope that their deliberations and actions will result in advancing the progress toward the final emancipation of the working class of this continent.

"F. A. GRUBE,  
"Financial Secretary-Treasurer."

## Report of Fraternal Delegates to the British Trades Union Congress.

To the American Federation of Labor in Convention, Rochester, N. Y., November, 1912:

**GREETINGS:** In response to the honor and instructions conferred by the American Federation of Labor, your delegates to the British Trades Union Congress beg to submit herewith for the consideration of the labor movement of North America as expressed through the medium of the American Federation of Labor, their report.

We submit to the convention only those matters that especially attracted our attention and which in our opinion would be of the greatest interest to our movement generally.

The British Trades Union Congress convened at Newport, Wales, Monday, September the second, the convention being called to order and presided over by Mr. Will Thorne, M. P., and Secretary of the Gasworkers and General Laborers' organization. The Congress, like the movement generally throughout all the nations of the world, showed a marked increase in membership, it being reported as the largest Congress that had ever been held in the history of the forty-five years of the Congress' existence. At the session of 1911 the membership totaled 1,662,133; the delegation in the 1912 Congress represented a membership of 1,971,109, showing a net increase for the year of 308,976. This increase eclipsed all records in the history of the English movement with the exception of the year 1890. From our point of view this remarkable gain in numerical strength is primarily due to the especial activity displayed by the organizations affiliated with the Congress, and their struggles and successes in the past two years. While the general improvements resulting from the campaigns have not been entirely satisfactory, yet the evidence of strength found in collective action has encouraged the workers to greater efforts of organization and their loyalty to the trades union movement.

It is hardly necessary for your delegates to draw a comparison between the standard of wages of the workers of England and the compensation received by the

workers of our country, this phase of the movement having been reported on so often in the past. It is, however, worth noting that the increased cost of living while much lower there than in our country, shows a gradual advance from the standard existing in 1911. The unrest is of natural consequence increasing and the margin or profit of even the best paid artisans of England is less than the profits above the necessities of living received by the workers of our country. In the unskilled trades and among the women workers the wages received are far inferior to the standard set in this country and indeed it is hard to realize how the unskilled workers in miscellaneous trades are able to work out an existence from the compensation received. It is noteworthy, however, that the women in the textile industry under the very able leadership of former delegates to the American Federation of Labor from England, Messrs. Mullin and Crinlon, receive a higher compensation than the workers in the same industry in this country, but this we found as a general exception and it was freely acknowledged that there are two millions or more of women workers in Great Britain receiving less than 10s, or \$2.40 per week, covering a work-day of from twelve to fourteen hours.

The hours of labor of the workers of many industries in England, organized and unorganized, are as long as the wages are low. We were greatly impressed with this phase of the economic situation because in the opinion of your delegates it established the answer to the unemployment conditions of the large industrial centers of that country. We are pleased to announce, however, that the agitation for a shorter work-day is received with greater consideration by organized labor and its sympathizers in Great Britain today than it has ever been in the past, and we may expect within the very near future efforts renewed, and with greater determination, for a more equitable arrangement of the work-day. Your representatives to the Congress laid especial stress upon this phase of the situation, urging that the greatest possible effort be

put forth in the better distribution of the work among the workers and those who would work if it were possible to do so.

In referring to the miscellaneous trades and the unorganized workers, your representatives to the Congress urged the adoption of a union label to the end that the purchasing power of the organized workers of England might be directed into channels that would assure the producers a respectable livelihood and a work-day of reasonable length. As has been reported by former delegates to Great Britain, there is little known of the union label and its possibilities. A great many of the delegates to the Congress, however, whom we met, in private conversation expressed great interest in the possibilities of the union label and evidenced the keenest interest in our label campaign advanced by the American Federation of Labor through the instrumentality of the Label Trades Department and label leagues. While to some of the delegates a label campaign seemed like an insurmountable obstacle to overcome at this late date, yet others were of the opinion that it could be inaugurated on even a more substantial basis than the label movement in America, and in this belief your representatives joined, because it would be possible to establish greater uniformity in the label and thereby a better understanding of its representation, in that there are no conflicting labels in use at the present time.

Your representatives were especially interested in the mode of procedure of the convention and in many ways a superiority was evidenced. This was particularly noticeable in the facilitation of the business of the convention through the arrangement of an agenda in advance and served upon the delegates elect, prior to the convention. There are no permanent officers other than the secretary. The Parliamentary Committee, however, acts between conventions in about the same capacity as our Executive Council, except that all industries are represented on that body by whatever officers or members the unions having jurisdiction in the respective industries select to act for them. There is no president on salary, as we have. The man who presides over the Congress is selected by the Parliamentary Committee under the rule that no one will act in that capacity more than once until all of the organizations represented in the Parliamentary Committee shall have had that honor. The International Mining Congress operates on about the same plan. There seems to be a growing sentiment and tendency in favor of one organization having jurisdiction over each industry and all workers in any industry belonging to one organization.

As has been referred to by previous representatives to the Congress, consideration of political action forms one of the most important departments of the Congress and of the movement in England, the Labor Party being an offspring, or in reality a department, of the British Trades Union Congress. There can be no denial of the fact that the Labor Party

under the direction of the Congress has made remarkable strides in forcing home needful legislation for the workers of that country. At the present time they have forty-one representatives in the House of Commons. Their leader, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, has shown exceptional ability, and he, in common with the full representation in the House of Commons, commands the fullest respect of the workers of Great Britain as well as of the liberal thinking citizenship. During strikes, on account of having their own political party, they have readier access to and more influence with the government than they had previously, and through government investigations and otherwise making public the situation from a worker's point of view, substantial assistance has been rendered towards getting the disputes settled favorably to the unions.

In the Congress, also in the Miner's Executive Board meetings and conventions and in the meetings of the local unions, they discuss and agree on a course of action on the political questions with the same freedom and to the same extent in detail that they do the questions of wages, hours and conditions of labor. This, we understand, is also true of the other trade unions of that country. Because many of the political questions and remedial laws affect seriously the health, safety, hours of labor and even the wages of the members, as well as the care of their children and their education, also their own living, in case of incapacity through injury, disease or old age, the members of the unions there are intensely interested in seeing that everything is done that can be done for themselves by the use of their votes. The organization of their political party, the success achieved by it, and the continual exchange of views among the members, as well as the work of education carried on by the Labor Party, have done an immense work in educating the workers politically. Old prejudices and superstitions on this subject have been eliminated, and a great impetus has been given to the labor movement in its every phase. The workers have been inspired with a stronger faith in themselves and they have been given greater hope than ever before that they will accomplish the things which as trade unionists they set out to do, and which must be done before they have solved the labor problems of their time in such a way as to give them and their families the best living that the application of their labor power in the most intelligent manner, along with the utilization of all inventions and discoveries made, together with the natural resources of their country, can give them.

Through the combination of the Liberal Party, the Irish Party and the Labor Party a liberal government is now in power, and while the Labor Party is not expected to secure the fullest consideration, yet there is evidence already that practical results can be expected in greater proportion in the future than have been in the past. In July of this year (1912) there became effective



a National Insurance Act, applicable six months later (January 15, 1913). This act is very largely of a compulsory nature, and with certain exceptions applies to all persons of either sex and of any nationality between the ages of sixteen and sixty-five. The minimum benefits to be derived from the Insurance Act are medical, sanatorium, sickness, disablement and maternity. The medical benefit insures free medical attention and medicine. The sanatorium benefit insures free treatment for tuberculosis or other diseases at the various sanatoriums to be established, also tents, shelters, or through the medium of home dispensaries as the case in question may warrant. The sickness benefit is paid to those coming within the scope of the law and rendered incapable of work by some specific disease or by bodily or mental disablement after notice has been given in accordance with the plan as outlined by the act; the benefits to be paid for a period not exceeding twenty-six weeks—the person receiving the benefit must have actually ceased work and received a doctor's certificate to the effect that he is suffering from the disease or disablement stipulated. The rate paid for the sick benefit arrangement is: Men, 10s, or \$2.40 per week; women, 7s. 6d., or \$1.80 per week. The benefits for young persons under 21 and unmarried are: Men, 6s., or \$1.44 for the first thirteen weeks, and 5s., or \$1.20 for the second thirteen weeks; women coming under the unmarried arrangement, 6s., or \$1.20 for the first thirteen weeks, and 4s. or 96c for the second thirteen weeks. The disablement benefits provide 5s. or \$1.20 per week for men and 4s. or 96c per week for women, the only provision being that the person to be entitled to the disablement benefits shall have been a weekly contributor for 104 weeks. Arrangement for additional benefits is provided immediately upon the fund reaching certain proportions; these additional benefits are tabulated and the memorandum of same, while not being a part of the law, is recognized as the established plan of procedure in the event of such surplus. A provision of the act also provides that a future Parliament may extend the benefits beyond the tabulated additional benefits if there is still further surplus from the funds. The funds are raised from, first, a direct appropriation from Parliament; second, compulsory contributions from employers; third, compulsory contributions by the employees; and fourth, from the regular contributions by Parliament upon each individual contributor. Every working man is required to pay 2½d. or 5c per week, and every employer is required to pay on each and every employee in his employment the same amount as the workmen, and Parliament is required to pay one-third of the total contributions received from employers and workmen during each year. The rate indicated above is for workmen above the age of 18. In case of a workman under the age of 18, the employer and the employee are required to pay 1d., or 2c per week.

There can be no question as to the great importance of the Insurance Act to the

poor. Indeed, it is the most effective blow that could be given to poverty in the congested industrial districts of a very congested country like England. It is claimed by those members of the Congress with whom your representatives discussed the matter, that statistics show that at least 30% of all pauperism in their country could be attributed to sickness, and the fact that over fourteen millions of people will be brought under the free medical act, is substantial proof of the claim. There can be no doubt that the act will do much in the elimination of contagious diseases, particularly consumption, because the possibilities for immediate treatment of the diseases of the workman are established, and he will more willingly seek medical advice when he knows of the protection derived through the disablement benefit for his family. There are, of course, in the enforcement of the act possibilities detrimental to the economic condition of the worker; while your representatives are not able to report on any specific abuse, yet a reduction in the wages by the employer to meet the payment of the insurance is possible. While under the law the employer is not entitled to deduct from the wages or to recover in any manner the payments on the workmen, yet there is no provision that would prevent the discharging of a workman and his re-employment at a reduced wage, and while after all the Insurance Act is a most happy arrangement for the masses of Great Britain, a strong economic organization is needed in order properly to protect it and to compel the employing classes to pay from the industry the contributions intended by the act.

Another matter which we consider of sufficient importance to mention, is the significance of the recent victory on the part of the Miners' Union of Great Britain in getting a minimum wage law established. Although it is not quite satisfactory in its present status, in that in order not to jeopardize the chances of men for getting work who are partially incapacitated by injury, disease or old age, provisions were made exempting these unfortunates from its operation, and also in some instances the coal operators are trying to make the minimum wage the maximum wage, still as a whole the miners are large gainers by its operation, and the ones who were the most helpless and needed it the worst made the greatest gains. Outside of all this, however, the most important phase of this exceedingly important question is the extent to which it applies to the miners. The nation through that law has gone on record to the effect that employers have not the right to force men to work for less than a living wage, which, in effect, broadly interpreted, also means that the government has declared that every able bodied man who is willing to work is entitled to a living for himself and his dependents. The Labor Party was of substantial assistance to the Miners' Union in this struggle.

It is quite possible that in the coming House of Commons, labor's representatives will introduce a bill regulating the

work-day in all industries on an eight hour basis. This action will be the most advanced step taken by the labor organizations in demanding from the government economic improvements. It is argued, however by many of the leaders of the Congress, that if it is competent for the government to establish a Minimum Wage Act, a Compulsory Insurance Act, and an Eight-Hour Day Act in government works, it is also competent for the government to establish a shorter work-day that will assure better distribution of employment. The efforts of the Congress in this direction, we are sure, will be watched with the greatest interest by the workers of our country as well as the other nations of the world. Various other demands upon the government will be made in the coming session of Parliament by organized labor; many of them having been reported upon by former delegates to the Congress a reiteration we deem unnecessary at this time.

One matter, however, that will be advanced with renewed vigor, will be the Home Rule Bill, which was given unanimous approval by the Congress with instructions to force it through the third passage. The complexion of the House of Commons has not been materially changed since its last passage and your representatives are firmly of the opinion that it will become a law, as it is generally conceded that the King will grant its enactment because of the popular demand for it. While the conditions of Ireland are somewhat unsettled at this time, due to the protest of the citizens of Belfast, yet it is quite evident that the basis of the protest against the Home Rule Bill emanates from the industrial captains of Belfast, the railroad magnates and the land barons of that country who fear the establishment of an Irish Parliament, not so much for the encroachment upon their religious principles as for the fear of an equitable system of taxation, a division of the land, and, possibly to their slight personal disadvantage, an improved economic condition for the workers of Ireland.

The Congress approved of the plan submitted by the Parliamentary Committee for the establishment of a bank to be controlled by the unions. The Congress also endorsed a plan for the establishment of daily newspapers to present the cause of labor. It is with great pleasure that your representatives are able to report the establishment of two daily papers of considerable magnitude in England controlled entirely by organized labor; and in this movement the Congress was as a unit because of the recognition of the absolute necessity of having a medium through which the truth as to labor's position might be disseminated. The position of the capitalistic newspapers of Great Britain is not unlike that of the same class of publications that are constantly misrepresenting labor and its efforts in our country. Our Federation, in the opinion of your delegates, could well follow in the footsteps of the Congress in the establishment of daily publications wherever possible.

The report of the Parliamentary Committee on their success in amalgamating organizations of the various industries into federations was made, and the Committee was congratulated by the Congress on bringing together the building trades organizations into one joint Federation; the plans were unanimously agreed to by the representatives of the various unions and 116,550 ballots were sent to the membership for a vote upon the program agreed to. It was not possible for your delegates to receive full information as to the outcome but from the reports received on our departure, applications and general approvals from the unions were as follows:

	Votes.
Carpenters and Joiners.....	55,000
Operative Plumbers.....	11,350
United Builders' Laborers.....	3,000
Builders' Laborers, National Association .....	4,500
Operative Bricklayers, Manchester Unity .....	1,600
Operative Bricklayers .....	24,000
Operative Stone Masons.....	8,000
Painters and Decorators, London and Provincial .....	500
Plasterers .....	7,600
Street Masons and Pavers.....	1,000

It will be seen by the above that the deepest possible interest is being taken in this movement looking to federation. Other organizations now discussing federations are the Boot and Shoe Operatives, Bakers and Confectioners, Tailors, the Furnishing Trades Organizations and the Printing Trades. The federation of the organizations has already resulted in additional strength and many improvements. This has given encouragement to the cause for joint action. While the Congress unanimously approved of the federation of unions of industries, and unanimously condemned the system of union men working with non-union men, they at the same time administered a severe rebuke to syndicalism, as represented by sabotage, disregard for contracts or laws, general dishonest and destructive methods and general strikes as a panacea for all evils, although the latter action was taken after a heated debate, many, mistaking organization by industries for syndicalism, fighting the resolution until they learned their error.

One of the very important matters before the Congress and a subject which your delegates referred to in their message, was the matter of prevention of war between nations. At the Newcastle session of the British Trades Union Congress, a resolution was adopted requiring the inauguration of a movement to establish peace between the nations of the world. From the resolution developed a petition which is now being circulated among the organized workers and their sympathizers of Great Britain, and which met with the fullest support of the Congress. The petition is to be directed to the Third World's Peace Conference. Your representatives would urge upon the convention of the Federation that favorable consideration be given the

movement for world-wide peace. In all the countries visited and the various conventions that your delegates were fortunate enough to be able to attend, there was an undivided sentiment toward the establishment of a universal brotherhood, and it is the opinion of your representatives that the American Federation of Labor should take the initiative in this great work and invite a conference of the representatives of organized labor from all of the nations of the world, to discuss and devise plans for the assurance of peaceful relationship between the nations, the elimination of the burden of warfare, and the preparation for it. This your representatives would recommend to the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The Congress in consideration of the growth of the Canadian movement, made provisions by which they will in the future be represented by a delegate in the same manner as is the American Federation of Labor. The first delegate selected was Mr. Will Thorne, Chairman of last year's Parliamentary Committee.

One of the things that attracted our attention while in Great Britain and Ireland was the enormous proportions to which the co-operative movement had grown in those countries. According to the Co-Operative Wholesale Society's Annual for 1911, the total sales for forty-seven years, prior to and including 1908, were approximately \$9,768,901,945. The total profits for the same time returned to the workers themselves as dividends were \$927,716,240. According to the report of the Forty-third Annual Co-Operative Congress, held at Bradford, England, June 5, 1911, there had been employed directly by the Co-Operative Association of Great Britain and Ireland for the year 1910, 122,000 persons, and these employees had received better wages and been given more favorable conditions of employment than even the trade unions had been able to force the private employer to give their members. If it had nothing else to recommend it, the fact that it had benefited those 122,000 men and women workers to that extent would have justified its existence.

These workers were not only employed in the retail branches of this great institution but also in its wholesale concerns, farms, shipyards, factories, etc. The productive establishments owned, controlled and operated by the Wholesale Co-Operative Association of Great Britain produced and sold during the year 1910, 20,000,000 pounds sterling, or \$100,000,000 worth of commodities. The gross sales for all commodities for 1910 were 111,582,779 pounds sterling, or \$557,913,875. The profits which the workers drew in dividends for that period were 12,024,816 pounds sterling, or \$60,124,080.

These figures almost stagger one, and they answer conclusively the cry that the people are not able to manage business and industry intelligently and successfully. This was done in those small countries which are not much greater in area than Illinois. They not only saved themselves \$60,124,080 in that one year

and got it into their own homes and used it for the betterment of themselves, their wives and children, which otherwise would have gone to the middlemen and profitmongers, but also by reason of the influence of the "Co-Op." as it is familiarly called over there, the private concerns were compelled to furnish purer goods and they dare not combine and raise the price above the cost of production as they are doing in our country. Incidentally it is developing on the part of the workers the capacity and ability to do their own business successfully in every branch of industry. In times of strikes or industrial depressions it is also a powerful influence for the good of the workers, as it does away with the credit system and develops greater self-reliance among its members besides enabling them to save something to strike on. It also has educational bureaus, and a tremendous work is being done in that direction among the working people. It is also the largest single donator, in a charitable way, except possibly the trade union movement itself, to alleviate misery amongst the ranks of the toilers of those lands. In every conceivable way it is working toward the betterment and for the advancement of those who earn their bread in the sweat of their brow. This movement, if established in our country, would be a most efficient corollary of the label movement.

Your representatives desire to express their great appreciation for the honor conferred upon them in making it possible to carry the message of fraternity to the workers of the old country. We profited greatly by the opportunities which the Federation accorded us, not only to secure a fair understanding of the general movement, but we were enabled to secure a detailed understanding of the respective trades that we in our movement here are associated with. We desire to transmit through this report to the various fraternal delegates who have visited England, the kindest felicitations of those who are in the movement there and we returned to America with the sincere hope of a unanimous movement for the success of the workers of the North American continent. The saddest part of our mission as your representatives was the farewell greeting to those whom we met on the other side, those whom we learned to like in our short stay, because of their unyielding devotion to the cause that we sponsor here. It was sad because, in many ways and possibly in all, it was a good bye in its fullest sense, but with that let us again assure this convention that it would not be possible for a deeper feeling of friendship and of brotherhood to exist in England than does exist at this time for our movement in America.

Respectfully submitted,

G. L. BERRY,

Delegate.

J. H. WALKER,

Delegate.

Delegate McCullough (T. W.) moved that the report be adopted and made part of the proceedings of the convention.

(Seconded.)

Delegate Proebstle moved as an amend-

ment that the recommendations in the report be referred to the proper committees. (Seconded.)

Delegate McCullough accepted the amendment, and the motion as amended was adopted.

## Report of Fraternal Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

To the Officers and Delegates to the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Greeting:

The Twenty-eighth annual convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada was opened Monday morning, September 9, 1912, by W. B. Parker, President of the Guelph Trades and Labor Council. In welcoming the delegates, he said he did so on behalf of the Trades and Labor Council of the Royal City of Guelph. He predicted that it would be the best convention in the history of the Congress.

Geo. J. Thorpe, Esq., Major of the City of Guelph, welcomed the delegates on behalf of the Royal City, telling the delegates they prided themselves on being one of the first cities to run their utilities along the line of public ownership of public utilities.

Addresses of welcome were made by Frank Howard, of the Reception Committee of the Guelph City Council, Hugh Guthrie, M. P. and H. C. Schoenfeld, members of the Provincial Legislature.

In a brief and appropriate address, President Watters responded to the addresses of welcome, and then declared the Twenty-eighth convention of the Trades and Labor Congress, open for the transaction of business that will legally come before it.

Mr. Keir Hardie, representing the British Labor Party, and your Fraternal Delegate, were called upon by President Watters to make a few remarks, after which the Committee on Credentials, made their report to the convention, which was adopted. Seating two Fraternal Delegates, two from Federations of Labor, fourteen delegates representing international unions, forty-eight delegates representing Trades and Labor Councils, and 108 delegates representing local and Federal Labor Unions, a total of 254 delegates, the high water mark in the history of the Congress.

The Executive Committee's report, covered all questions of interest to the workers in Canada. The most important were the Lemieux Act, or the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, war scare Parliamentary Representative, United States affairs, free speech workers in the far eastern provinces, bi-monthly payments on railroads, Provincial Federations of Labor, Labor College, the Kruz

case, which pertains to the workmens' compensation, old age pensions, immigration, workmens' compensation, British labor affairs, labor struggles. Each one of these questions was handled very carefully, and in an able manner by the Executive Committee of the Congress. Reports were also made by the Executive Committee of the different Provinces. The organizers of the Congress reported on work done by them in the interest of the Congress and affiliated unions.

Secretary-Treasurer P. M. Draper was unable to attend the Congress owing to severe illness. The following resolution bearing on the case was unanimously adopted:

That this Congress express its sincere regrets that the honored Secretary of the Congress, P. M. Draper has been unable to attend the opening session of this convention owing to a serious and trying illness, and express the hope that he will have sufficiently recovered to join us before the convention closes, and that the feeling of the Convention be communicated to Brother Draper by the acting Secretary, James Simpson.

Report of the Secretary-Treasurer showed an increase of membership during the year of 8,869 members; the total receipts from all sources, including the balance from last year's revenue are \$15,699.79. The total expenses are \$10,219.82, leaving a balance of receipts over expenses of \$5,479.97.

Brother C. L. Baine, General Secretary of the International Boot and Shoe Workers Union was introduced to the convention, and in a brief address, emphasized the growth of the trade union movement on the North American continent during the present year. Brother Baine's remarks were well received by the delegates to the Congress.

Brother Edward Flore, International President of the Hotel and Restaurant Employee's Alliance and Bartenders League of America, was invited to the platform and in a brief address congratulated the Congress upon the splendid work it was doing for the organized workers of the Dominion. He extended the best wishes of the organization he represented.

One hundred and six resolutions were introduced in the Congress, covering every subject to the interest of the workers in Canada. Resolution No. 2, introduced by a representative of the United Brotherhood

of Carpenters and Joiners: Whereas, There now being two rival organizations of carpenters and joiners, each being now affiliated to this Congress, it is considered now to be contrary to the interests of these workers, and furthermore, that the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners having now had its charter revoked by the American Federation of Labor, it is moved by Delegate Arcand, seconded by Delegate J. A. Hibbins, representing local union 1244 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be the one union affiliated and acknowledged by this Congress. Committee non-concurred in the resolution. Quite a number of delegates took part in the discussion on this resolution. A roll call was demanded, and the result showed 124 for adoption of the committee's non-concurrence recommendation, and 76 against.

This resolution was something new for the Congress, and in my opinion the roll call vote taken will not settle it, as the question will come up in the next Congress stronger than ever.

The report of the committee on labels showed that the Congress is alive to the label question, and much good work is being done in Canada for the labels of all crafts.

The special committee to whom the Lemieux Act was referred to after holding three meetings and going into the matter exhaustively, have unanimously decided to refer the question to the Congress as a committee of the whole to take what action they may deem most expedient. Resolutions Nos. 42 and 85 were submitted with this report without recommendation. It was also carried that the committee on officers' reports also report their recommendations on that section of the officers' reports dealing with the Lemieux Act. After a lengthy discussion, in which quite a number of delegates took part, the convention adopted the recommendation of the committee on officers' reports, which was as follows:

The right to strike is the one thing which distinguishes the free workman from the chattel slave, and as this most powerful weapon still is absolutely necessary unimpaired to the workers of Great Britain or any other country, your executive committee recommends that as nothing has happened to change our attitude, this convention instructs the incoming executive committee to communicate to the British Labor Party our expressed attitude on the question, hoping that they will fight to the last ditch against any infringement of the right to strike when they please, however wrapped up the infringement is in honeyed legislative phraseology.

The election of officers for the ensuing year resulted in the election of James C. Watters as president, Fred Bancroft, vice-president, and P. M. Draper as secretary-treasurer. Fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor, John W. Bruce, of the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers.

Fraternal delegate to British Trades Union Congress, P. M. Draper, Secretary-Treasurer of the Congress.

Thus ended the greatest convention in the history of the Congress.

Useful information as to the working conditions of our Brothers in Canada was gained by all delegates present at the convention, including your fraternal delegate. They are doing a great work, and should be encouraged by the American Federation of Labor and all affiliated bodies. If this is done in the proper spirit, it will place the Congress in a better position to meet its liabilities and continue the good work in which it is engaged.

The Congress has decided to have their president devote his full time in the interest of the Congress, and I predict a glorious future for the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

In conclusion, I most heartily thank the delegates of this great American labor movement for the honor conferred upon me. I was most royally received by our Brothers in Canada, which is conclusive proof to me that they honor and respect the American Federation of Labor.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN T. SMITH,  
Fraternal Delegate.

The report was received and made part of the convention proceedings.

#### Addresses of Fraternal Delegates.

President Gompers—It is a great pleasure to present to you this morning the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. It is one of the great pleasures that comes with each recurring convention. Receiving, as we have received this morning, the reports of our fraternal delegates to these respective congresses, we now receive in return the message of good will, fraternity and hope of the organized workers of Great Britain and Canada. I am sure there is no one thing that goes to make up the sentiment, the feeling and the principle of unity and solidarity and brotherhood as comes from the exchange and the interchange of fraternal delegates.

In accordance with the wishes of the two fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress, Mr. Smillie will address this convention first. I take pleasure in presenting to you Mr. Robert Smillie, the President of the Federation of Miners of Great Britain, and fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress.

Fraternal Delegate Robert Smillie spoke as follows:

Mr. President and Fellow Trades Unionists: I need hardly say that I considered myself highly honored when appointed along with my colleague, Mr. Seddon, to carry fraternal greetings from the British trades union movement to the representatives of this convention of the American Federation of Labor. We have had some experience in international work through our Mining Federation and through other labor organizations in Great Britain. We meet from time to time in a business capacity or in a social capacity with delegates representing labor in the continental countries of Europe, and I need scarcely say that somehow or other there is a feeling of closer brotherhood, a closer relation, between the people generally speaking of Great Britain and the people of the great American continent than there is even between us and our friends and comrades on the continent of Europe. This is quite a natural feeling because to a very large extent we are descended from a common stock, and also men holding the views which I hold and which my colleague holds here that the labor movement is universal, and that under its banner should march forward the workers of all nations, independent of creed or color. There is sometimes a sentimental feeling of fellowship between those of a common stock which holds a stronger place in our feelings than can be extended perhaps to those to whom we cannot claim a common kinship. We bear to this great convention to-day, this convention representative of organized labor in America, the hearty greetings of organized labor from Great Britain. We feel that you are like ourselves engaged in one of the noblest works in which men and women can be engaged, for the uplifting of our class, for advancing their interests economically and socially, and ultimately I hope our aim is, as our President this week has said, for the absolute elimination of poverty from the nations of the earth.

Since my colleague and I arrived in America we have had a few opportunities of close intercourse with delegates representing several of the important unions which are represented in this room to-day. We have met the business agents and delegates of several very important trades. We have had the opportunity of speaking to those business agents, addressing a few words to them, and have had the opportunity of learning from them some of the difficulties with which you are face to face in organizing the workers of this great country, and to some extent we had heard of those difficulties before from fraternal delegates who attended our conferences on the other side, or from some of our own work people who had spent some time in America and who had returned, or from reading, but I can assure you that we had not fully realized the difficulties standing in the way of organizing labor in this country, and especially in the

larger cities and industrial centers of this country, until we came amongst you and went amongst your people. The language difficulties must be a terrible difficulty to overcome, and the fact that large numbers of our fellow workers come from all parts of Europe and all parts of the world where they have downtrodden and treated men more as beasts of burden than as human beings, and that their ideals and their desires do not stand as high perhaps so far as living is concerned as do the aspirations and feelings of those who have been raised in this country. Those two difficulties must make it sometimes an almost hopeless task to organize solidly all the workers of the United States, yet enthusiasm and earnestness and ability can do a great deal to overcome those difficulties, and the fact that we see represented in this hall to-day practically two million organized workers in America is a proof that to a great extent those difficulties have been faced and have been overcome, and of the determination which exists to-day not to be contented with two million members enrolled in your great American Federation, but to go on until you double and treble that number and until you bring all labor into organization and all organized under the banner of your great Federation.

After the very exhaustive report presented by Messrs. Walker and Berry of their mission to Great Britain to the Trades Union Congress there, and the exhaustive manner in which they have dealt with many of the problems with which we are struggling at the present time, it leaves very little to be said by Mr. Seddon or myself on the present position of matters in Great Britain. I believe that you will be well pleased to hear that trade, generally speaking, is in an excellent condition throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain at the present time. Unemployment has been eliminated. There is only one thing which the Britisher, whether he be Irish, Scotch or Welsh, is always hunting for, and that is work. I have heard it said about some single individuals whom I knew in my early days working in the pit, that they were looking for work and praying fervently to heaven that they would not get it, but generally speaking, the Britisher is a devil for work. In the past they have been more concerned in looking for work and working when they found work than they were concerned in finding out what they were going to get for the work when they performed it, and so keen have they been for work many times that they have performed two men's work independent of the fact that a brother might be idle because of their performing two men's work. At the present time I believe they are not so fond of work as they used to be. Their sole desire does not seem to be entirely in finding work. They inquire now very closely what is to be the reward for the work where they do secure it. Trade is good, employment is regular, and as a consequence slight increases in wages have been secured by

voluntary arrangements without strike in many of our industries in Great Britain. Trades unionism is still improving, extending numerically, and I believe is advancing in intelligence. In Great Britain as in America there is still plenty of room for the extension of trades unionism, and in our country it is the most helpless—those who most require organization—who are disorganized up to the present time, and I feel and I think that the British trades union movement is rapidly coming to the conclusion that it is the duty of organized labor, of the organized skilled trades of our country, to see to it that the unskilled workers and the sweated woman worker of our various cities should be organized in order that their conditions may be improved, so that I believe within the next few years greater attention will be paid to assisting in the organization of the unskilled male workers and of the female workers of our various industrial centers.

During the past year, as reported by Messrs. Walker and Berry, we have had some lively times in the shape of series labor disputes. We had first a labor dispute affecting a very large body of the railroad workers, a dispute which threatened at one time to cover the whole railway system of Great Britain, but which ultimately was settled on mutual terms more or less satisfactory to the workers employed. Since then we have had a mining strike which was more universal in its application than any strike of a similar nature which has ever taken place in any industry. The mining industry with us is essentially a fighting organization and right through from the early history of organized mining in Great Britain they have always been at any time ready to fight, but those of us who have been taking an active part in the mining movement for many years have had a feeling that it was our duty to organize the whole mining industry under one common banner and into a common organization. It took some years to accomplish this end, but we saw its realization some two years ago when we secured the adherence of Durham and Northumberland, the two important northern mining counties of Great Britain, into membership with the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. For many months we had an agitation going on in the mining districts for securing what is known amongst us as full payment for abnormal places, which is a technical thing that I need not go into at any great length here further than to say that coal getters, generally speaking, are paid by results, and that it is only if they produce a certain amount of material, that fixes the amount of wages. Sometimes they meet with difficulties in their working places which make it quite impossible for them to produce the normal quantity of material, and through no fault of their own they find that their wages are curtailed by one-half or by two-thirds. In many cases, many districts, agreements have been drawn up which protect the workmen under circum-

stances such as this, but in tens of thousands of cases the working miners were face to face with those conditions and had no agreement to protect them and found themselves going home at the end of the week or fortnight, as the case might be, with one-half or one-third of their normal wages. Well, we met the employers after fully considering this matter, and asked the employers of Great Britain, mine owners of Great Britain, to enter into an agreement for the setting up of machinery to prevent men working day after day under conditions such as those without adequate payment; the mine owner refused to enter into this agreement internationally. We knew perfectly well if a general stoppage came it would not come on the abnormal places alone, but that other matters would have to be settled. The mine owners refused to act on this question. The miners had to reconsider the matter, and after fruitless negotiations with the employers, they decided on a general strike in order to secure a minimum rate of wages for boys employed on the ground, in order to secure a minimum rate of wages for men employed on the ground, and to secure a minimum rate of wages for the men employed at the coal face and paid by results. We balloted our workmen on the question of a general stoppage, and I would like to put this point here, that our claims did not affect twenty-five per cent of the underground workers. We believed that not twenty-five per cent of our people would be benefitted by the claims put forward by us and by the claims which stood between us and a settlement of our disputes, but our movement thought that the time had come when something should be done for the worst paid part of our underground mine workers in Great Britain. Men were working underground for wages as low as three shillings per day, boys of fourteen years old were working underground for wages as low as one and six pence and one and eight pence per day. Now the general mining movement thought that the time had come when the power of their organization could not be tried on a more noble object than on behalf of those two grades of workers and have a minimum wage fixed. That was the cause of our stoppage and we balloted on the question and we fixed a day on which we would stop work. To me this is the most interesting part of that great struggle, that on the day fixed for stopping work, every man and boy employed in the mines of Great Britain, right from the South of Wales to the North of Scotland, every man and boy ceased work on the day on which it was agreed to stop, and every pulley, every wheel of every coal mine in Great Britain was stopped from that day so far as coal-getting was concerned. The membership of our Union, organized membership, was about 640,000, but in our stoppage over 950,000 persons stopped work in connection with our dispute, and during the six weeks which it lasted, the loyalty and enthusiasm of our members was shown by the fact that

I don't think a single picket was required from one end to the other of the coal field so long as the strike continued.

Our commercial newspapers are exceedingly anxious to have spicy bits to present to their readers, in the interests of the sale of their papers and advertisements, and believing that in such a strike as the miners' strike there was bound to be fun in the mining districts, there was bound to be attempts at black-legging, and consequent trouble with the police, and ultimately with the soldiers, with the shooting down of the miners, nearly one hundred special press men were sent into the various mining districts with instructions to write up all the good copy they could get in connection with the riots and the calling of policemen and everything of that kind. Well, those hundred good men and true sharpened their pencils and went down to the mining districts, and they had to admit at the end of four weeks that there was nothing for them to do, and they had to come back to London again without any reports at all. I do not for a moment suggest that the press men who went down to those mining districts were anxious to see a number of our men shot down or killed for the sake of getting copy, I feel sure that they were not, they were sent there to write up whatever special incidents they could see, and I dare say would have done that, but I would not like it to be thought that I feel that the press men of Great Britain are so careless, have so little friendliness for their own class, that they would desire to see rioting merely for the purpose of getting copy out of it. Be that as it may, there was no copy so far as rioting was concerned. All they could say was that the miners in every district seemed absolutely happy, happier than they had been at any time probably for the previous three or four years, because they were getting a good holiday and they were engaged in fun, and they were not concerned about when a start was to be made again. That was the kind of an army we had behind us in our great struggle. The struggle went on for six weeks and ultimately the government took the matter in hand and introduced a minimum wage bill, a mines minimum wage bill in the House of Commons. Well, I want to show you how quickly the House of Commons and the government can change its mind. Some three or four weeks before our dispute the Labor Party had a measure before the British House of Commons, a very modest proposal that it should be fixed by law that no adult male worker employed in any industry of Great Britain should be paid less than thirty shillings per week, that a minimum wage of thirty shillings per week should be the lowest wage worked for and that the law should declare it. When it went to a test I do not think that there were more than sixty members cast their votes in favor of the principle of a minimum wage. The opinion of the government and the opinion of the opposition was that Parliament had

nothing to do with fixing of wages and should not interfere in wages, especially in fixing the minimum wage. That was the opinion of the British House of Commons six weeks before the strike of the miners, but after the miners' strike had been on foot for four weeks, the government suddenly changed its mind and the Prime Minister and the other government officials thought the time had come when the government should bring in a bill proposing to fix a minimum wage for the mine workers of the country, and the House of Commons by a large majority passed the various clauses of that bill, which did affirm the principle that Parliament was entitled under certain circumstances to lay down that employers of labor were bound to recognize a minimum rate of wages for their adult underground workers.

The act when it became law was not by any means satisfactory to organized labor in Great Britain, and especially to the miners, but it is a step in the right direction. It has affirmed the principle that Parliament is entitled to interfere in matters of this kind. Efforts have been made to prove that that measure has not conferred any benefit on the mining community. Well, a representative miner who probably knows as much about this matter as any one there in Great Britain or anywhere else said, and I feel it is true, that it has conferred very considerable benefits on large numbers of lads employed underground, it has conferred very considerable and lasting benefit on unskilled adult labor employed underground. It has been computed by Mr. Vernon Hartshorn, one of the active leaders of the South Wales miners, that in South Wales alone, that in that part of the British coal field, the minimum wage act will make it necessary for the employers to pay two million dollars extra per year in wages to the workers above what they were paying them previous to our dispute. It may be taken that what is true regarding South Wales is true also regarding the other parts of the British coal field. The Miners' Federation are not going to content themselves with the minimum wage act of the present time, they are going to go on with their agitation until they secure a minimum wage act which will confer on every underground worker and every mine worker, either above or below ground, a guaranty of sufficient wages to keep them and their families in a state of comfort.

Now we have learned one or two things from that strike. We have heard a great deal of the general strike as a panacea for all evils. Well, we came as near the general strike in our last mining struggle as any industry ever came before. We not only stopped nearly a million of workers working in and about the mines, but as the result of our stoppage over a million of workers in other industries were thrown idle within a few days of the mining stoppage. The railway companies, which are manipulated by the same class



of people as the mines are manipulated by, took sides with the employers and threw off nearly one-half of their regular train service within a few days of the miners' stoppage. That naturally threw a very large number of railway servants idle, and a very large number of iron workers and steel workers were thrown idle in all of the great industrial centers. Well, when you come to count the cost the first thing you ask is, Did your strike in any shape or form injure the mine owners of Great Britain? Frankly, I admit here and now that I do not think it in any shape or form injured the mine owners. The chief injury fell upon our own class, the working class. I believe the mine owners financially benefited by our six weeks' strike. For two months previous to the strike they ran up the price of coal by four, six, eight and ten shillings per ton. During the strike coal was being sold from six to fifteen shillings higher than it had been previous to the strike, and for several months after the strike was ended the consumer was paying all over the country from four to ten shillings per ton higher for coal than he had been previous to the strike, and I believe when the dividends of the mine owners are declared next year it will be found that the mine owners of Great Britain made millions of pounds out of the miners' stoppage. Our stoppage brought very considerable suffering and hardship upon the poorest of our people, who could least afford to pay high prices, and who were thrown out of employment through our dispute. Well, that is one lesson. There is another lesson that the miners have learned from it, and I sincerely hope the workers of Britain have learned this lesson, that it is not safe, it is not in the interests of our nation, it is not in the interests of the workers of our nation, that the coal mines of Great Britain should remain in the hands of private individuals, to be exploited for profit and not in the interests of the whole of the people. We have given this matter very serious consideration. We have drafted a bill which proposes to nationalize the mines of Great Britain, that the government should take over the mines from the present owners, and should work the coal mines in the interests of the whole community and not for private profit. We propose that the government should pay a certain value for the mine and the stock there, a value which we fix by a certain computation which we consider fair, but we do not propose that the government should pay the land owners any compensation for the minerals which lie in the bowels of the earth. We are going to set on foot an agitation—the whole labor movement, organized labor in Great Britain, will join us in this agitation—and I venture to say that within ten or fifteen years the probabilities are that the coal mines of Great Britain will be owned by the community and worked by the government in the interests of the whole community of Great Britain.

The railway servants at the present time have been considering the question of a bill to nationalize the railways of Great Britain. They are also of opinion,

and I agree with them, that it is not in the best interests of the community that the railways of Great Britain should be held by private owners and merely to make money out of, and not in the interests of the whole community. The mines and the railways are closely allied, and with them is the land of Great Britain, which in my opinion and the opinion of the British labor movement should be held by the state as a common inheritance of the people of Great Britain.

During the past fifteen or twenty years there has been a forward movement amongst the trades unionists of our country. There was a time when the labor movement, and the trades union movement of Great Britain, speaking generally of them, felt that the price of commodities produced by labor should fix the reward of labor. Taking coal as an incident, or any other commodity—the feeling was known as the Manchester school of thought, of economics—the feeling was that the price secured for labor products should govern the wages paid to labor for the production of it. Well, a change has come over the line of thought of trade unionists and their view now is that the wages of labor should be a first charge on any industry in which wealth is produced and that the wages should be first fixed and the cost of the commodities should be fixed after wages have been first secured. That has largely taken hold of the trade union movement of Great Britain, and the probability is that as the outcome of that feeling, wages in the near future will not be governed by the price secured for the commodity produced, but that the price of the commodity produced will be governed largely by the reward already paid to labor. But there is another growing feeling in Great Britain, call it what you like; there is a feeling, as I have said, that the land and the mines and the railways of our country should be held by the government on behalf of the whole of the people. That feeling has gone further, it has gone the length that the whole of the industries of Great Britain should be held in behalf of the people and worked in the interests of the whole of the people. That is called Socialism, I understand. That is the name that for twenty years I have recognized—Socialism—that movement and that feeling is rapidly permeating the British trades union movement. You cannot find any conference of any important trades union holding sessions in which a resolution for the nationalization and public ownership of land, mines, railroads, means of production, will not be carried almost unanimously in almost any trades union movement in Great Britain. In our Trades Union Congresses I remember a few years ago that any one who rose to move a resolution of that kind was howled down, was hooted down; the same in our Miners' Federation a few years ago. To-day there is no opposition to it, it is carried unanimously from year to year in the British trades union movement. Some people fear the nationalization of the mines, railroads and lands, not on the ground of the confiscation question or anything of that kind, not on the ground that it is robbery, but many fear

nationalization of those industries because we are not sufficiently strongly represented in Parliament to secure fair conditions to the workers in those industries in the event of their being taken over, and we are pointed to France and Germany and Belgium, and it is said that there, the state employes are worse off than those working to private employment. That is only partially true. I do not find that in the state mines of Germany, and I do not find that in the state railways of Germany, it is only partially true, but I think that something in our country at least requires to be nationalized in addition to the land, mines, railways and means of production. We intend to nationalize the British House of Commons in the very near future. I quite admit that we could not secure justice for the workers from our House of Commons as at present constituted, because whatever name our politicians may give themselves and their parties, they represent the exploiting classes all the time in both sides of the House of Commons. To nationalize railways, the workers would not get a fair chance from a legislature such as ours is at present composed, but side by side with preaching the utility and the necessity for the public ownership of the mines we are preaching the necessity of full representation of the common people of our country in the legislature of our country, and we are very hopeful that in the very near future we will be able to strengthen our forces, because organized labor has given up all hope of any substantial legislation, any social or economic legislation, from the two political parties, and our only hope is the formation of a party of our own.

John Walker said that it was simply amazing, the extent of our co-operative movement, the turn over in our great co-operative movement in Great Britain, but it proved, he said, to him and his colleague, that it was not true to say that the common people could not conduct the industries of our country as well as the upper classes. Your own great Federation, our great trades union labor movement proves that there are men of the highest skill and ability in our own ranks, men of enthusiasm, men of intellect, and men who are prepared to sacrifice themselves in the interests of the class to which they belong. We, I think, are perfectly capable of forming our own party and of working out our own salvation without depending, at least home with us, without depending on either of the two political parties. We have been deceived quite long enough by the promises and non-fulfillment of the pledges which have been given to us in the past by the political parties, who have ridden into power, either one party or another, on the shoulders of the working classes, time and again. The pledges they have never intended to redeem and which they never have redeemed, and which they never will redeem. It is pointed out that the Liberal Party has given you old age pensions, which gives your old men and women the magnificent sum of five shillings per week when they reach the age of seventy, and there

is only a very small percentage of our old men and women in the industrial class that have any hope of reaching the age of seventy. It is well known that because of the multiplication of the machinery in our industries, because of the fact that men of forty-five and fifty years now are looked upon as too old to be able to keep up their place in the workshop, and that year by year the age at which men can find employment in our industries is being gradually reduced, and that many of our industrial poor who have been steady and sober during the whole of their lives, have not been able to save sufficient to keep them many weeks from the time they are thrown out of employment, but they have to hang on if they are able to seventy years of age and then they will get five bob a week. They have told us that they have given us an improved workmen's compensation act, an eight-hour mining bill, they have given us a mines minimum wage act, and they have given us now, through Mr. Lloyd George, an insurance act. The reason why they have given us those things is that the agitator has been abroad for twenty-five or thirty years agitating those things. It is not of their good will that they have given us those things, it is because the labor agitator of the trades unions on the street corner for twenty-five years has been agitating old age pensions, improved compensation acts and those other things, and because we have pledged members of both political parties, who knew that they could not find their way into the House of Commons unless they pledged themselves individually for those things, it is because of this that we have carried those reforms, not because of the good will of a political party.

In our new insurance act—which, by the by, the trades union movement of Great Britain did not want to be contributory, they wished that act to be non-contributory, they had a feeling that the workers should not pay anything to a scheme of that kind from their already too scant wages—but it is a contributory act and one part of it provides sanatoriums for those who have the misfortune to contract tuberculosis, and the labor movement of Great Britain is of the opinion that we are beginning at the wrong end with tuberculosis. We think there is no use setting up at the expense of the employers and the workers in the employment, sanatoriums for the cure of tuberculosis, while we allow our shameful housing system to exist in our cities, which is breeding more tuberculosis every day than all the sanatoriums that could ever be erected could possibly cure. We have been asking for improvements in our housing conditions for the last twenty-five years. The government is aware of the fact that tens of thousands of the houses in which the British working class, men, women and children, are herded, are insanitary and are killing off our little ones like flies before their time, but no attempt has been made up to the present time, by the government at least, to improve our housing conditions. It is admitted that at the present time, even at the present time when trade is booming—trade has never been as good in the whole history of our country before—but it is

admitted that even at the present time one-fifth of the population of Great Britain is continually on the verge of starvation, within a week or a fortnight or three weeks of abject starvation in the event of their being thrown out of employment. I think your President said in the course of one of his addresses that you are in this country securing a greater proportion of the social wealth created than you ever were before. If that is so I am glad to hear it. It is not true, however, that in Great Britain the workers are securing anything like a fair proportion of the increased wealth produced from year to year by labor applied to our national resources. The wages of labor are practically stationary and have been for very many years, but the wages of invested capital and the wages of the landlord class have gone up by leaps and bounds every year. The power of labor to produce wealth has increased and multiplied by the multiplicity of machinery has increased and multiplied from year to year. The amount of wealth produced per head of the population has increased enormously, but it has not gone to the worker in the shop by increased wage, it has gone to those who have their money invested in the industries of Great Britain and to the landlord class, and I as one protest against this state of matters and say our workers are entitled to expect that if labor in Great Britain—and when I say labor, I mean the work of hand or brain—when labor applied to the natural resources of our country is able to produce enough and to spare of the commodities necessary for comfortable life for our people, that it is a shame and disgrace to the people of Great Britain that one-third of our workink-class population should continually be on the verge of starvation, that our children in the slums of our cities and in our industrial centers, the children of respectable, sober, earnest, skillful parents, are dying for want of fresh air, for want of sunshine and for want of proper surroundings. We say this is a disgrace to our country, and it is our duty, the duty of every thinking man and woman to band themselves into the great labor movement in this country and in our country for the purpose of wiping out this disgrace and for the purpose of eliminating and getting rid altogether of the poverty mentioned by our chairman during the course of his remarks. I am glad to say that the feeling in our advance movement is not entirely confined to the working classes. A very large body of the educated classes of Great Britain, a large body of the comfortable and wealthy classes of Great Britain, are as tired of the present shameful state of matters as the working classes themselves are. Every good-hearted and pure-minded man and woman must be on our side in this struggle, whether they are wealthy or not, and a very large number of educated people are in our movement, without anything which they can personally secure from it, but for the pleasure of knowing that they are on the right side and doing good. Our movement is being consolidated and I look forward to the time when we will be able to secure, not merely an

old-age pension to our people when they are unable any longer to provide for themselves, but we will be able to procure the full results of labor, the full wealth produced by labor.

Now, just one moment, Mr. Chairman. I want to deal briefly with the subject which I know my colleagues will go into rather fully. Our mining movement in Great Britain is connected through federations with the mining movement of America and all the countries of Europe, we have a federation in which is represented every year at our annual conference the mine workers of France, of Belgium, of Austria, of Germany and of the United States. We find that there are many questions which we are dealing with, common questions applicable to all of our countries, that we have been able to improve the conditions legislatively and otherwise of the whole of the miners of the continent because of our closer connection together. We are hopeful that that movement will be extended until the miners employed in every part of the world are connected with that common organization, that the differences in languages or a sweep of sea between us should not prevent our getting into closer touch and brotherhood, but I find that the same sentiment prevails in Germany, in France, in Belgium, as prevails largely amongst the workers of America and of Great Britain, that war between nations is a curse, that the labor movement should do everything in its power to prevent unjust and unnecessary war, that the workers of the nations have no cause, have, generally speaking, no cause of quarrel with the workers of other nations, and that it is the workers of the nations who have to pay in the first place in blood and in the second place in taxation for all the wars of the past, and we have discussed the matter at our miners' conference. We find the Germans, the French, the Belgians, and the Austrians unanimous with us and we have come to the conclusion that in the event of danger of war arising between the nations of Europe that it would be the duty of the committee of the mining movement to call a conference, and if that conference were of opinion that the war should not go on, that there was no good cause why it should go on, if the war was not in the interests of a down-trodden nation of people who were suffering injustice at the hands of a stronger nation, but if it were for the purpose of looking after the interests of the financier, that the miners should stop work in every part of Europe. I venture to say that a modern war will not be carried on very long if the coal miners of the world stop work. That at least is the feeling of the international mining movement at the present time. I notice there has been a labor conference called on the Continent for the purpose of discussing whether or not a general strike should not be entered into if the delegates feel that war is likely to become general in connection with the Balkan States war at the present time. This we believe to be true brotherhood.

In conclusion I wish to give you my personal greeting, my personal love, and

to wish to you God speed in your great movement. There is a great work to be done by you here. You have probably the richest country in natural resources that exists on the face of the earth to-day. You have a strong, willing, enthusiastic people, prepared to develop the resources of your great nation, and if you get the opportunity to do so, if you are not prevented from doing so by the trusts and the owners of the capital of this great country, your people are willing to do it. In the first stages of that development you will be under the wages system and it will be the duty of your great Federation to look after the interests of your organized workers, to secure to them the best possible returns for their labor, the shortest possible hours of labor, looking forward to the time when the people of your nation will not only be united in their trades unionism, but united in a true brotherhood in which the full resources of your country will be developed and used for the whole of the people, and that you will be living in a brotherhood, each for all and all for each, and know a thousand times more happiness than it is possible to secure under the present state of matters here.

President Gompers—I have now the pleasure of presenting to you the representative and officer of the Shop Assistants' organization of England and the co-representative from the British Trade Union Congress to the American Federation of Labor, Mr. James A. Seddon.

Fraternal Delegate James A. Seddon spoke as follows:

Mr. President and Fellow Trades Unionists: My first words must be words of thanks for the very cordial and hearty welcome that we have received in your great country. When I first arrived at New York along with my friend Smillie we were met by a band of workers who gave us hospitality, gave us kindly greetings, and since we have been here that has been continued and has grown in volume, and in fact to-day, were it not for the home ties of a wife and three children, I could very reasonably suppose I was amongst those whom I had known for long years. I have had the opportunity of fraternizing with many of the delegates, including your worthy President, and I claim that so far as outlook is concerned, so far as efforts and desires go, there is very little to choose between the American and those who come from Great Britain. My friend Smillie has given you a review which makes my path exceedingly difficult. He has referred to the movements which are occurring and to some of the things that have been done, but I have one little consolation, he has not referred, not even by name, to that body which I represent of the trade unionists. Mr. Gompers has told you I belong to the shop assistants. In American phrase that means that I am a retail clerk. Now I find unfortunately that the retail clerks of Great Britain and America have one thing in common; they are infernally snobbish. We have a very difficult task in our country to get them to understand that they, too, are the

victims of changing conditions, that the operation of organized capital is just as brutal and tyrannical to the shop worker as to the coal digger, but during the last eighteen years we have been making some steady, slow and sure progress. Something like twenty years ago our union came into existence. We were then told by the orthodox politicians that we were a helpless class, that our isolation made organization impossible and that we should be the children of concern to the orthodox politician and some of the harsh conditions of the distributive trades should become the consideration of the masters and the statesmen of Great Britain. We thought, some of us, that we, being the same flesh and blood, belonging to the working classes, might attempt to organize. It was under very distressing circumstances that we started, but in the period of eighteen or twenty years I am proud to say that today, notwithstanding all our vicissitudes we have something like one hundred and fifty thousand organized retail workers throughout the length of Great Britain. We not only began to organize, but we lined up with our fellow trades unionists. We, too, saw the utility and the desirability of using the political means. Some seven years ago I had the privilege of being returned as the first retail worker to the British House of Commons. It was my duty to bring before that assembly, along with my colleagues of the labor party, some of the conditions under which the retail clerks worked in Great Britain, and I am glad to know that in this year we so brought into operation an act of Parliament that gives to the retail clerks and the bar men and the bar maids and the waitresses a statutory half-holiday each week commencing at 1 o'clock, and a schedule for meal times that will go far in building up the health and strength of the shop assistants of Great Britain. We are glad to have done this little work, but it has been done through and by our association with the great trades union movement, and I want to say, if the representatives of the retail clerks happen to be here this morning, if they feel despondent and discouraged by the slow progress which is going on in organizing that body, who I suppose think themselves superior to ordinary workmen—in our country the shop assistant who is outside the association still has that antiquated idea, that he is above the working man—he is in collars and that is all, and to my own class who are seeking to organize the retail clerks in America I would say be of good cheer because the success that we have attained is not impossible so far as this great continent is concerned. The trade union movement in Great Britain is healthy and strong today. Some of the fights that we have had in the past have ceased to exist, some of those questions that sharply divided one school from another have passed into limbo, and generally speaking, organized labor in Great Britain is working continuously towards a common object which has been ampli-

fied and expressed by my colleague and comrade Smillie.

During your deliberations several references have been made to the question of an eight-hour day. I am glad to know that you have through the Federation of Labor forced the hands of your government to secure to those engaged in government employment an eight-hour day. In England we are going along the same lines, and during the last twelve months the Trades Union Congress has held a series of meetings in all the great centers of industry, where thousands of our fellow workers have congregated together, and unanimously resolutions have been carried for a universal eight-hour day to apply to every worker throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain. It is true we have not yet forced the politician to accept our demand, but as sure as the night follows the day the success of the miners in getting their eight-hour day is only an augury of what will happen to the rest of the workers if they continue zealously for that great movement as we have been doing up to the present time. Then again we are happy to know that something is being done to alleviate the conditions and improve the lot of the unskilled and badly paid workers. There has been established in Great Britain wages boards and those wages boards will have a powerful effect upon throwing the searchlight upon the worst conditions of labor, in enlightening public opinion, and we believe will do some little towards raising the standard which is so abominably low at the present time amongst seamstresses and other sweated workers throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain. Reference has been made to the Insurance act. The Insurance act was hailed as a kind of new Hosannah. We were told that a new Moses had arisen to lead us into the promised land, Mr. Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He conceived the noble idea but he incumbered it with very sordid conditions. The health of the nation ought to be and must be the concern of our statesmen. If it is wise to attend to your drains to prevent epidemic and disease, it is equally wise for the State to see that when any member of the community has been stricken with disease he shall have the best possible skill that science can afford to restore him to health and vigor. We thank the present Chancellor for the idea that it is the concern of the state that the individual shall have his health attended to either by sanatoria or the best medical experts possible, but we have in Great Britain powerful vested interests. We not only have the landlord, but we have other lords of capital and the great insurance companies who grow rich beyond the dreams of avarice, who exploit the working classes in helping them to protect themselves against the risk of death, who build up huge fortunes, they scent danger in the National Health Bill. Originally the government intended that the operation of this scheme should be entirely in the

hands of the trade union movement and the great friendly societies. That did not suit the capitalist interests that controlled insurance in Great Britain. They began to operate and use their great power inside and outside of the House of Commons, they began to argue, and very logically argue, that if the government today were going to undertake the preservation of health or the restoration of health tomorrow, they might get a step further and insure the people against death, and in doing so would destroy the huge operations that are making millionaire insurance brokers in Great Britain. The result was that the Chancellor of the Exchequer allowed these people to come in, and today we are building up another vested interest, and I suppose it will mean that when we come to nationalize the land, the railways, and the minerals, we shall have also to nationalize the health insurance scheme and pay compensation for the policies and mistakes of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer in Great Britain. However, we accept the insurance scheme, not as our claim, but as a recognition of our demand that the health of the nation is the concern of the statesman and the nation as a whole. I am not going to review, because it would be simply repetition, many of those great questions that are peculiar to Great Britain itself. I want just briefly to refer to those international questions that have an interest for the worker, no matter whether he lives in the United States, whether he lives in Canada, or any other part of the civilized world. Our trade union act in Great Britain has done much to lift the standard of living for the industrial toiler in our country. It has given many of our men powers of administration, executive ability, which has stood them in good stead, not only in their co-operative movement but inside the British House of Commons itself.

I remember in the year 1906 when the governing classes and the British aristocracy received a rude shock, when, for the first time, 29 toilers from the shops, the factory and the mine, presented themselves inside the House of Commons. There was a state not only of consternation but very marked curiosity, they wanted to know what we would do, how would we deport ourselves, whether we would add dignity or whether we would bring disgrace upon the House of Commons, and after a few months it was stated amongst the orthodox politicians that we were not such a bad lot after all, in fact, some of the oldest members said we had brought a new atmosphere into that chamber—God knows it wanted it!

The Labor Party was a creation of the trades union movement, it is its child today and is working together unanimsously for the great problems that confront the industrial workers in Great Britain today. The Labor Party in the House of Commons began, as it was natural it should begin, by directing the attention of those politicians who generally have their eyes in the ends of the earth and their hands in the workers'

pockets, we began to point out to them that it did not matter very much whether the sun never set on the Empire or not if it did not shine in our alley; we began to remind them that the industrial population of Great Britain were the wealth-creators and were entitled to some of the joys of life as well as those who toil not, neither do they spin, and we forced the British House of Commons, we forced them even against their will, to give time and attention to those problems that touched more closely the home and life of every worker throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain. Our first duty was to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act. That was filled with absurdities, it had many anomalies and was capable of inflicting hardship and cruelty upon many of those who should be benefited by it. We forced them to give attention to the Workmen's Compensation Act, and the result of our first effort was this: That in amending that compensation act something like two or three million sterling extra goes to the English worker which was denied them before the Labor Party entered the British House of Commons. We have also had passed in the House of Commons—my friend Smillie did not refer to it at any great length—but we have had a measure affecting his class that will go a long ways to protect the life of the miner engaged in Great Britain; the coal mines act is the direct work of the Miners' Federation and the trade union movement of Great Britain. Many other questions affecting industrial democracy have been successfully piloted through the House of Commons, but we are not satisfied, we know full well that under present industrial conditions this mending here and patching there will not solve the great problem that stands in front of industrial democracy. The Labor Party is conscious that we are coming to the end of the old road, and we are asking ourselves whether it will be a turn into a new road or whether it will be a dip into a precipice that will destroy present civilization. Changed conditions are being recognized even by the orthodox politicians. We are forcing even the Tory party, the most reactionary body in Great Britain, we are forcing them to recognize that there is such a problem as child labor, there is such a problem as insanitary homes, there is such a problem as unemployment in Great Britain at the present time. The permeation of the principles of the Labor Party are forcing the old orthodox party, but no matter how we force them we know the pace they put on will never satisfy industrial democracy that it has new aspirations and ideals. New occasions teach new duties. My friend Smillie told you, and it may be a rude shock to some of you, that we all now believe that the land belongs to us, it does not belong to the baronial lords, as they try to think it does. We all now believe that the mines and the minerals shall be the joint property of the hewers of coal and the people as a whole and not a few exploiters and parasites as it is at the present moment. We

all believe that the railways, like the highway, shall be free to prince and peasant and each shall be according to his ability and not according to his use. These things are common, so far as the trades union movement of Great Britain is concerned, and now we are directing the whole of our energy, not to the extension of empire, for we know full well that empire and war do not mean any great improvement of the worker, they very often mean and increased burden so far as the workers of Great Britain are concerned. We started out with new ideals, new aspirations, new hopes, and during the last few weeks two events have happened in Great Britain that are destined to have most powerful and potent influences on the immediate future. In a great hall in London a few weeks ago there were gathered representatives of every trade union, representatives of progressive bodies, a great and mighty throng of men and women were gathered there with one object, and that was to inaugurate a campaign for the total abolition of poverty so far as our country is concerned. The echo of that campaign is reverberating right through the length and breadth of the four countries that make up the United Kingdom, and in every town and hamlet men and women are girding up their loins for this titanic struggle, for the overthrow of this curse which is caused by the present commercial methods as we know them today. In Great Britain commercial law is the law of the jungle. They have dehumanized industry. They have divided the people into hostile camps. Organized capital as we know it—I cannot speak of America, it would be presumption on my part to criticize your institutions—but I do say this, that so far as our country is concerned, organized capital is the most brutal power on God's earth. It has been well said, it has no body to kick or no soul to save. Organized capital in the hands even of alleged Christian men, delegates its moral responsibilities; the man who owns the stock does not control the concern. He throws the burden upon the manager. The manager very often is between the devil and the deep sea. He knows very well if he does not make profit his name is Walker, and by the first law of nature—(laughter) not that Walker—I meant walker so far as locomotion is concerned—he knows very well that if he does not make profit he must make room for somebody else. And today that delegated moral responsibility creates an appetite amongst the stock-holding ones that, like the leech, ask for more and more, it is dividend and dividend all the time, and in extracting that dividend they are destroying the possibility of a full life so far as industrial democracy is concerned. We are out to save democracy. We are not out to save capital. We are told sometimes that capital will leave the country. God speed to it. The only capital we know is the gift of mother nature in her rich storehouse, and labor applied, that is the only capital and we say the alleged cap-

italists are parasites and they can take a vacation to Timbuctoo if they like. This campaign for the abolition of private capital is one of the great movements of modern times in Great Britain.

We have also inaugurated our own press, which will give to the people the point of view of labor and not the point of view which capital gives it, distorted and put out of tune. The effect of the press, the Daily Citizen, in Great Britain, cannot be calculated at the present moment, but I will only give you one instance to prove the necessity of having a press of our own. When the miners were going through their struggle, and I venture to say that never in the history of civilization was there a struggle that had so many redeeming features as the miners fight had; there you had an army of men something like a million in number standing idly by, no destruction of property, no destruction of human life, standing patiently waiting for the word of command to come from their leaders, and what did the capitalistic press do? To poison the minds of the general public against the miners in their demands, they not only sent their reporters down, but they concocted stories when they got there, or in the editorial office, I don't know which, and they told the poor unfortunates that had to pay something like twenty, thirty and even forty shillings a ton for their coal, some of whom could hardly afford to pay, they told these unfortunate people, the miners are vicious, they are idle, and they are selfish, and they will try to lead the other workers to believe that while the miners were standing there waiting to resume work, they were not only glad to have a strike, but they were going to meetings, they were riding motor bikes all over the country—I never saw them, and I live in a mining community—and every lie that could be concocted to injure the miners in their fight was retailed to the reading public of Great Britain. If there was no other reason than the experience of that struggle, we say labor has taken the right step in having its own papers to publish to the workers what are the real facts on every industrial fight and what are the aims and aspirations of industrial democracy. Not only are we out to abolish private property, but we are out to humanize our commercial life. We are out also as far as possible to ruralize our homes. Instead of our children living in slums and alleys we want them to live in God's pure sunshine, we want them to have the flowers in the fields, and we want science to give us all its help so that the people, not the privileged few, but the toilers and workers, shall have the benefit of pure air, which is denied to them up to the present time.

My friend Smillie put in words my own sentiments when he referred to the question of war. The trade union movement is ceasing to be local and we are becoming international. One of the great educational forces that has brought us help and assistance has been the coming of the fraternal delegates from your great country. From year to year we have fraternized with your representatives and that fraternization has given us a spirit

of kinmanship and a spirit of fellowship that has broken down some of our old stupid ideas. To-day the trade union movement stands for international solidarity; we stand for the total abolition of war. We say war as conducted to-day is simply an adjunct to profit. Patriotism to-day is merely a bastard term for selfishness. In our country, in Great Britain to-day, and what is true of Great Britain in a degree is true of every other civilized country; in Great Britain to-day we are spending three hundred and fifty million dollars for the implements of destruction. What could be done in social reconstruction if that three hundred and fifty million dollars were spent to uplift the lowly and give our people a proper chance? We know that every war means that we have got to pay, we have got to find the money and we have got to find the men. The tears and the blood belong to the common folk and we say the day has gone by when armies shall throw themselves against each other simply for profit and for the creation of human misery. Therefore, we come to you with the hope that this great federation of labor which stands for all that is best in industrial democracy in this country, will see its way clear to send back with us a message of hope and a message of good will, that the industrial toilers of this country are just as opposed to war as the industrial workers are in Great Britain at the present time. We know fully as well as you do that there are powerful interests against us. We have it in Great Britain, and we have the jingoism, from boy scouts upward. We know full well that the exploiting classes are trying to divert our attention to-day, as they have always done in the ages that are gone, they are trying to create ill will between us and other nationalities. Today it is Germany. I remember in my boyhood it was Russia, then it was France, then it became America, and every time a war cloud has passed away by the good sense of the people for every time they have got a bogie. I don't know whether you have got a bogie in America or not. I had some idea, I may be wrong, and probably I am wrong, but I had some idea when I reached New York that there was a faint, just a very faint, indication that jingoism was not entirely confined to Great Britain. I read in one of your daily papers quite a eulogistic story of a huge dreadnought that has been launched, the biggest on earth. That is the first step towards jingoism, any occasion when you begin to boast about having the biggest implements for the destruction of human life. We say that the interests of the workers internationally is bound up with universal peace. I know no frontier, I know no boundary, every human soul, no matter what creed or color, is my brother, if he will line up for the fight for human rights. To you our message is one of good will and fellowship, and my friend Smillie well said we have much in common. Our blood commingled with many of the delegates. Reading down the names of the delegates represented here, one might reasonably suppose that the Green Isle had been transposed over here and hearing the various dialects expressed

and seeing the emblems behind us, almost Mr. Morrison is in danger of getting into serious trouble; he has given us hospitality and he has done all, he has even appealed to our national pride by giving us the Union Jack; he has gone a step further and he has displayed the flag of Ireland, but there is one thing he has forgotten and I hope he will repair it for the sake of his good name amongst the Scotchmen present, and we will see the flag of Scotland here as well. But humor aside, on every hand there are the indications of good will toward us from you. Honestly and sincerely we bring you fraternal greetings and good will. We know even from our short stay that some of your problems are not our problems, but we also know that the history of our class has been one of struggle. It is struggling to-day and it will be struggling tomorrow. We join with you in that struggle for the emancipation of democracy. We share with you the good and the ill, the shadow and the glory, and we wish you God speed in the work you have undertaken.

At 12.20 p. m. President Gompers announced that the addresses of the fraternal delegates would be continued upon the convening of the afternoon session.

**Resolution No. 64—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, Thos. Harrison, Geo. E. Neesham and A. J. Chlopek of the International Longshoremen's Association:**

WHEREAS, The affiliation of all organizations of workers employed in the industry of transportation, such as longshoremen, seamen, teamsters, railroaders, freight handlers, street car men, boatmen, etc., will be of advantage to all concerned; and

WHEREAS, The developments of industry will eventually force the workers to organize and affiliate on industrial lines; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor take such steps as they may deem necessary for the formation of such a department, and that all transportation organizations be invited to join the Transportation Department.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Resolution No. 65—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, Thos. Harrison, Geo. E. Neesham and A. J. Chlopek of the International Longshoremen's Association:**

WHEREAS, The Federal authorities and contractors persist in employing alien labor on certain work in the territory of Hawaii; and

WHEREAS, This action on their part is detrimental to our members and citizen labor in general; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take this matter up with the proper authorities at once in order that citizen labor be given preference on all government work in the territory of Hawaii.

Referred to Committee on Education.

**Resolution No. 66—By Delegate Fred W. Holt of Arkansas Federation of Labor:**

WHEREAS, It has been demonstrated time and time again that it is absolutely necessary for the workers to be more closely united in order to more successfully combat the combination of the employing class; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That we declare for an amendment to the Constitution of the A. F. of L. that Article 2, Section 2, be amended by adding the following: "National and international trades unions shall have the right to amalgamate; such amalgamation must be endorsed by a referendum vote of the organizations affected, and a two-thirds affirmative vote of the members voting on such amalgamation in each organization shall be necessary to make the amalgamation legal and binding."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

**Resolution No. 67—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, Thos. Harrison, Geo. E. Neesham and A. J. Chlopek of the International Longshoremen's Association:**

WHEREAS, The Allen Contract Labor Law has been almost entirely eliminated from the statute books of the United States by reason of the rulings and decisions rendered by United States Attorney Wickersham; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to draw up and introduce in the next session of Congress a bill that will prevent foreign seamen from performing the work of longshoremen on the wharves of the United States; and be it further

**RESOLVED,** That this bill be drawn in such a manner as to also protect all American workers.

Referred to Committee on President's Report.

**Resolution No. 68—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, Thos. Harrison, Geo. E. Neesham and A. J. Chlopek of the International Longshoremen's Association:**

WHEREAS, There is a bill before the Congress of the United States creating a National Department of Health; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** The 32d Annual Convention of A. F. of L. endorse said bill; and, be it further

**RESOLVED,** That the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. be instructed to use its best efforts to secure the passage of said bill.

Referred to Committee on Education.

**Resolution No. 69—By Delegate Fred W. Holt of the Arkansas Federation of Labor:**

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Union of Hot Springs, Ark., and the individual members of the different unions affiliated therewith have undertaken to interest organized labor throughout the country in the building and maintenance of a National Federation Sanatorium; and



WHEREAS, We believe such an institution would be one of the greatest helps toward the "uplift" of our people, and the greatest blessing that could be bestowed upon the sick or afflicted, and an onward step in the progress of our great movement; and

WHEREAS, We believe the "one spot" best fitted for such an institution would be the spot where the "God blessed" water flows, Hot Springs, Ark.; and

WHEREAS, The various affiliated labor organizations of Arkansas, assembled in annual convention, have pledged their financial support toward the building and maintenance of such an institution; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the delegates assembled in this, the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., subscribe ourselves to the ideas as set forth in this resolution, and that a committee of five be selected by this Convention upon the adoption of this resolution, whose duty shall be to devise ways and means towards the establishment and maintenance of a National Federation Sanatorium, said committee to report back to the Convention before final adjournment.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate Frank H. McCarthy of the Boston Central Labor Union:

RESOLVED, That we urge that the money accumulated in the Postal Savings Banks be loaned to individuals in the community where deposited, preferably to laboring people striving to obtain a home.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate Frank H. McCarthy of the Boston Central Labor Union:

RESOLVED, That we favor the imposition of a small tax on land values in place of some of the more burdensome tariff taxes.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, Members of the National Letter Carriers' Association have for many years past expressed a desire to join ranks with their fellow workers of other occupations who are organized under the banner of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Postal Appropriation Bill adopted by the late session of Congress specifically legalizes affiliation of postoffice employees with the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we most heartily welcome the affiliation of the National Letter Carriers' Association; and be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to convey these sentiments to the officers of the National Letter Carriers' Association; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a member of the Executive Council or a special representative designated by the Council be delegated to address the next annual convention of the National Letter Carriers' Association, which will meet at San Francisco, Cal., in September, 1914, with a view of bringing about the desired result.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The menace of Chinese labor, now greatly allayed by the passage and enforcement of the Chinese Exclusion Act, has been succeeded by an evil similar to its general character but much more threatening in its possibilities, to wit: The immigration to the United States and its insular territory of large and increasing numbers of Japanese, Koreans, Hindus and other races of natives of Asia; and

WHEREAS, The American public sentiment against the immigration of Chinese labor, as expressed and crystallized in the Chinese Exclusion Act, finds still stronger justification in the demanding of prompt and adequate measures of protection against the immigration of Japanese, Koreans and Hindus and other races native of Asia, on the grounds (1) that the wage and living standard of such labor are dangerous to, and must, if granted recognition in the United States, prove destructive of the American standards in these essential respects; (2) that the racial incompatibility as between the peoples of the Orient and the United States presents a problem of race preservation which it is our imperative duty to solve in our own favor, and which can only be thus solved by a policy of exclusion; and

WHEREAS, The systematic colonization by the Orientals of our insular territory in the Pacific, and the threatened and partly accomplished extension of that system to the Pacific Coast and other Western localities of the United States, constitutes a standing danger, not only to the domestic peace, but to the continuance of friendly relations between the nations concerned; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the terms of the Chinese Exclusion Act should be enlarged and extended so as to permanently exclude from the United States and its insular territory all races native of Asia and other than those exempted by the present terms of that act; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That these resolutions be submitted through the proper channels to the Congress of the United States, with a request for favorable consideration and action by that body.

Referred to Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 74—By Delegate Frank Butterworth of the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance:

WHEREAS, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor rendered a decision in the jurisdiction dispute between the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance and the International Union of Steam Engineers, wherein the control of electrically operated machines, replacing hand labor in brickyards, was awarded to the engineers; and

WHEREAS, The International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance has filed a protest with the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. contending that the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers had not agreed to any form of arbitration; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be, and is, hereby instructed to reopen and thoroughly investigate the dispute between the two unions.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment:

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate Alice O'Rourke of the Badge, Banner, Regalia, Button and Novelty Workers, No. 14,065:

WHEREAS, We have exerted great efforts in an attempt to strengthen our organization, and are affiliated with the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity and the Central Labor Union of Brooklyn, and the Central Labor Union of Hudson County, N. J., for the purpose of creating a healthy agitation for union made badges, banners, regalia, buttons and novelties; and

WHEREAS, We find that even with the hearty assistance of these bodies, we are not advancing and progressing as we desire and should; be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor directs the Executive Council to render all possible aid to the Badge, Banner, Regalia, Button and Novelty Workers No. 14,065, and request such international and national unions as have members employed in badge, banner, regalia, button and novelty shops to render ready moral assistance to this appellant union by urging workers in such shops engaged in this industry to join the said union of this trade.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate H. J. Pfeiffer, of the Indiana State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Members of Machinists Local 161, International Association of Machinists, have been and are now on strike at the plant of the E. C. Atkins Saw Manufacturing Company of Indianapolis, Indiana, since August, 1911, for the right to organize and recognition of their organization; and

WHEREAS, Every honorable effort has been made by the Indianapolis Central Labor Union, the Indianapolis Building Trades and Metal Trades Councils, the Indiana State Federation of Labor, as well as the American Federation of Labor through organizer, John Lewis, to reach

an amicable adjustment of this trouble, but without success, this being due to the fact that the said firm of E. C. Atkins Saw Manufacturing Company through its president, Mr. H. C. Atkins, has positively refused on all occasions to enter into any kind of an agreement that carries with it the recognition of the unions, but he (Mr. Atkins) has on a number of occasions made the open declaration that he was running his shop on the so-called "open shop" basis, and that he intended to continue to do so in the future; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled pledges itself to do all in its power to continue to assist in this struggle for the right of the employees of the E. C. Atkins Saw Manufacturing Company to organize and the recognition of their organization, and that the Executive Council stand instructed to do whatever lies within its power to bring about the desired results and to carry this resolve into effect.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate Frank H. McCarthy, Boston Central Labor Union:

RESOLVED, That we favor embodying the Initiative and Referendum in the Federal Constitution, and the incoming Executive Council is hereby directed to use every possible effort to cause the enactment of the same.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions:

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate Frank H. McCarthy of Boston Central Labor Union:

RESOLVED, That the employees of the United States navy yards and stations should have Saturday half holidays throughout the entire year; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be directed to use every effort possible to cause the enactment into law of the Saturday half holiday referred to above.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate S. J. English of Central Trades and Labor Assembly of Watertown, N. Y.:

WHEREAS, For a number of years we have asked for aid from the American Federation and the duly constituted officials of the New York State Federation of Labor for aid pertaining to the reorganization of certain crafts in the city of Watertown, N. Y.; and

WHEREAS, There are a number of crafts already organized, but which are weak in numerical strength, because the international officials of these crafts have not given them the attention they should have given to make of them a vital and numerical factor in their trade; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates assembled at this Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of

Labor, use our every endeavor to have organizers sent into this particular field to reorganize all delinquent locals and organize any new ones that may prove eligible under the laws of the American Federation of Labor as now understood.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate Chas. P. Fabey of Nashville Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The contracts for convict labor in Tennessee will expire July 1, 1915; and

WHEREAS, The Tennessee Federation of Labor and the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of that state have endorsed a measure to be introduced in the Legislature, which meets the first Monday in January, 1913, which provides for the employment of the prisoners sentenced to not more than three years upon the public roads, thus reducing the competition of convict labor with skilled labor to some extent; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that we most heartily endorse the proposed measure and request the Executive Council to do all in its power to assist the State Federation of Labor and the State Farmers' Union in Tennessee in their efforts to abolish the contract system of prison labor in Tennessee when the present contracts expire on July 1, 1915.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 81—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, M. J. McGuire and George W. Pring and Thomas J. Garvey of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America:

WHEREAS, On November 12, 1910, in the city of Indianapolis, Indiana, the duly authorized representatives of the Interna-

tional Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers and the International Association of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America in conference agreed upon all work and disputes except the question of smoke stacks and breechings; and

WHEREAS, All work not mutually agreed upon was referred to Mr. James Duncan, first vice president of the American Federation of Labor, as arbitrator, whose decision should be final and binding upon both parties at interest; and

WHEREAS, The decision of Vice President Duncan was ratified by the St. Louis Convention of the American Federation of Labor, thereby settling all differences between the two organizations and constituting a bona fide agreement;

WHEREAS, The representatives of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers have repeatedly refused to sign the agreement entered into in good faith and have and are now doing work that was conceded to the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and who refused to comply with the terms of the agreement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the agreement entered into between the representatives of the two organizations at interest, including the award of Vice President Duncan, be and is hereby declared as binding upon both organizations; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the departments of the American Federation of Labor be requested to notify all local councils under their respective jurisdictions of the validity of the agreement as covering jurisdiction of the two organizations.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

At 12.30 p. m. the convention was adjourned, after receiving and referring resolutions, to reconvene at 2 p. m.

## Fourth Day—Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 p. m., Thursday, November 14th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Noschang, Klapetzky, Kline, Tracy (Thomas F.), Barnes, Conway, Zuckerman, Ford, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Moser, Conway, Larger, Schwarz, Dyche, Nestor, Bryan, Healey, Coakley, Price, Leary, Walsh, Walker, Lewis, Holland, Valentine, Hendrick, Skemp, Sheret, Murphy, Whitehead, Miller (J. F.), Brown, Gallagher, Ryan (M. F.), Huddleston, Welch (M. R.), Williams (Thomas J.), Moyer, Swick, Tharp, Campbell (Geo. C.), Gidden, Woodman, Sause, Burke (Patrick), Hicks, Burns, Elyea, Doherty, Ferguson, Bryan (Frank O.), Pace, Morgan, Stokes, Niven, Snellings, Duffy (K.), Cunningham, Woodhouse, Labbee.

President Gompers—As has been the usual custom, resolutions will be received during the entire day, and after the close

of this session of our convention, resolutions handed in until 11 p. m. will be received, assigned and printed in the proceedings that will be distributed to-morrow.

### Supplemental Report of Committee on Credentials.

Delegate McDonald, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

November 14, 1912.

To the Officers and Delegates of the 32d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials desires to report that we have received credentials from the following organizations and recommend that their delegates be seated:

Mineral Water Workers Union, No. 12,674, Samuel Lebowitz, 1 vote;

Retail Clerks International Protective Association, H. J. Conway, 150 votes.

Respectfully submitted,

EDW. J. MARK,

Chairman.

W. A. NEER,

DUNCAN McDONALD,

Secretary.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

President Gompers—I take pleasure in presenting to you John W. Bruce, Fraternal Delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Fraternal Delegate John W. Bruce spoke as follows:

Mr. President and Fellow Workers: In having committed to my charge to carry the fraternal greetings from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, I hope that I can carry the true spirit of fraternity along with me and convey to you heartily the fraternal greetings of your fellow workers across that imaginary line that is between us. To-day I am going to try and impress upon some of the international organizations the growing importance of that vast dominion, and in carrying the fraternal greetings it is with an idea that I can do something more to harmonize the spirit that is existing between the two countries as they exist today, but as far as their labor movement is concerned, only one, we knowing no distinction. In the labor movement there are many evidences of discord and it is like music, if there is discord, they do not produce that which we expect them to produce, and in our labor movement in Canada there are two causes of discord and we are doing all we possibly can as international trade unionists to harmonize them and bring them in accord with all of the international labor movements of the world with the hope of creating a solidarity of labor that will redound to the credit of the wage workers.

Jurisdictional fights have always been to the advantage of the employer and not to the advantage of the wage worker, and we, like every other portion of the civilized world, have to contend with jurisdictional fights. The formation of the Congress from its early inception until the present day has been more particularly of a legislative character and not for the settlement of jurisdictional disputes between the existing local unions. Jurisdictional fights have been left to this organization and we have always considered it consistent to enforce the mandate of this organization, but to-day there is an evident spirit prevailing amongst some of the workers in this congregation, and some of the workers in the international movement that we in Canada are not determined to live up to the mandate of the A. F. of L. I am going to try and prove to you that we are doing our evident best under the existing conditions in that Dominion to bring the workers in line with the policies of the American Federation of Labor. During the year you have had in this organization a juris-

ditional fight, and according to the report of your delegates to the last convention, you heard read that we had refused by a large vote to unseat the Amalgamated Carpenters. The policy in that organization for years, as I told you, has been for legislative purposes and at different times in the history of our organization we have been told to keep ourselves absolutely and completely apart from jurisdictional fights if we wished to retain our Congress and make it of any effective use as far as legislative purposes were concerned for the Dominion of Canada. Here you see to-day that you have lost even one whole day yesterday on the question of a jurisdictional dispute, and we have tried to remain apart from that, and as I said before, jurisdictional fights have always been to the advantage of the employer and never to the advantage of the worker, and we have absolutely refrained from entering into them. Had the last delegate gone further than what he possibly did, probably it was a little oversight on his part, and showed you that we had made recommendations and an alteration in our constitution that provided for the non-seating of delegates who represented organizations that were not affiliated with their international unions and were not bona fide trade unionists in sympathy with the international spirit of the trade union movement.

Fellow workers, one of the great dangers of the Dominion is the vastness of its territory and our inability to cover it in the way that we would like to cover it, and then again we have a vast immigration policy of a character which you have not to contend with even here in the United States. During the last year the immigration to our country was 355,000 people, 138,120 being British subjects, 133,710 being American subjects and 82,400 were foreign subjects. You who have been in or studied the conditions in Canada know of the severity of our winters, you know that the building conditions or the operation of the building industry is in the limited period of probably seven months, and when you come to consider inside of that that forty per cent of the number that I have mentioned are of the artisan class, you can realize what a serious condition we have to contend with every year with the large influx of immigrants of the artisan class.

Coming down to the question of the amalgamation of the carpenters in the international movement, the majority of the men who are trying to lead the destinies of the wage workers in Canada realize that as vast as this continent is, that it is too small for two organizations of one craft, and we believe that under the existing conditions of industry, and the majority of the carpenters who come from the old land carrying cards of the Amalgamated Carpenters, that for our purposes there should be a spirit of toleration, consistent only with the idea of allowing us to try and cement those two bodies into one consolidated organization of carpenters. We are not trying to defeat the will or the wishes of the A. F. of L., although some may try to lead you to believe such, but I can assure you that the international trades unionist in the

Dominion of Canada is just as firm to-day as he has ever been, he is just as determined that the labor movement is an international movement, and that if they wish to take part in that movement they have also to be international in their character.

There is another proposition, that is the electrical workers, and in speaking with the men of the electrical workers, in my duties carrying me across that continent, they are hopeful in the extreme that this body is going to rise to the occasion and do something to cement the two factions of the electrical workers into one grand organization for the protection of their own craft.

We come to a question that seriously affects the workers in the Dominion. When I spoke to you before of the marvelous rate of immigration, we come to the serious side of it. The Dominion is supposed to be purely and simply an agricultural country, but with the development of agriculture we find they have unearthed in that Dominion the finest natural resources of any country in the world, the natural resources of that country are unlimited, but what do we find? We find that in the immigration that has taken place through that country inside of the last ten years of over two million people, that it has been the tendency to increase the city population and not the rural. We find to-day in the Dominion of Canada that there are only fifty-four per cent of the people, of a supposed agricultural country, who are engaged in agriculture. We find that the other forty-six per cent are engaged in industrial pursuits in an urban district, and when you realize, any of you who have studied the proposition of population and the prosperity of countries, especially those which are supposed to be agricultural countries, you know that there cannot be any continued prosperity in any country where the rural population is of such a small percentage higher than the urban population. It is absolutely necessary as far as agriculture is concerned that they should compose at least from sixty-five to seventy per cent of the population. With the growing activity of the cities and the development of the natural resources, we find, according to the statistics published, that for every four days of their existence there is a creation of five factories in the industry, and during the last ten years the increase in those employed in those industries has been fifty-one per cent. You can realize with those conditions existing and the immigration policy as I have outlined to you, that we in Canada are up against a serious proposition. Just at the moment that we think that we have covered the ground and built a wall around ourselves by organizing our workers, we find that there is another influx of workers due to the changing seasons and the immigration policy. To defeat the will of the workers at particular times of the year, we find that the restrictions that are placed on immigration are removed. We believe that this country or this world is wide enough to provide for us all, but when men are de-

termined by force of economic circumstances in one land to fly for another land, man's material instinct is one of the first things, he looks for self-preservation, and he must look for some protection against the encroachment of these men on his economic position. It is absolutely necessary that he should do something to protect himself, and we from time to time have petitioned the Dominion government to do something along those lines, to help us out in the immigration policy. During times of strike we have found that instead of the act helping us in any way that it has been used to our detriment. There is the Alien Labor Law which we have found violated on every occasion, and men have been allowed to filter into our country and replace the men who are out on strike. And, therefore, I say to you that there should be some spirit of toleration with the existing conditions growing up and let us as best we can find a solution and overcome the present difficulties. Had any of you been in our country during the last campaign, you would have been impressed with one great fact that was used to blind the workers. During the whole of that campaign, it was not a question of the merit of the particular things that were put before the workers; it was the insane policy of the mind of the capitalist and the politicians to defeat the will of the workers by crying out for a British-born policy, that if they did not defeat reciprocity, we would become annexed to the United States. That policy, brothers, carried; won its way into the hearts of those men and they went to the booths in such numbers they caused a landslide that even the most optimistic of the politicians who invented that cry never dreamed of.

And the same thing applied in our labor movement to-day. If you start any policy that will start them to do anything, they will begin the same cry. The whole of our organizations are permeated with men narrow enough to take up that race and flag cry. Many of these men are determined to blaze the way, not only for a Canadian organization but for British institutions on British soil. It may not appear to you such a great danger as it does to me, but I have been engaged in this movement for many years and I know its dangers. I have studied the question in Australia, I have studied it in Africa, I have studied it in England, and on this continent, and I find exactly the same problem confronting the wage worker everywhere I have been. And when they appeal to that sentiment, I have been long enough in the movement to know that in the men coming from the British Isles there is a spirit that will cause them to fight for British institutions prior to and independent of anything else, whether there is merit in them or not.

Now, coming down to the work of our Congress. It will be interesting to some of you to hear what the Congress is doing. The Congress has grown in twelve years from 8,000 to 66,000 members. There are 42 international unions paying per capita tax on 55,000, representing 849 local

unions. The other 11,000 are accounted for by representation through central bodies and federal unions, and post office employees. To-day we have in Canada, according to a government report issued, 1,631 international unions, representing 119,600 members, with 37 trade councils, as against the distinctly Canadian or National movement of 191 national or independent unions, representing 13,700, with three trades councils. And let me here mention that in that 13,700, they are not all of the distinctively Canadian variety. Some are men who have probably broken away from their international unions and formed independent unions, not with the idea of seceding, but with the idea probably of defeating the will of their organizations, perhaps on an administrative point; and these men I believe, with an aggressive policy, can be won back to this international labor movement.

In the last Congress, we found our troubles the same as yours. We have had to contend with the fight for free speech. During last winter, we had terrible conditions prevailing on the Pacific Coast, and in the city of Vancouver. There was a riot. Some people claimed it was brought about by the I. W. W.'s, but it was because the unemployed had congregated in a certain place to protest against the conditions existing, and the police tried to club them into submission. We find to-day that the workers were justified and their contention of free speech has been upheld. In the East, they have been up against the same proposition, and are fighting relentlessly for a free press and free speech. The case of the United Mine Workers, mentioned by Delegate Smith this morning, in his speech, might appear interesting to some of the brothers if outlined. There are provinces in the Dominion that have formed compensation laws, governing their own provinces. In the case mentioned by Delegate Smith, we find that the dependents residing in one province were not entitled to the compensation when the man was injured in another province. Through the efforts of the United Mine Workers of America and the Trades Congress, the case was taken to the Privy Council of England. The result has justified the Mine Workers and the Congress, because a decision was rendered that, no matter where the dependents lived, they are entitled to compensation.

We are trying, among other things, to control the Oriental immigration and limit their industry to themselves. One of our provinces has been so progressive as to make it an offense against the statutes for a Chinaman to employ white help in connection with the industry in which he is engaged. The constitutionality of that law is to be tested, but we hope the province will rise supreme and that the act will be upheld.

We had another fight during the year, and while we as wage workers recognize that the working class all over the world has to face the same economic problems, we do not believe they have to work al-

ways the same social problems. During the year, one of the great questions that arose was in regard to Hindu labor. The law relating to Hindu immigration provides that those who come into our country, must come by a direct route. With one or two exceptions there are no Hindu women in the Dominion of Canada. As a test case, they tried to bring in Hindu women. Emissaries of the Hindu race appeared before the government and before the various boards, soliciting sympathy, but I am glad to say that through the activity of the Congress and the trade unionists, we were able to defeat them. We hope that we will be able to make such stringent regulations that Oriental immigration will be limited.

A great deal has been said among the wage workers at different times in our history of the benefits of arbitration and conciliation. One of the governments of our country thought to meet the wishes of the workers by putting a bill on the statutes known as the Industrial Investigation Act. When the act was first proposed the Trades and Labor Congress favored it, although there were some who realized the seriousness of the proposition and wanted them to go easy in endorsing it. Now we find that after a few years of operation the act has not worked out to the satisfaction of the wage workers. When an appeal is made to a government for an investigation under the act, the law will apply, if you have a strong organization behind you; but if you have a weak organization and are not in a position to enforce your demands, you will find the Board is refused. There have been instances where wage workers have been able to get Boards under the act, but the employer has not been willing to live up to the award. Even when we find a weak organization of the Canadian element appealing for a Board, it is not granted. After an exhaustive hearing of those most directly concerned in the operation of this act, the Congress by a very large vote, determined to seek the repeal of the act, or seek a better administration of it. We stated that we were not opposed to arbitration and conciliation, if it were conducted with the intention of arbitrating and conciliating the disputes regardless of the strength of the organizations.

During the last two or three years the question of workmen's compensation has engaged our attention. Having studied this proposition a good deal, I am going to pay my respects to the State of Washington for the Workmen's Compensation Act they have secured. It is a splendid piece of legislation and it is up to the other states of this union to try to emulate the work of the Washington Federation of Labor and the various labor bodies of that state, that fought until they secured such a fine piece of legislation. In the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress we are fighting before the Ontario Commission of Investigation of Workmen's Compensation Acts, and if

we put the compensation law we want on the statutes, it will be finest act of its kind in the world. We are hopeful, in spite of the blue book that has been issued, that we can count on the sympathy to a certain extent of the man who is conducting the investigation. An admission was made by Mr. Boyd, of Ohio, who was brought there by the employers, that an industrial insurance act was absolutely necessary for the protection of the wage workers on account of the uncertainty of the present wage system. He made that admission when he was asked what he thought of workmen's compensation acts. Those are significant words if we consider the conditions under which the admission was made. We hope our efforts will be rewarded and that we may perhaps leave the world with the finest workmen's compensation act written in the statutes of this or any other country.

An industrial resolution has been carried in the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress that may be misunderstood. No piece of legislation is ever put on the statutes of states, provinces, or countries, without at least a certain amount of educational work having to be done before it becomes a law. Realizing the conditions existing in regard to the wage workers of the Dominion, thinking they could crystalize the thoughts of the workers, in the form of industrial unionism, and do something to offset the trouble being created at the present time by jurisdictional disputes in craft unions, that not only disrupt the craft unions but disintegrate the movement, the resolution was adopted. Some people have misconstrued the intent of the resolution. However, the intent of the resolution is exactly what has been enunciated on this floor in the last few days, that we are in favor of the amalgamation of trades and the consolidation of the various units of industry in which they are engaged and in no way support the policy of a concrete organization like the Industrial Workers of the World, with their inflammatory doctrines and propaganda.

That brings me to the question that was well taken care of last year in the President's report. I am sorry that there is nothing in that report this year, showing that any one has taken notice of it or made any progress in that direction. I refer to the migratory laborers. This is one of the propositions that is affecting the wage workers of the Dominion of Canada. During the harvest season, people come to our industrial centers and urge thousands of workers to go to the harvest fields. As a result we have a floating population of laborers engaged at one season in some of the industries, at another season in the harvest fields, and in the winter in the lumber camps. If you study the question of industrial unionism to-day as outlined by the I. W. W.'s you will find the only place they can make any progress with their inflammatory propaganda, is among large aggregations of uneducated or migratory laborers.

I am pleased with the preparations being made on the Pacific Coast in regard to such laborers. We find the officers of the Shingle Weavers Union have gone into the question with the hope of extending their jurisdiction to take in the men working in and around the lumber camps. I hope some more progressive policy will be adopted and some attention paid to the remarks of our President when he urged that something be done to organize those laborers and offset the work of the Industrial Workers of the World.

You will find the men engaged to-day in an industry of any craft that requires skill will not connect themselves with the I. W. W. If a craft worker realizes the seriousness of the situation he will make some effort in his own organization or in his central body to organize the migratory workers into an organization. They should be granted the privilege of traveling over the continent and engaging in any line of work they desire.

In the report of the Executive Council reference is made to the iron and steel industry. We have exactly the same condition prevailing in our iron and steel industry; in fact, I believe it is somewhat worse. In the Dominion we find that the greatest industry in the country is the iron and steel industry, and absolutely the worst conditions for wage workers prevail in it. When the representatives of the Congress went before the government last Saturday they urged the necessity of the government conducting an investigation into the workings of the iron and steel industry. The Dominion Government, like the United States Government, is not willing to go into an investigation of an industry from which so many of them receive profits. We find there are over 6,000 people engaged in that industry in and around Cape Breton and that 60 per cent of them receive only \$1.40 a day. That is a revolting condition. The conditions under which these men work are so deplorable that you can only class it with the lowest condition prevailing in the uneducated portion of Southern Europe. There with a multiplicity of tongues and the environment created are conditions that are a disgrace to the Dominion, especially when we boast of so much prosperity.

Our brother from across the sea referred to the question of war and a war scare. I have been in a country where war was carried on in the last ten years, and if anyone wants anything in this life to impress upon him the terrible havoc and the devastating effect of war he should take a trip to that country. When you walk across a country where 150,000 wage workers are below the sod for the perpetuation of a capitalistic system it gives you an idea of what war has been brought about for. I was in South Africa after the close of the war, and if ever an iniquitous war was brought about by capitalistic interests it was that one. It was brought about for the control of mines by capitalists for their own profit. The Britisher in that country was urged to vote and sign a petition asking the

British Government to go into this war for the protection of the rights of the citizens; but as soon as the war was over a mandate was issued to bring in Chinese labor, and thousands of Chinamen were brought in. Later they themselves were compelled to pass legislation remedying that condition. The men who are working there to-day are receiving less than they were under the old Boer Government. And who was taxed for that war? Every one of the workers of the British Islands. Although \$300,000,000 was supposed to be subscribed by the States of that Commonwealth, they are not living up to that provision and the wage workers of the old country are being ground down under an excessive and unjust war tax.

In the Congress we were pleased to hear Kier Hardie, the British fraternal delegate. He brought to us the fraternal spirit of the wage workers of the old land. He urged us to unite with the wage workers of other countries to wipe out this system of war. The best way we can do it is to assert our rights and our manhood by determining that we are going to be one of the factors in deciding whether we shall have a war or whether we shall not have a war. And if it comes let us have a voice in it, when we stand up and say we will not give up our right to strike. Then is the time to demonstrate the solidarity of labor and strike with all our might against fighting our fellow workers in other lands to bring about a system that will oppress us further.

In this country you have your Sherman Anti-trust Law and we have our Combines Act, and one of the first cases brought up under the Combines Act brought about a very peculiar situation. During the year the United Shoe Machinery Company was summoned before the courts on account of having a monopoly of the shoe machinery, and therefore according to the statutes of the land they were guilty of conspiracy in restraint of trade. After an exhaustive hearing they were found guilty of conspiracy, but there is no judgment entered other than that they are given six months in which to readjust their business, although the Act specifically states they should be dissolved from the day the judgment is given and fined \$500 for every day they operate under the combine after ten days.

During the year we carried on an aggressive campaign and with the work of our convention we find there is a determined effort among the wage workers of our Dominion to make themselves heard and their efforts felt. With the evolution and changing conditions of industry to-day it is evident that the wage workers have to find some other form of organization or some completer form to combat those changing conditions. To-day when we find skill is eliminated from the various industries and men are made part of the machines, it is absolutely necessary for the wage worker to find some means of self-preservation. And we find on this continent the same conditions that

exist everywhere as far as the wage-worker is concerned. We are told in some instances the troubles of the wage worker in one portion of the world are not the same as the troubles of the wage worker in another part of the world. I have been around the world and have failed to find a place where the worker is not suffering exactly the same both economically and socially. Therefore we have to be in a united fight, we have to find some way to combat the encroachments of a system that is subjugating the worker and making him part of the machine.

We have heard something of the wages of the workers being raised. If we talk of normal wages we find the workers have received greater rewards, but if we speak of real wages then they are in exactly the same position or even in a worse position than they were twenty years ago. Wages is merely labor reproducing itself, and when the wage worker starts to learn that he is merely reproducing himself he will realize the seriousness of his position. There are many men within the sound of my voice who are in a conscious movement but their souls are not conscious of the class struggle. The class struggle is going on incessantly and grinding the workers, dragging them so low they must do something for self-preservation. Many of them have learned political economy, and to-day you will find many of them going out united, not only on the industrial field, but on the political field. And though some of the men here may disagree with me, as I know they do, I am going to tell you it is useless for us to think we can pass resolutions and mandates in this convention and not have the law with us. If we wish to put those laws into effect we must have the machinery of the State behind us to put the mandates of the workers into effect. You find it necessary even in this convention, when you make mandates, to go out and enforce them against your smaller bodies; and, as I said before, it is absolutely necessary when we make laws in our bodies to be in a position to write them into the statutes of the land and enforce them according to the dictates of the workers.

It is said that labor produces all wealth and that wealth should belong to labor, and the sooner we realize it, the sooner we get out after the wealth we have created, the better for ourselves and the better for the wage workers of the civilized world. To-day we as a body in convention assembled represent about three per cent of the population of this North American Continent. While I accept you as part of the labor movement, I do not accept you as the whole of the labor problem. There are thousands of others who have to be considered in this labor problem, and if they have no particular skill, do not lose the opportunity of educating these men politically to their own importance and utilizing them as one of the great factors in the fight that is going to bring to the workers the wealth they produce.

During the last few years many changes have taken place in industry, and we find



also that many changes are taking place politically. All over the civilized world we find an evident desire on the part of the workers to make an organization that is the political expression of the wage workers. And sometimes I hear it said that those who associate themselves with their political organization, forced there by the economic conditions prevailing, are detrimental to the trade union movement. I deny that for myself and I think I can deny it for thousands of others. They are heart and soul with you in this movement. There are many men on the floor of this convention to-day who probably have the same sentiments I do, and we are not antagonistic, as far as I am concerned and as far as they are concerned, to the trade union movement; but we go out and back up a political system that will bring some recognition of the efforts of the wage workers, and at least try to make a better and brighter life for the wage workers of this civilized world and of this continent in particular.

You have just gone through a campaign, and it is evident the wage workers were not asleep to the possibilities, and they are awakening to a greater realization of the power of the franchise, and when they awake to a full realization of the power of that franchise, the American Federation of Labor will go on and on to a realization of that dream of the workers when they will speak in no uncertain voice in their conventions, and you will find they will be recognized politically.

Now, brothers, I have to thank you for this opportunity of speaking to you, and although some of you may not agree with some of the sentiments I have expressed, they are my honest convictions. I am here determined to spend a life consecrated to the hope of the workers, and that is that the wealth they produce shall be returned to them.

President Gompers—I have now the pleasure of presenting to you Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ.

Fraternal Delegate Macfarland — Mr. President and Gentlemen: It has been my pleasure during the year, as you may suspect, to attend a great many conventions where religious and moral questions were discussed, and I wish to bear witness and testimony this afternoon that during these past twelve months I have not attended a convention that has had a loftier moral tone than the session this morning, with its echo this afternoon in those splendid pleas of our brethren from across the water for an unending and international brotherhood. I would like to suggest that it would be pretty difficult for us here in this country to know with whom we would go to war without putting blood against blood and kin against kin.

A little while ago I addressed a gathering in England, and at the close of the address a member of that ornamental institution known as the House of Lords, who happened to be in the gathering—if the reference is invidious I beg pardon—I am encouraged to go on—a member of that ornamental and useless institution

arose and said, in reference to a description I had given of the splendid democracy of our public school system, "I would like to have you, sir, if you can, give a definition of what an American is." And I said, "Yea, sir. My father was born in Sweden. His father was born in Scotland. His mother was born in Denmark. My mother's mother was a French woman born in Canada. Her father was a German. Therefore I am an American." It is a little difficult for me to know with whom to go to war without warring against my own blood and kin.

In that classic masterpiece by Mr. Smillie this morning, combining as it did—as I have seldom heard them combined—the elements of sympathy and power, of kindness and of the utterance of truth, of justice tempered with patience, he referred to the importance of educating and creating that sympathy on the part of what we call public sentiment. And if, therefore, I and those I represent have any task that is worth while, it is while your organizers are going about and organizing men into these fraternal unions, to go about if I can and organize an insight and sympathy on the part of those we call, for want of a better term, the public.

I have had some opportunity, I think, of noting the progress of that public sympathy, and I want to bear witness to-day that it has progressed, despite some sad things that have happened during the past year, despite the unfair use that has been made of a multitude of incidents, and, Mr. President, despite one other thing, and I am ready here upon the part of one hundred and fifty thousand churches I represent to protest against the absolutely unfair and unjust attitude of the public daily press of this country to the labor movement. I have known of cases, Mr. President, where you yourself have been attacked by those who wished through you to attack this movement and this cause. Statements have been made which were absolutely untrue. The President of this convention, to my knowledge, has made counter-statements, in which he proved conclusively the untruth of those previous statements, has sent his answer to the public press, and I, knowing it, have looked and watched and waited in vain for those responses to appear in that public press. And therefore if my constituents should accuse me of some inaccuracy in saying that the labor movement has not received fair treatment from a portion at least of the public press, I believe I should be able to deliver the goods, and if I were not ready I am sure the President of this organization could help me.

Despite these things I believe there is to-day a larger sympathy upon the part of what we term the public for this Federation and what it represents than there was one year ago. I believe I have come here representing the seventeen million members of our Protestant evangelical churches with more of their sympathy

behind me than I had one year ago. The churches are unwilling to be represented, if ever they have been, by the individual at the banquet in a luxurious hotel who, after hearing the portrayal by an eloquent speaker of the hardships and the sacrifices of the working man, arose and said at the close that something must be done, that his heart and his sympathies had been moved, and he proposed that three cheers be given for the working man.

There is coming to be a new vocabulary in the thinking of the public. Certain words are being transposed. Philanthropy is still used, but we are coming to use instead of the words magnanimity and generosity in our consideration of industrial relations the words justice and righteousness.

Last year I came here and spent nearly the entire time at the convention. It was one of the most educational periods of my life. During the time I was here I never missed a single session or part of a session, and that is more than some of the delegates can say. Yesterday and to-day that education has been continued, and I discovered, very much to my encouragement, that all the sectarianism in the world is not confined to the sectarianism of the church, and that it is practically the same problem to keep federations of labor together as it is to keep federations of the church together.

I said something about the task the Federal Council had committed to me a year ago, and I would like to indicate some of the work we have been able to do in our little and perhaps unobtrusive way. There are now employed by the Federal Council six secretaries who are engaged in this task of bringing about the right relation of the churches of the nation and these industries; and every one of these secretaries was selected from men who in their local communities and pastorates had been working harmoniously and earnestly with the organizations of labor of those communities.

Our campaign, which you so heartily endorsed last year, for one day in seven for all industrial workers, has made some progress. I have a record of over twenty thousand pastors who on Labor Sunday of this year preached on that subject and on child labor and similar themes. I have to report that probably there was never a time in the history of the Christian church when ministers were giving so much thoughtful and sympathetic study to your problems as they are today. The Federal Council lent its influence in behalf of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations. A large proportion of the people outside your ranks know little about the situation. It is veiled in mysterious darkness, and good and thoughtful men and women sometimes say to me, "If we could only know the disproportion between dividend and wage, between sacrifice and selfishness!" And the disposition of the Christian church to-day, I believe, is to say, "There is nothing covered that shall not be re-

vealed, and nothing hidden that shall not be made manifest."

Last year in this convention I listened to the story of the industrial warfare at Muscatine, Iowa. Immediately upon my return, at a meeting of the Council, a committee was appointed to make a fair and frank investigation and report. We were disappointed that it did not secure a righteous settlement of that disaster, and yet I believe it had this value: We were able to give, by the issuance of some 40,000 of those reports a true knowledge of the situation to some forty thousand or more people.

The political parties this year fell over themselves, over and over again, in an attempt to climb upon the highest platform that they dared of social and industrial justice. Some question has been raised as to where they got the planks for their platform. I did not see a single plank in any one of the platforms that was really significant that had not been put in the platform of the American Federation of Labor years and years ago. I suppose that in a large measure those political platforms were taken from the report of the Committee on Standards of Living and Labor of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, and that platform was largely taken from the platform enunciated by the Federal Council of Churches in 1908 in Philadelphia: so that at least the church on that issue was ahead of the Conference of Charities and Correction and the political parties. At a meeting in Philadelphia of the Federal Council of Churches, over which Denis Hayes presided, that platform was adopted from the principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Now we are saying, and I believe much more confidently every year, when we are asked whether the Christian church should enter on the industrial situation: "Yes, let the church do it or give up her Lord and Master to the great industrial master with outstretched hands saying, 'Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of Mammon.' Let us do this or change the scriptures and say frankly, 'The Sabbath was not made for man, she must get some higher critic to cut out the greater part of the teaching of Jesus and say, 'It is either one thing or the other—Barabbas or Christ, God or Mammon.'"

The only time when Jesus declared the moral determinance of human destiny was in the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew, when he uttered these scathing, severe words to us: "Inasmuch as ye have done it, or done it not, unto the least of these my brethren, ye did it, or did it not, unto me."

I read that chapter the other evening and then I picked up the report of the Bureau of Labor and read of the two millions injured and the thirty-five thousand killed in one year, largely by preventable disasters, and said: "Two million thirty-five thousand Christs!" I was in a factory the other day where there was less glow upon the faces of nearly 500 children than that which flashed upon the machinery of which they were a part,

and I could not help saying: "Five hundred Christs!" As I walked the streets of Lawrence—thirty thousand Christs! Not long ago in a little city called Bethlehem, thousands of Christs working twelve hours a day, seven days of every week!

And so, Mr. President, this is the task we are trying to perform, to educate and to bring into rightful relations of sympathy the great mass of the people with whom we have the privilege of being. And to-day again, as I did last year, I repeat to you that greeting that came from the Federal Council four years ago. But first I want to say that I have a high regard for the Secretary of this Federation, and not only that but a personal affection, yet he sometimes sends out figures from the office of the Federation of Labor that are misleading; he sends out word that this Federation has a membership of something like two million members. The impression that creates upon unthinking minds is that this Federation only represents two million working men, and that is one of the saddest and most haggard fallacies that was ever uttered or thought.

And so I repeat the message, "To the toilers of America." Through you, I say, for in everything that relates to their economic and in a multitude of things that relate to their moral uplifting this Federation of Labor represents all the toilers of America; and, furthermore, the only difference between those two millions, in my personal opinion, and the other—whatever they may be, call it eighteen million—is this: That the two millions are lifting the twenty millions and the eighteen millions are being lifted without helping very much to lift themselves. Therefore, it was not an anachronism or an anomaly when the Federal Council four years ago sent this message to the American Federation of Labor:

"To the Toilers of America and to those who by organized efforts are helping to ameliorate the hardships and to uplift the dignity of labor, the Federal Council sends the pledge of brotherhood and of sympathy and of help in a cause that belongs to all who follow Christ."

President Gompers—I now take pleasure in presenting to you Rev. Peter Dietz of the American Federation of Catholic Societies.

Fraternal Delegate Dietz—Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: I am delighted to be with you again. I have had a great many and varied experiences in the course of the year, and I speak the truth when I say that none gives me more genuine satisfaction than to come back here and to get the glad hand of the delegates of this convention. I am not going to make a report of the work that I have been trying to do along this line among the constituencies I represent. I do not have to come here to talk trades unionism to you gentlemen; I try to do that to the Catholic societies whenever and wherever I have the opportunity. They get plenty of sermons but not enough of trades unionism; you get plenty of trades unionism and perhaps not

enough of sermons, and therefore I have made up my mind to preach to you this afternoon just a short sermon with one or two points.

The first point I want to make is this: That mere economic strength is not a determining factor in industrial progress. Now that is a sentiment that has obtained altogether too much prevalence. There are certain factors of economic strength; they are men; they are money; they are organization; they are the resourceful power of united action. These forces are necessary machinery of industrial action. God forbid that I should wish to curtail any of these forces even in the slightest manner. On the contrary, if I could I would increase their effectiveness an hundredfold. The structure of economic strength must be built on the foundation of justice, justice to God, justice to yourselves, justice to your fellow man, no matter what his station in life, no matter what his class may be, no matter what his policy or pursuit in life may be. Economic strength is something entirely apart from justice and right. It is not a question of mere power. These things do not go hand in hand, they do not necessarily run parallel. Sometimes justice and right may be on the side of even hopeless minority, they may even be associated with weakness and ignorance. Justice and right include many points of honor, strength of character, fairness, even to an enemy. They embrace the truth, they dispel prejudice, they reveal bigotry, they punish wrong, even in a friend; they have their face always turned to the light; they spurn passion and are determined to render equity to every man and to every movement. There is no greater compliment you can pay a man than to tell him he is a just man. And that sentiment of justice is native to the human breast. God has planted that seed in every soul and he has established religion to foster that seed of justice in the human soul to make it grow and prevail in this world of his.

One of the fundamental things of religion, or the fundamental thing, is the recognition of the almighty power of God above us. There is a God who had in his mind the plan of the universe, including ourselves, and God went on and carried out that plan according to his own will, an intelligent will, a conscious will. This world is not ruled by blind force. There are those who tell you that all things are matter and materialism. I say above matter and far greater than it is spirit and idealism. The world is not ruled by a blind force; the world is not governed by economic strength as such; human destinies are not made to follow the lines of the materialistic conception of history or the economic interpretation; but above all, the destinies of the world are guided, whether you will or not, by the almighty will of God. God has spoken and made that will of His plain. He has communicated his thought in a manner that is not unreasonable.

When some man conceived the idea of a trade union he took some other men into his confidence; he surrounded himself with a number of friends and they discussed this problem of trades unionism;

they formed a temporary organization, they developed a philosophy of labor, they instituted executive bodies to carry out their policies. There is nothing unreasonable in that; it is in accord with the principles of sound common sense. Why cannot we apply the same thing to religion? People will tell you that in these days creeds are outworn, that they are things of the past, that we walk over them and pay no attention to them. Gentlemen, that is an unreasonable statement. When you come to me and tell me you do not need a philosophy of labor, when you can tell me you need no set of principles, that you need no creed of trades unionism, when you can tell me you need no organization, no business agents, no executive committees, no labor press, no officers to carry out the policy of trades unionism, then, gentlemen, will I be ready to admit that we do not need creed in God's supreme business in the universe, which is religion.

The trouble is that the notion a great many people have about religion is that they see the miserable tinkering with God's work on the part of men who set themselves up into the place of God, who are trying to scab it upon the Lord; but when God made His religion He made it right and gave it into the custody of men that have formed the tightest union that has ever been known in the history of the world and that is the tightest union to-day. That religion which God gave the world, which is the expression of his divine will, is not subject to the whims and the fancies of thinkers whether they call themselves religious or not. This religion is not subject to the decrees of conventions or to the laws of parliaments; it stands above these things supremely the law of God. No movement, no nation can set itself above the divine law of God. And when men hoist up a banner and put upon it the words, "No God and no Master," they, in their presumption, will fail, as we are told in one of the first lessons of christianity that Lucifer, the king and the prince of angels, failed when he rebelled against God and said, "I will not serve." And, like Lucifer, peoples and nations have failed and fallen into decay because they would not obey the God who made them.

My friends, this is the main thought I wished to bring out, that you cannot storm the heavens, you cannot ignore God. No man, no set of men, no movement, no nation and the history of the world bears me out—can do that. I want to make that one point that it is above these things, that mere economic strength, mere political strength by itself is no more than the wooden toy sword of a soldier boy in the street as compared with the all-powerful arm of God.

That is my first point. The second is even shorter. You are told that religion is a private matter; people write it in their platforms and try to make it their policy; but, my dear friends, do not deceive yourselves, religion is not a private matter: it is the last thing in the world that could afford to be a private matter. Tell me that the acorn must remain hid-

den in the ground forever; tell me that marriage must be without children; tell me that your thoughts and aspirations and endeavors must be forever hidden in the recesses of your mind; tell me that you must remain in your homes and not go out to work and control and create and govern—when you tell me those things, my friends, I will admit religion is a private matter, but not until then. Religion is a private matter, but in addition to that it requires the public expression on the part of boys and girls and men and women, and the democracies of the twentieth century can no more ignore religion in its public character than could the movements of any other age. When you take away religion this world becomes a desert, and, therefore, it is necessary that religion penetrate into the home and into the school, that it penetrate into the union and into the factory, into the market place and into the parliaments of the nations. It is necessary as a public expression of our faith in God, the creator and the ruler of the world.

My dear friends, suppose you could carry out the slogan of some that tell you, "Workers of the world unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains and you have a world to win." Suppose you could cast off that which you regard as a chain, the christian heritage of the past, the civilization of the past, the institution of the past, all that has been created and brought about by the finest human instinct of the past—suppose you could cast it away and cut it off as a chain and then go forward and win a world, my friends, when you have won the world, when you get there Christ will be there ahead of you and he will address to you that same old question: "What does it profit a man even if he does win the world, but suffer the loss of his soul?" What exchange can a man make for his soul? That, my friends, is the message of the Catholic Church I leave with you here to-day. What will it profit you?

Go on, organize, carry on your endeavors and your works; I am in sympathy with you and the constituencies I represent are in sympathy with you. In spite of the setbacks you have had in the last year I am glad to note the progress you have made. I am with you. I have as great confidence in your movement as I have ever had and I will continue to preach the efficacy of this movement. But do not forget God. Remember he is still there, he will always be there and will address to you the question: What can you profit even if you gain the world but suffer the loss of your soul?

President Gompers—I take pleasure in presenting to you the Rev. James Bishop Thomas, representing the Church Association for the Advancement of Labor.

Mr. Thomas—Mr. President and Fellow Delegates: You have listened to-day to a rare amount of talent and eloquence, with which I cannot compete either in quantity or ability, and so I must be permitted to take a slightly different tack, and if you will allow me, speak in a lighter

vein. Now, this is to be taken seriously. As I have looked out upon this audience my first impression was, judging from the frontal developments as they appeared, that I was in a gathering of high-brows; but as a high-brow is usually associated with a puny body I looked farther, and so I am constrained to the conclusion that this gathering represents sanity of mind and strength of body. It is a gathering of men of ability and endurance; it is a gathering of men who are pre-eminently practical, men who have done things; and yet I am impressed to-day with the fact that it is also a gathering of men who see visions and dream dreams. That is the most marvelous combination you can get, of practical visionaries, of men who see a vision and then endeavor to realize it.

Now, just a word as to the society I have the honor to represent. It was organized by nine clergymen of the Episcopal Church in 1887. Those men realized that there was a social situation upon which the church needed to be awakened. It was not organized so much to help the workers at the outset as to bring the church to an intelligent appreciation of the problems of which it was recognized to be in ignorance. These men had been awakened in large measure by the single tax gospel of Henry George and Father McGlynn of blessed memory. They followed their program as far as they could, and in its promulgation you will find sentiments that are based upon the socialization of the land. In the second statement of their program they say: "God is the sole possessor of the earth and its fulness; man is but the steward of God's bounties." These men studied the labor problem and the social problem. They were soon led to the conviction that the agency that would begin to get results was the agency whereby the workers did things for themselves; and so early in their history they committed themselves to the unqualified support of organized labor.

Some of your critics, and possibly your friends, speak of you as the labor trust. The Supreme Court of the United States not long ago said there were good trusts and bad trusts. I have puzzled my head somewhat as to what might be a good trust, until it occurred to me that perhaps they had in mind the American Federation of Labor. If your organization be a trust, it is certainly a good trust, because whereas other trusts exist in order to make commodities dear and hard to get, this trust exists in order to make the labor of men dear, that is, of value; and it has sound economic principles underlying it, because by the increase of the purchasing power of labor we are increasing our own markets, and the methods that are employed not only get immediate results but they get them by gradual methods which do not aim at the ruination of business.

Now I am not going to tell you a lot of things you know already. On the program of the Church Association the first thing mentioned is prayer. That is a very natural thing for a body of clergymen to begin with, but I would also commend this to the laity and to the

members of this organization in particular. If a man is engaged in the heavy labors of life and is called upon to fight for principle, if he prays while he fights rather than curses while he fights he will fight cleaner and better and longer. It seems to me, if I may make the suggestion as an outsider, a body of the dignity of this convention would add to its dignity by opening its sessions with prayer. Now, I do not think that would devolve upon your President, but if you put it up to him he would make good. Some small boys in this city, one of them the son of a parson, were eating together. One said to the parson's son: "I bet you can't ask a blessing." The parson's son said: "I bet I can," and said, "Oh, God bless us and bless this food, for Christ's sake—stung! He did not mean that as a part of the blessing. I am sure you could have bishops or rabbis or priests or parsons of any kind who would feel they were doing a great work if they were invited to open your sessions with an invocation.

And now, gentlemen, what can a comparatively feeble organization like the one I represent do in behalf of the cause of labor? It cannot do the things the working men must do for themselves, and if it could it would not be advisable. If the American Federation of Labor does its work it will do it because it develops internal strength and endurance and fighting power, for what it wins for itself it will be able to hold; and if these were given by any other influence they might be taken away. And, therefore, I am for this other method of hard work through effort rather than for a wholesale legislation whereby we might hope by putting a few votes in the ballot box to draw out the millennium.

I think the American Federation of Labor will appreciate every honest attempt made to understand it and its position, and our Association has always tried to find out the facts and then to tell them. For example, it is the duty of each member to take and read at least one journal devoted to the interests of labor. That is so they will get things straight. I would like to summarize the work of the organization in the last year. Members have been interested in working for legislative measures endorsed by the American Federation of Labor. In New York City some of the churches have co-operated in an endeavor to get better conditions among the laundry workers and the grocery retail clerks. Three churches in New York were thrown open for men and women to come and speak of their grievances and get a public hearing. When I read reports regarding work among the grocery clerks it takes me back ten years to the time when I was chairman of the organized labor committee of this Association. We were then working for the benefit of the grocery clerks. We were working for early closing. One man, James Butler, stood out against early closing. That is the anomaly of the situation to-day, that one man can prevent what is recognized as a desirable thing, the shortening of the hours of the grocery clerks. It is only by organization these results can be ob-

tained. They cannot be secured by any sort of benevolence, because the whole of the trade might be benevolent except one man, and he would hold up the entire situation unless there was organization.

I hope as a result of this gathering that the principle of organization will be widely circulated here in the city of Rochester and that the retail clerks, both men and women, will be able to secure far better hours of work than they have at the present time. I have members of my parish working in the department stores and I have been interested in getting shorter hours for them, especially on Saturday. I make it a principle myself not to buy things Saturday night after the hour stores ought to close. The argument, however, is made that the poor working people must shop Saturday night and the stores must be kept open for them. I believe that to be a fallacy, I believe the statement is made, not in the interests of the working people but of the people who keep the stores open these long hours.

I would like to say one more word regarding the impression of dignity this movement makes upon me. It is a great historic movement; it is analogous to the rise of the Third Estate, of the Free Citizens of the Middle Ages. The men who mould this movement now will go down in history, and after some of us will be forgotten the names of Gompers and Mitchell and Morrison will be remembered as pioneers of the last great movement to bring humanity to that stage of development we hope it will attain in the centuries that are to come. And I feel it an honor, not to have a part in this movement, as I cannot claim such a dignity, but to be able to participate in what to me is an historic occasion. And when I look at your banner, "Our field the world, our cause humanity," I feel it has the same sort of dignity and honor the banner of the missionary conference had, it aims at a world-wide achievement. It is not to create an aristocracy of labor that will leave a submerged tenth beneath it—as some have claimed—but to embrace all the workers, as your leaders say; and it is to be hoped it will succeed soon in awakening a greater response on the part of those for whose benefit this work is indirectly being carried on.

And so I can bid you God speed. I cannot attend the sessions of an organization like this without feeling optimistic, and when sometimes things seem to be discouraging for the outlook for the human race, I will remember that some of the things I as a churchman care most about are equally valuable and prized by those who are not working with me, but yet are working toward the common end of the exaltation of humanity and the realization of its highest possible capacities for development.

President Gompers: There is no representative present of the Women's Trade Union League and we are deprived of the pleasure of hearing at this time from a representative of that organization. Yesterday a motion was unanimously adopted

inviting a representative of labor to the platform, and he was escorted to the platform. He has been with us for many, many years in our convention and in our labor movement, growing up from the ranks and still in the ranks, and despite, not promotions but the opportunity given him to serve the cause of labor in another field, he has not grown out of the ranks of labor, but has grown into the ranks of labor. And he has grown into the confidence and the respect of the working people of our country. In the last few years in the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States he has stood as the spokesman and valiant defender, as well as the advocate of the toilers of our country. He has made his mark in Congress. He is one of the men consulted and heard, one of the men who proudly and courageously and energetically presents the cause of labor in the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States. And I take pleasure in presenting to you "Our Bill," the Honorable William B. Wilson.

The delegates arose and applauded Mr. Wilson at the conclusion of President Gompers' statement.

Hon. W. B. Wilson—Mr. Chairman, it is true, as you have said, that I cannot on this occasion address you as fellow delegates; but some of the best work that I have been able to give to the movement was given before I had achieved the position of delegate, and I hope that some of the best work I may be able to give the movement will be given after I have ceased to be a delegate.

I have been very much impressed, as no doubt all of you have been, by the speeches of the fraternal delegates at this convention and at previous conventions, showing to us that no matter how much the problem may vary in detail because of the varying physical conditions in the different countries, the same great problem confronts all of us. The great problem of this generation and possibly of many generations to come is the problem of the equitable distribution of the wealth that is created. We have solved the problem of production. There was a time a little more than a hundred years ago when the problem of production was the one great economic problem confronting mankind, and there were those who feared that the world would not be able to produce sufficient material to maintain the people who were born into it. And we had promulgated by Malthus what afterwards came to be known as the Malthusian theory, the idea that working men and women should not be permitted to marry until they had accumulated sufficient to maintain themselves and any prospective family for the balance of their lifetime; the theory being that by legislation of that kind the

population would be kept down to the point that the world could support in comfort. But the inventive genius of man, applying steam and electricity to mechanical devices, has so increased the productivity of mankind that there is no longer any fear of the world not being able to produce all that is necessary for the comfort of all of the people who may be born into it, providing that when it is produced it is equitably distributed to where it properly belongs.

But while that great problem is one we have to solve none of us as yet has been able to discover a complete solution of it. We have been unable to find any method by which an ultimate solution can be brought into view. But no matter how much we may differ as to what the ultimate solution will be, no matter how much we may speculate as to the methods by which the problem will be ultimately solved, upon this point we are agreed: That every step that is taken, either in the economic field by virtue of contests in the trade union movement or in the political field through legislative action, by which the workers get a larger share of what their labor has produced, is a step toward the solution of that great problem. It has been with that idea in view the labor group in Congress has been working. We have felt that there were two things that were essential for the protection of the workers and the promotion of their welfare. First, to guard against the infringement of our political rights, because we cannot secure industrial justice if by any means or under any specious plea our political rights are destroyed; and, second, to take those steps as they become available by which the workers either secure directly a larger share of what their labor produces or are in a position to command that larger share. Believing, then that the maintenance of our political rights is essential for the promotion of industrial justice the greatest battle that has been put forth by the labor group in Congress has been to destroy, if possible, the one-man power of government that has grown up under the guise of issuing injunctions in labor disputes.

Our courts during the past thirty or thirty-five years have gradually arrogated to themselves the right or the power to issue injunctions restraining us from doing those things we have a perfect legal and moral right to do, issuing them solely for the purpose of hampering us in carrying on our movement for the betterment of mankind. And they have based their right to do so upon the old law in equity that a court had the right to issue a writ of injunction in order to protect property from irreparable loss; but at no time in our history and at no time since the Bill of Rights was signed in Great Britain have the courts ever had the legal right to interfere with the personal relationship between man and man. That was a right that belonged to the law courts acting under the law, and when the question of the personal relationship between man and man came up for consideration in our law courts, then the individual charged with

infringing on the rights of another individual had the protection of a trial by jury.

Protection of a trial by jury has been one of the things the Anglo-Saxon race has contended for for more than a thousand years. There have been more wars brought about, more conflicts entered into, more judges deposed and kings beheaded because of their attempt to usurp the power of complete trial, because of their attempt to abolish the right of trial by jury, than from any other cause known to history. And yet the courts in our land have been stepping over the boundary and interfering with the personal relationship of man and man, thereby abolishing the right of trial by jury. And they have gone farther than that, they have interfered at the same time with our right to do those things we had a legal and moral right to do. For instance, we had courts in Kentucky that restrained us from furnishing food to men on strike, restraining us from going to the treasury of our own organization for money placed there by the workers themselves and furnishing food to those on strike. We had courts in the same state that not only enjoined us from furnishing food to those on strike, but restrained us from moving the strikers away from the mining camps. We had courts enjoin us from inducing men to join our organization, whether they were employees of the corporation seeking the writ of injunction or not.

And so it has been all along the line, destroying our political liberties and by destroying our political liberties, interfering with our industrial rights. We have been putting up a fight in Congress since the labor group has been there, and before the labor group was there, and I am proud to be able to state that while the bill has not been enacted into law we have succeeded in fighting it through the Committee of the House of Representatives and through the House of Representatives itself, and the labor group has been able to impress upon the minds of the lawyers of the House of Representatives who constitute that committee that while they may not know as much about the technicalities and the hair-splitting division there is in law, they do know something, as the members of the trades union movement in general know, about the fundamental rights of men that ought to be written into the law. We are hopeful that measure will be enacted into law.

We succeeded in passing an eight-hour bill, as has been stated to you here. Away back in 1892 we secured the passage of an eight-hour bill. A test case was taken to the Supreme Court and the court held that work done for the government on property owned by the government was public works, but work done for the government on property not owned by the government might be public work, but it was not public works; and as the bill only applied to laborers and mechanics engaged on public works, it threw out of the provision of that law a great army of people. We have been

struggling to secure an amendment to that. The court held, when a dredgman's case went up to them, that the bill applied to laborers and mechanics, and that the dredgemen were seamen. We succeeded in getting through a bill amending the first part of it, and hundreds of thousands of workers engaged by the government and hundreds of thousands of workers engaged on work for the government have been beneficially affected by it.

It has been said that all the bills passed by Congress recently in the interest of labor and that labor has been asking for would not bring an additional sandwich to any working man. Every man who knows anything about the labor movement knows that while a man who is working eight hours a day is more efficient per hour than if he were working ten hours a day, he cannot do as much work in eight hours as he can do in ten. He can do more per hour, but in the aggregate he cannot do as much in eight hours as in ten hours. Hundreds of thousands of men having their hours shortened from ten to eight a day means that additional men will be required to perform the same amount of work. It will take tens of thousands of workers now in the army of the unemployed out of that army and put them into the army of the employed, giving to those workers not merely an additional sandwich, but a full meal for themselves and their families. And by taking that number out of the army of the unemployed the competition with the rest of the workers is made less keen.

We succeeded in getting through the Seamen's Bill. The last remnant of the feudal system existing under our law is that remnant in the seamen's laws. When ever any seamen signs articles abroad and comes to our shores and seeks to end the civil contract of labor and leaves his ship, we use all the powers of our state department and our police department to capture him and take him back and put him to work under the wages and conditions that were abhorrent to him, and that he sought escape from. We succeeded in passing the Seamen's Bill through the House of Representatives and I am more than hopeful that before this conference ends we will have wiped out that last vestige of feudalism from our entire political system.

We succeeded in enacting into law the Children's Bureau Bill, providing for gathering information in regard to child labor and child life generally. We have been spending millions of dollars—and wisely, I think—in finding out how to take care of cattle and hogs and trees and plants; but we have not been putting forth any effort to discover the conditions existing in child life and provide a remedy for the improper treatment of children. So we succeeded in establishing this Children's Bureau for the purpose of gathering information.

We passed the Industrial Commission Bill. It provides for an investigation of the relationship between employers and

employees, not with the hope that there will be any immediate benefit growing out of the investigation, but with the hope that through the investigation and the publicity that will come from it the conditions of the workers will be materially improved.

We passed through the House the Department of Labor Bill, providing the Secretary of the Department of Labor with a position in the President's cabinet and with certain powers of mediation and conciliation. In order that you may understand the intent and purpose of having a Secretary of Labor with powers of mediation and conciliation, you must first realize that for years there have been strenuous efforts put forth in Congress for the purpose of securing the passage of measures that would practically mean compulsory arbitration. I do not know how the most of you stand with regard to compulsory arbitration. I am a believer in arbitration provided the basis is set down before the arbitration begins. If the arbitration is not entered into in that way the workers get the worst of it. When you enter into arbitration, the basis of which is not set in advance, the employer is protected by a clean-cut dividing line between profit and loss. But with the worker it is different. The standard of living is flexible, it may be either raised or lowered, and there is no clean-cut dividing line to protect him against a decision of arbitration entered into without the foundation being laid down in advance. So far as I am concerned—and I think the labor movement takes the same position—I felt we could not afford to stand for any compulsory arbitration law, and the better method of handling that situation was to create a Department of Labor, with the Secretary a member of the President's cabinet, whose powers ought to be those of mediation and conciliation, and only arbitration when that was satisfactory to the parties themselves.

And so it has been an active Congress; in fact, there have been several active Congresses in which the labor group has worked with all the energy they possessed to take these steps forward that tend toward a solution of the problem of the equitable distribution of wealth; and no matter how we may divide with regard to the ultimate solution of the problem we are all agreed that every step that is taken in advance, every step that gets the workers a larger share of what their labor produces is a step toward that great problem of the equitable distribution of wealth.

I thank you.

President Gompers—To our fraternal delegates I can but express our marked appreciation of the words of commendation for the work we are trying to do, for our department and for the character of our movement. I know there are differences of opinion among men and in movements of our various countries and organizations, but though we may differ



upon some features we are a unit in purpose. The achievements of our fellow-workers in Great Britain, in Germany and in other countries, the achievements of our fellow-workers in the Dominion of Canada are to all of us sources of information and gratification. With the workers of Canada we are more intimately connected, we have one common lot and one common destiny. Politically divided by owing political allegiance to our different countries, industrially we are actually one. I may say that it is the sincere hope of the American labor movement that at least industrially there shall be common accord as to our policy, our methods of working for success. If differences of opinion on policies are expressed to us it is not amiss to take it that the policies of our American labor movement may be stated, however briefly, or if not the policies the conditions and the work and the method of our American trades union movement.

I have had the opportunity on two occasions to visit Europe, and among the countries visited were England, Germany, Austria, Ireland—I did not have the pleasure of visiting Scotland—Italy, Bohemia, Switzerland, Holland and Belgium, and I think that never in my life did I apply myself more assiduously to work in trying to learn of conditions as they existed than during the visits to which I have referred. I noted, particularly in Germany, a very great improvement in the material condition and social surroundings of the working people in the fifteen years between my first and second visits. I also noted, though perhaps in a lesser degree, a marked improvement among the working people of England. I was therefore somewhat surprised to hear the statement that though in America there was a larger share of the social wealth coming to the working people of our continent, that was not true of England. Indeed, if that were true it would not speak well for the aggressiveness and the militancy of the progress of the trades union movement of that country.

When I attended the Trades Union Congress held at Ipswich in 1900 I think I can say I was in entire accord with everything upon which that Congress resolved except one, and I took occasion at that time to call that to the attention of those with whom I came in more immediate contact. It was the adoption of the resolution which in its preamble recognized as an existing institution, for which there seemed to be no remedy, a permanent army of unemployed. We not only protest against it but are constantly finding the means to dissipate any such condition. There is a constantly growing notion and policy in the American labor movement that whenever there shall come a period of depression in industry—a depression which, by the way, is not the fault of labor—we propose, not by the dispensation of the employers or the employing class, but by our own volition and by our own action to divide the work there is to do between the men and women who toil without throwing them into the streets.

Since 1884 there has not been a con-

vention or a gathering of the representatives of organized labor of America from which there has not gone forth a demand for a reduction of the hours of labor. The movement for the reduction of the hours of labor antedates 1884, but I refer to the concentrated, crystallized sentiment and effort to accomplish that purpose. I would not have any man believe or infer from what I have said that I am content or that the men and women in the labor movement are content with existing conditions. I doubt if there are any who are more dissatisfied with our slow progress than I am. But, dissatisfied and discontented with existing wrongs, discontented with existing conditions, it would be a libel upon our movement, it would be a libel upon our judgment, did I attempt to say anything but the truth, and that is that the toilers of our continent are constantly greater sharers of the social wealth produced by the workers.

This American labor movement, while holding up the gaunt figure of wrong and injustice inflicted upon any of our people, is not based upon misery. Our movement is not based upon hunger, except as it is a constant hunger for more, more, more. The right of the toilers to the best and all can only end the struggle of the toilers of our time. And therefore I cannot count myself in accord with the expression coming from the source it has that we have sunk so low. Indeed we have not sunk low, but we are constantly emerging into a wider field and into a broader horizon of the results to which we aspire.

The American Federation of Labor has within its ranks affiliated unions representing about 1,850,000 members. I am sure that with the number engaged in controversies, members upon whom no return is made to the general office of the American Federation of Labor, there is a total membership of two millions or more. In addition—and it is to be regretted—some of the trades unions are unaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and they have a membership of six or seven hundred thousand more. I submit that that forms something more than three per cent of the working people of our country. And when I speak of the working people of our country I mean working people who are eligible to membership in trades unions. In ninety millions of people we usually say there are twenty millions of wage earners, our rural, our agricultural population, those engaged in clerical work and in commercial enterprises; but you will find this one fact, that we have more than 17 per cent—all too few, all too few—but we are met too often with the statement that the organized labor movement represents such a small per cent of the workers, and I cannot allow that statement to go without calling your attention to the real figures and facts in the case.

May I call your attention to the fact that though I do not pin my faith to all the pledges that are made, or the declarations that are made by a political

party or parties, you must bear this in mind: That not every one in America takes even the declarations of the American labor movement as being all that for which we stand. We must take things as we find them and judge as the record is made. It is true that by the American method of our organized labor movement we have accomplished some results; not the results we claim and insist shall come to us and are ours by rights, but some tangible results have come, some progress has been made. And while insistent upon the achievement of every demand the American labor movement makes, not only for all the workers but for all the people of our country, we ought not to forget, we ought not to deny the accomplishments of our movement. I venture to make the statement without fear of successful contradiction that there never were in any country on the face of the globe so many people who voted in favor of propositions, declarations, and demands and promises for social justice as the fourteen million people who voted two weeks ago in this country.

What, after all, are we to do? Attention was called this morning to the fact that it was astonishing to find in the United States so many people speaking different languages, a perfect polyglot. If you consider that in the United States we have a territory 3,200 miles in length and about 2,200 miles in width; if you bear in mind the differences in language to which reference has been made; if you bear in mind that to our Eastern shores there are a million and a quarter people coming every year, and that the Western coast is open to the Asiatics who come here illegally, smuggled by the hundreds and the thousands; when you bear in mind the fact that we have eight millions of people who were chattel slaves a little more than a half century ago and who were brought to the colonies of America about 300 years ago, stolen from their homes and kept in slavery for two and a half centuries—if you bear all these things in mind and think that out of this conglomeration of people and races and conditions we have builded a movement where the principles of solidarity and fraternity and progress are constantly advanced and there exists a militant spirit to demand every right for the workers of our time and of the time to come, it says something for the credit of the American labor movement.

The American labor movement is the product of American conditions, it is the outgrowth of American circumstances, a development of American industry and commerce. After all, what are progressive opinions? I am sure that if a dozen men were to come together and discuss what progressive opinions are there might be a division of a dozen men. That, after all, is a point of view. To proclaim ultimates without finding the means of progress at all may be regarded as progressive opinions. Others may hold that every step made by the toilers, every advance secured by them is progress and that every hour thrown off the shoulders of the toilers each day means millions of

golden hours of opportunity for still further progress. To the individual it may mean but one hour a day, but with ten millions or twenty millions of workers it means twenty millions of hours, and twenty millions of hours of golden opportunity.

I want to repeat, lest I be misunderstood, that I am an optimist, and I think I am justified in my optimism when I look back to the conditions of labor in America when I first entered the field of industry, when I first had the opportunity of gazing around and seeing, when a boy a little more than ten years of age I was forced into a factory to work, and working at my trade for twenty-six years, knowing the conditions of factory life, not from the outside but from the inside at the bench, living the life of the child of a worker and living the life of a worker himself with my own immediate shop mates and fellow craftsmen and fellow workmen of other trades—I know how they lived, I know how they eked out an existence, and I have not grown so fat or so waxed in wealth that I have lost my sense of hearing, seeing, knowing and feeling.

It is the greatest tribute to our labor movement that we have made the progress we have, and we should not deny it. On the contrary, every advance which we make opens up a vista of sight and view and vision and aspiration. It is not that our movement should be founded upon misery or hunger or want. These are true, lamentably true, but they are not the basis of our movement. The basis of our movement, as I understand it, as I endeavor to interpret it, is that there is nothing on this God's green earth which we create which by right is not ours. And we propose to continue in the struggle to bring every man and woman who toils within the ranks of organized labor, to extend the field of opportunity to them, to throw the beneficent cloak of the protection of unionism on the toilers of our time and to instill into them the idea and the notion and the principle that they are their brother's keeper and that upon them and each of them devolves the duty of helping to bear their brother's burden, and to struggle on day by day and year by year, never ceasing, never resting, until the last vestige of wrong has been abolished for all time.

I am sure that I bespeak, at least in this the unanimous view of the delegates to this convention, and our attending visitors and friends when I say that we were deeply impressed with the magnificent addresses made to us to-day, with the spirit behind them, with the good fellowship and the splendid character of the men who addressed us, and with the splendid institutions they represent. Socially, privately, there are no differences of opinion in the great work of the labor movement. It is good that there should be differences of opinion. Through the clash of opinion comes the right to the toilers. I accord to every man the right to think as he will. I only ask for myself the same privilege.

The other fraternal delegates—we have them always with us—hence no additional word may be said to them except that we appreciate their co-operation, their sympathy, their aid, their helpfulness, and we want them to continue. To our fraternal delegates coming from Great Britain and Canada, we ask you to believe that we are sincere. This American Federation of Labor convention, representing the brain of the organized labor movement of America, extends to you the most hearty welcome it is within the power of men to extend. We want you to feel that from the moment of your stepping upon our shores we have taken you in—not as the old Phillistine—but we have opened our hearts to you and you have walked right in, to be there in mind and spirit forever and forever. Upon your return to your respective homes we trust you will find your families well and in good spirit, and that you will find the labor movement of your respective countries imbued if possible with greater energy, with greater determination to see that the time for social justice to the toilers of our country and the world over shall be achieved for all time to come.

Fraternal Delegate Smillie—Will you allow me, Mr. President, to explain a statement made by me? I think you referred to my statement when you said a greater portion of the social wealth produced from year to year is going to the American workman. I stated the greater portion of the wealth produced from year to year is not going to the workers of Great Britain. You say if that is so it is a shame to the organized labor movement of Great Britain. I want to give you figures. They are not figures sent out by Socialists, but by a Liberal member of the House of Parliament. His statement during the recent election—which has been accepted—was that for the past twelve years the increase in wealth produced in Great Britain was two hundred and twenty-four million pounds, or one billion, one hundred and twenty million dollars; that the working classes in increased wages had only secured during that twelve years one million pounds or five million dollars; that the other portion had gone directly into the pockets of the land owners and capitalist class. In the face of these figures it would be untrue if I stated that we were receiving the larger portion of the increased wealth produced. Instead we are receiving only an infinitesimal portion of it. I am glad to hear that the workmen of America have received anything like

a fair proportion of the wealth produced by them from year to year.

President Gompers—I am not in a position to dispute the figures. I spoke of America. I do not know who the figurer is that Brother Smillie regards as an authority in England, but I do know we have had some sort of figures presented to us time and again that were usually regarded as authoritative, but upon investigation they were found to be not so authentic. I speak of the conditions we know and which every man and woman who has eyes to see can know as compared to the actual physical condition and welfare of the masses of the people; and I want to repeat, lest I be misunderstood, that it is with satisfaction I so declare; but it is a determination simply to get more of the real wealth which the toilers of our country and our time produce that is theirs, and nothing else will satisfy them.

Mr. J. R. Shillady, Executive Secretary Buffalo Association for the Relief and Control of Tuberculosis, was introduced by President Gompers and addressed the convention as follows:

#### **The Opportunities and Responsibilities of Organized Labor in the Campaign Against Tuberculosis.**

The American Federation of Labor, more than any other national organization, has the right to speak in the name of the working people of the country. Representing, as you do, about 2,000,000 wage earners, you may properly be concerned with everything which affects their interests or menaces their lives. Primarily the labor union concerns itself with questions affecting wages and hours of labor. I am one of those sufficiently informed on economic questions to know that shorter hours and longer pay, means not alone more of the comforts and conveniences of life, but more assurance that those receiving higher wages and working shorter hours will also be free from all of those diseases which are either caused, or contributed to, by a lowered standard of living.

I am to speak to you to-day on the opportunity and responsibility you have as representatives of, and spokesmen for, organized labor, in the world wide fight being waged against tuberculosis, the one great social disease of our time. Tuberculosis is almost wholly a disease of the wage earner. The rich who can more easily afford to have it, since its economic cost is tremendous, are practically immune. The poor who can barely exist on the meager earnings of their daily toll when good health is their portion, are

rendered helpless when tuberculosis adds its heavy burden to the already swollen cost of living.

When the wage earner is afflicted, his family must suffer, his children go to work at an earlier age than would otherwise be necessary, his wife be forced to go out to work, leaving the children to the dangers of the city streets, his daughters to the temptations of dangers worse than death itself.

From the best information available, tuberculosis is responsible for nearly one-third of all the deaths occurring between the ages of 18 and 45. Comparatively few die either before or after the wage earning period. On the contrary, the disease is particular to select the most useful members of the community, and at a time of life when their continued working power means the most to their families and the community. Lasting, as it does, an average of from three to three and one-half years before its victim is finally laid away in the cool earth with many tears, this disease causes more misery, suffering and poverty, than any of the wars whose bloody trails are left over the pages of history.

Dr. Woods Hutchinson has well said. "If the rich had more sense and the poor more money, and both more public spirit, consumption would soon be a thing of the past."

No longer do we sit with folded hands, and complacently watch the grim reaper take away the thousands of consumptives to an early grave, and assert it to be the providence of God. We know better now than to utter such profanity of the Providence which has filled the earth with all things needful for our sustenance and enjoyment. Tuberculosis is not inevitable, it is preventable, and no one power more than the power of organized labor can help exterminate it from our country. The only group of workers more the victims of the disease than those you represent, is the unorganized group, who, because of defenselessness, are the victims of our cruel economic conditions and often ruthless disregard of all that makes civilization worth while.

Frederick Hoffman, chief statistician of the Prudential Life Insurance Company, estimates that the 33,500,000 wage earners of fifteen years and over in the United States, lose during the year, on account of sickness, 284,750,000 dayswork, with an accompanying loss of wages of \$366,107,145; that the cost on account of medical services, amounting to about a dollar a day, to be conservative, is \$284,750,000; that an additional economic loss to the community of \$122,036,715 is entailed, or a grand total of \$772,892,860, all on account of sickness. This loss refers to sickness of all kinds, not alone tuberculosis, but since tuberculosis is so prevalent and lasts so long, a large percentage of this amount can truly be said to be due to tuberculosis. Preventing but 25 per cent of this illness would mean an economic saving of \$193,223,215.

One life insurance company alone paid out in one year on account of deaths from

tuberculosis, \$800,000. Professor Irving Fisher of the Committee of One Hundred on National Health, estimates after a careful consideration of all the factors involved, that the death of each consumptive in this country means an economic loss of approximately \$8,000. Surely the financial loss is too formidable to view with complacency. I am not so crass a worshipper of money value to view this financial loss as the supreme one. What can be said of the anguish of broken hearts and bereaved families? Who will allay the widow's lament, with anything but a determination to do everything in his power to so act that there shall be fewer widows in this fair land of ours in the future.

Sommerfeld, the great German authority, tells us that while the deaths from tuberculosis are 2.39 per 1,000 in non-dusty trades, in dusty trades they are 5.49, or nearly two and one-half times as many. In some of these trades the percentage of deaths, as compared to those in non-dusty trades, is appalling; 7.79 per 1,000 of workers in lead dust die from tuberculosis, or 3-1-3 times the number in non-dusty trades. In the tobacco industry, 8.47 per 1,000 die and 14 per 1,000 of pottery workers go to a consumptive's grave, or nearly six times the number working in occupations free from dust.

According to ten years' Prudential Life Insurance experience, 49.2 per cent. of metallic grinders who die, die of consumption; 70.8 per cent. of all these workers who die between the ages of 25 to 34, die of this one disease, consumption. Comparing this death rate, with that of all males within the registration area, as reported in the United States census, 1900 to 1906, we have a death rate from consumption 3-1-4 times greater for metallic grinders than for the average of all occupied males.

Brass workers lose 33.9 per cent. of all their number, according to the same authority, while from 15 to 24 years of age, the proportion is 59.1 per cent. or more than one in two, which is more than twice the average for all occupations.

Polishers lose almost as high a proportion from the same cause. Likewise printers, with 38.6 per cent. for all ages, with a loss of 56.3 per cent. between the ages of 25 and 34. Button makers, silk mill employees, stone workers, metallic engravers, glass cutters, tool and instrument workers, potters, furriers, upholsterers, glass blowers, and other dusty denizens of shop and mill, follow along with faltering step, hollowed cheek, and hacking cough, into a grave that society is as much responsible for as is the community which takes no steps to prevent the highwayman from murdering his victim, incidentally to relieving him of his valuables.

Dust is an inveterate enemy of the worker. Dust is not inevitable. At least its inhalation into the lungs can be prevented by simply applying what we already know as to means of eliminating it from the workroom. There are steps forward in the salvation of mankind from various evils, which await the patient

search of the scientist. Protection from dust in industry needs only the installation of wet for dry processes in some instances, of modern hoods, fans and dust removing devices which can be installed now, if those responsible are brought face to face with their responsibility by an aroused and instructed public opinion.

Good ventilation, sunlight in the workroom, sufficient air space and cleanliness, both in worker and workroom, are likewise factors in the prevention of tuberculosis. Careless spitting, that foulest of all personal habits, is the way tuberculosis is most readily spread from infected to the well. Organized workers can protect themselves from this menace if they will.

What can be done about this menace of the great white plague? Tuberculosis is an indoor disease—a disease of dirt, bad air, and poverty. Organized labor has compelled the respect and admiration of every fair minded man for its splendid fight for shorter hours and a wage more adequate than the unorganized worker anywhere receives. Your fight for better sanitation in the factory deserves well of every worker in the cause of the public health.

Fighting for wages and better hours, you have met the united opposition of organized greed which knows so well how to marshall its forces. Your victories have cost you dear, and those of you who have grown gray in the service of organized labor know what it means to feel the sting of undeserved censure from men who were unworthy to stand before their fellows as representatives of the enlightenment of the century in which we live.

The fight for better conditions must ever accommodate itself to the newer forces which are taking their places in the world of to-day. There has grown up, in the last few years, a new interest in the public welfare which labor should be quick to avail itself of. Not least among these forces is the campaign against tuberculosis, with its gospel of health for all. Most of the social workers in the public health movements of the day know, or ought to know, that they cannot stamp out tuberculosis without making the opportunities for a decent livelihood under better conditions than now obtain, easier for all.

Labor's chief opportunity, as I see it, lies in availing itself of the community forces which are organized to accomplish the same ends it has been striving for, though along lines somewhat different, and for purposes necessarily more restricted in their immediate effects.

Among the first needs in the fight against tuberculosis are proper hospital accommodations for those now afflicted with the disease. A few of your organizations whose members suffered the most deadly assaults from this great scourge, have built for their own members special hospitals and sanatoria.

This going it alone was well enough before the general community was awakened to the need of caring for the suf-

ferers, but to-day the watchword for advance is co-operation. Working alone is more expensive and takes longer.

In Buffalo we have organized a Trades Union Section of the Association for the Relief and Control of Tuberculosis, of which I am the Executive Secretary, which has affiliated with it 73 trades unions, joining as organizations, electing delegates the same as they do to their central body, paying dues on the basis of ten cents per year per member, and meeting once a month in a down town hotel which donates its parlors for this purpose free of charge. At the very beginning the question arose as to what, for the purpose for which we were organized, was a trades union. I anticipated that some of the organizations which did not co-operate for strictly trades union purposes, might raise an objection to affiliating with others where there had been no previous working together. I was agreeably disappointed. Without any suggestion from me it was the common agreement that all differences of a craft nature should be excluded from this movement, organized as it was to fight the common enemy, tuberculosis.

All agreed that any union of men organized by the men themselves having the right to call itself a trade union, whether affiliated with this or that national or local central body, should be welcomed to membership if it chose to apply.

We are now a year and a half old. The results are most promising for a useful future that shall achieve much for the interests of organized labor, as well as for the greater good of the whole community. We have committees on the care of the sick, on statistics, on education, printing and publicity, on hospitals and institutions, and on hygiene and sanitation in factories and places of employment. A very striking fact, well known to all tuberculosis workers, is that the great majority of workmen afflicted with the disease find it out too late to save their lives. In the incipency of the disease three out of four make a recovery after proper sanatorium treatment, while in the more advanced stages the chances for recovery are correspondingly remote. Only a small percentage of the regular medical practitioners are sufficiently expert to detect the disease in its early and curable stage. By working with a regular tuberculosis organization, trades-unionists have the advantage of expert advice, which means the difference between life and death in many cases.

The next important point is that the consumptive has the same right to proper treatment as has the sufferer from any other disease. In many of our cities the only haven of refuge is the almshouse-hospital, and in some place even that is lacking. We affirm that the care of the tuberculous, who are victims of a social disease, is as much the duty of the community as is the education of the child. Hence we say to you: "Do not stand by and see your fellow workmen sacrificed

on the altar of community indifference, but join us in demanding your right to hospitals supported by taxation the same as our schools, and to which you have the same right of use without the necessity of going to poor authorities for admittance because you have not the money to pay for treatment.

In Buffalo, with the help of the Trades Union Section, applicants for admission to the city's new \$300,000 hospital for incipient tuberculosis are admitted on application to the Department of Health and not through the Poor Department. The authorities have ruled that this hospital is for the protection of the public health, and not for the relief of the poor, thanks to the agitation the Tuberculosis Association has been able to make for rights of the consumptive.

A very important phase of our work (and I am taking your time to tell it, not to advertise the Buffalo work, but to demonstrate to you from other places what can be done in your own communities by intelligent action), is the possibilities of improving the sanitary and health protecting factors of the workshop through co-operation with an organization working in the interests of the public health. Our progressive states have now on their statute books laws designed to protect the worker from dangerous incident to industrial processes. None of these are as well enforced as they might be, but all are capable of improvement by organized effort to secure both better laws and more rigid enforcement. When you as trades unionists seek to force some needed improvement of conditions you are likely to arouse against you the same antagonisms which have thwarted your efforts for better wages and shorter hours of labor. There is virtue in flank attack. Very often what is impossible to achieve as a demand of the worker through his union alone may be more easily secured by making the demand in the name of, and for protection of the health of the community, thus allying yourself with those forces working for all the community.

It is becoming more and more evident that the line of progress for the elimination of tuberculosis must be through the public health authorities. The city budget is the important center of effort, as well as state and national legislation. More and better quality of health inspectors; more open air schools, or more properly, better ventilation in all schools; more and better trained factory inspectors; more special hospitals for tuberculosis, supported by public funds, and available to your members everywhere; better standards of factory sanitation and dust removal; these and kindred public matters await your interest and co-operation with the community forces working for a better life for all. No labor organization has the means to fight this dread disease alone, and none should be so rash as to fall to avail itself of every opportunity to join with the tuberculosis workers in its own city and state in regularly planned and persistent work, not by reso-

lutions of protest and votes of sympathy, but by intelligent co-operative effort resolve that you will get in touch with the forces working against one of your and humanity's greatest evils—the "great white plague."

President Gompers made the following reference of subjects in the report of the Executive Council:

That section under the caption "Extension of Jurisdiction," Committee on Organization.

That section under the caption "Unaffiliated Organizations," Committee on Organization.

That section under the caption "Building Trades Department—Hod Carriers—Cement Workers," Committee on Adjustment.

That section under the caption "Building Trades Department—Plasterers," Committee on Organization.

That section under the caption "Steam Fitters—Plumbers—Building Trades Department," Committee on Adjustment.

That section under the caption "Glass Bottle Blowers—Flint Glass Workers," Committee on Education.

That section under the caption "Amalgamation Steam Shovelmen's Organizations," Committee on Adjustment.

That section under the caption "Authority and Self-Imposed Discipline," Committee on Adjustment.

That section under the caption "Strikes and Lockouts of Directly Affiliated Local and Federal Labor Unions," Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

That section under the caption "Organizers," Committee on Organization.

That section under the caption "Organizers' Salaries," Committee on Law.

That section under the caption "Contempt Case," Committee on President's Report.

That section under the caption "New Injunction Rule," Committee on President's Report.

That section under the caption "Hatters' Case," Committee on President's Report.

That section under the caption "Post vs. A. F. of L. and Buck's Stove and Range Company," Committee on President's Report.

That section under the caption "Universal Label," Committee on Labels.

That section under the caption "Convention of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America," Committee on Education.

That section under the caption "Labor's Political Program, 1912," Committee on President's Report.

That section under the caption "Labor Representation Committee's Report," Committee on President's Report.

That section under the caption "Commission on Industrial Relations," Committee on President's Report.

That section under the caption "Federal Bureau of Health," Committee on Education.

That section under the caption "Industrial Education," Committee on Education.

That section under the caption "International Secretariat," Committee on President's Report.

That section under the caption "International Anti-Home Work Congress," Committee on Education.

That section under the caption "Arizona and New Mexico State Constitution," Committee on State Organizations.

That section under the caption "Conservation of Natural Resources," Committee on Education.

That section under the caption "The McNamara Case," Committee on President's Report.

That section under the caption "A. F. of L. Office Building," Committee on President's Report.

That section under the caption "Securing A. F. of L. Funds," Committee on Organization.

That section under the caption "Boy Scout Movement," Committee on Resolutions.

That section under the caption "Combining Official Reports to the Conventions," Committee on Law.

That section under the caption "Election of A. F. of L. Officers by Initiative and Referendum," Committee on Resolutions.

Vice-President Duncan made a brief statement in which he referred to the fact that after the fourth day's session members of committees began to consider the resolutions and subjects referred to them, that on the fifth day but little business was transacted as the reports were not ready and the delegates were not able to attend the sessions, and little was gained by calling the convention to order. He suggested that the chairman of the different committees announce meeting places, and moved that the convention adjourn to reconvene at 9:30 a. m., Monday, November 18th.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Barnes (J. M.).

After announcements by chairmen of committees of meeting places for Thursday evening, Friday and Saturday, the motion was carried and the convention adjourned, to reconvene at 9:30 a. m., Monday, November 18th.

During the afternoon and up to 11 o'clock at night the following resolutions were presented and referred to the proper committees:

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate Samuel Gompers of the Cigarmakers' International Union of America:

WHEREAS, Progress and civilization are interrupted and retarded when international peace is disturbed; and,

WHEREAS, With a better conception of justice, life and human rights, think-

ing, peace-loving men the world over deplore the barbarism, the waste, and the cruelty of war; and

WHEREAS, Means and instrumentalities are in existence whereby international disputes may be decided without resort to crude, brutal and uncivilized methods; and

WHEREAS, Questions of honor and justice should be determined in some rational manner, not by conflicts which decide only relative physical endurance and power, or the comparative military progress of contestants and in no way decide the merits of the issues; and

WHEREAS, The levelling forces of industry, commerce, travel and communication have swept aside artificial prejudices and barriers, and have stimulated and fostered the bond of unity and universal brotherhood so that the taking of life in war becomes clearly an act involving moral issues and standards; and

WHEREAS, True to the highest and best conception of human life the trade union movement from its first inception has been opposed to war; and

WHEREAS, The trade union movement knowing that though others may fall, yet the brunt of war, not only upon the battlefield itself, but the burdens thereafter entailed is borne in the main by the working people; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor recognizes the identity of interests of the wage-workers and the brotherhood of man of all the world, realizes the duty which devolves upon the organized labor movement of all civilized countries to carry on an educational propaganda having for its purpose the awakening of the hearts and consciences of all mankind to the enormous waste and cruelty of war; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor emphatically reaffirms its previous declarations for the settlement of all international differences through arbitration, looking toward the final establishment of universal international peace among the peoples of the civilized world.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and T. A. Hanson of the International Seamen's Union:

WHEREAS, The struggle now going on in Mexico is to abolish the present condition of peonage and of land ownership; and

WHEREAS, There is in some quarters a considerable agitation, the purpose of which is to produce intervention on the part of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we are utterly opposed to any intervention in Mexico, that we believe in a determined policy of "hands off" on the part of our Government; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we extend to the men in Mexico now struggling to abolish age-long wrongs by striking the

shackles from the limbs and minds of men and women, and to abolish the present land tenure, our cordial greeting and our best wishes.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates of the Pattern Makers League of North America and the International Molders Union.

WHEREAS, The Winslow Brothers Company of Chicago and New York, manufacturers of ornamental iron and bronze has publicly announced that they are operating a so-called "open shop;"

WHEREAS, This policy has in general practice been a cloak of hypocrisy behind which an active policy of discrimination is set in motion against all union men and to prevent the existence of trade union organization; and

WHEREAS, While publicly announcing its so-called "open shop" policy with its intended implication that union and non-union workmen are employed without discrimination the Winslow Brothers Company in its correspondence to men seeking employment informs them that union men are not employed a quotation from one of other communications reading: "We have an open shop and therefore do not care for any union men;" be it

RESOLVED, That union men are justified in believing that the policy of the Winslow Brothers Company now in its shops should properly be termed non-union and anti-union.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate Egan of the Ohio Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Our system of state government, which guarantees to each commonwealth the management of its internal affairs, has naturally resulted in the passage of labor legislation that should be uniform among those states interested in the same production and distribution, and which are grouped in various sections of our country; and

WHEREAS, The value of uniform laws as applied to our industrial activities, will be beneficial not only to the workers, but to all other classes as well; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to consider the question of uniform labor legislation in the various states, and a report on same be made at the next convention of this body.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate Stephen C. Sumner of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

Amend Article VII, by inserting a new section, to be known as Section 5, as follows:

"The Secretary shall, on the first day of each quarter of the fiscal year of the Federation, forward to the Secretary of each State Federation, recognized as

such by the A. F. of L., a sum equal to one-half cent per member per month for every union man connected with the A. F. of L., either direct or through affiliation, in such state jurisdiction."

Renumber Section 5, Article VII, by making same new Section 6.

Renumber Section 6, Article VII, by making same new Section 7.

(Section 6, as now in effect, (new section 7), gives the Secretary full power to secure the data necessary to put the proposed change in full operation.)

Amend Article X, Section 1, by striking out the words "one-half of one cent," in line five, and inserting the words "one and one-sixth" (thus collecting one-half cent per member per month for State Federations).

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate Stephen C. Sumner of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Believing that one of the greatest problems confronting the workers to-day is the proper education of his children, thereby fitting them to meet the exigencies of modern industrial conditions, the workers of Illinois, by unanimous vote in this State Convention demand:

1st. That the schools shall be so standardized in the course of study as to give the school children a maximum of educational value during the school life of the child.

2nd. That the text-books in the graded and high schools of the state shall be uniform in character.

3rd. That the ownership of the Copyright shall be vested in the state itself.

4th. That teachers shall, as far as possible, confine their work to teaching, not to the hearing of recitations, and leaving the actual work of teaching to the parents in the home under the guise of home-work.

5th. That the so-called "vocational schools" be confined to apprentice schools to be conducted jointly by the trades unions and the school authorities, after the manner so successfully operated by the Carpenters and similar organizations; and

WHEREAS, To accomplish our purpose in Illinois we must do battle with the wily agents of the school-book trusts, the greediest corporations in existence. Not content with robbing the parents through excessive charges they also rob the children through manipulation of courses of study and constant changes of school-books. One State, or one section of the country, cannot hope to win speedy victory from these grasping corporations, and so, in order that we may hope for reasonably sure and immediate results, we respectfully ask that the American Federation of Labor indorse our work and plan of action in the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor desiring to insure to the children of the workers of our country as thorough a schooling as may possibly be obtained in the public schools of our na-



tion, recommend to the trades unionists of the country the following declaration:

**RESOLVED**, That the workers of every commonwealth demand of the State authorities the enactment of a statute providing for uniform school-books in the public schools of such state; that the copyright of such series of school-books be vested in the state school officials, in trust for the people of such State; that such books shall be of the highest standard of excellence and workmanship; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That all vocational training in public schools, or conducted under the supervision of public school officers, or paid out of public taxes, be modeled after the apprentice schools now being conducted jointly by the Carpenters' Union and other trades unions; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor be, and is hereby, empowered to make such research and investigation, by committee or otherwise, and to publish the findings of such investigations in such manner as will best serve to call attention to the need of a thorough and practical reform in our public school system.

Referred to Committee on Education.

**Resolution No. 83—By Delegate James P. Holland of the Central Federated Union of New York and Vicinity:**

**WHEREAS**, The International Typographical Union has jurisdiction over newspaper writers and has had the same for many years; and

**WHEREAS**, It has made no strenuous effort during all of these years to effect an active and complete organization campaign to unite these workers so invaluable to the cause of the labor movement; and

**WHEREAS**, The intelligent and thorough organization of these workers, whose sympathies, regardless of the opinions of their employer, is almost unanimously in favor of the worker; and

**WHEREAS**, There is now a sentiment among many news-writers favoring organization for the improvement of their condition and the betterment of their craft; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor demand that the International Typographical Union immediately assign an organizer to unionize this important craft and that, in the event of its failure to do so, that the Federation will launch an organization campaign independent of the International Typographical Union; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the International Typographical Union be ordered to issue charters to the Independent Union at Butte, Mont., and such other independent organizations of news-writers as have already been established.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Resolution No. 84—By Delegate James P. Holland of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:**

**WHEREAS**, The White Rats Actors' Union of America withdrew from the

Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity; and

**WHEREAS**, Said body withdrew after the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity had appointed a committee to investigate the said organization upon its invitation; and

**WHEREAS**, For the sake of harmony which does not exist in Greater New York among the Actors' Union, and which harmony is necessary in the interest of the Actors and the general labor movement; be it

**RESOLVED**, That for the purpose of bringing about such harmony and creating the required solidarity, this Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor appoints and instructs an impartial committee of three representatives to arrange a thorough investigation of the White Rats Actors' Union of America.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

**Resolution No. 90—By Delegates of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union:**

**WHEREAS**, The W. H. McElwain Company, a large shoe manufacturing firm, doing business as manufacturers in Bridgewater, Massachusetts, Manchester, New Hampshire and elsewhere, as well as having control of shoe jobbing houses and retail stores in several cities of the United States, has taken advantage of our immigration laws by employing many foreign unskilled workmen, thereby establishing and maintaining a low labor cost, which is a serious menace to the American standard of living; and

**WHEREAS**, Hundreds of workers of foreign birth and recent arrival in this country are taken advantage of because of their ignorance of our language, and placed to work under the most un-American conditions, thus becoming the means through which the fair manufacturers and skilled shoe workers are injured by unfair competition; and

**WHEREAS**, In March, 1912, the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, having secured membership in several of the departments of the McElwain Company's factory at Bridgewater, made an effort to improve the conditions by presenting a request for an advance in wages, and upon the refusal of the McElwain Company to consider the list submitted, the Union offered to leave the question in dispute to the Massachusetts State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration for decision; the McElwain Company refused this offer, declaring that they would only consider matters of wages and conditions with their employes as individuals, whereupon a strike was declared by the local union having jurisdiction over the Bridgewater factory, which contest has been since continued under the financial support of the general organization; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed to appoint a committee to confer with the W. H. McElwain Company with a view to bringing about an adjustment, and failing to settle the controversy upon any fair basis, the Council be directed to convey by circular let-

ter to all affiliated unions the result of the negotiations to the end that the labor movement may be officially informed as to whether this company denies its employees the right to organize and collectively negotiate for their wages and conditions of labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate Joseph Morton of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, It has been represented to this Convention that injustice and oppression are practiced upon the employees of the piano factories controlled by J. V. Steger, and upon other residents of the village of Steger, Illinois; and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor has adopted a resolution directing its Legislative Committee to draft a bill and present the same to the next Legislature of the state of Illinois, creating a legislative commission to inquire into labor conditions in the piano factories controlled by Steger & Sons Piano Manufacturing Co. or J. V. Steger, and in the village of Steger, Illinois; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention heartily approves of the proposed investigation, and urges the passage of said bill recommended by the Chicago Federation of Labor, and respectfully requests the Illinois legislature to inquire carefully into past and present labor conditions in the factories and village aforesaid, and to take such action upon its findings as may be equitable and just.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate E. J. Brals, D. G. Biggs and Hugh Robinson of the Journeymen Tailors' Union:

WHEREAS, An unwarranted attack has been made by resolution No. 28 on the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America at the seemingly instigation of the Garment Workers; and

WHEREAS, Reports for some time have reached the Journeymen Tailors that the Garment Workers have been issuing without regard to the rules of unionism, labels to be placed on clothing made to order; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council make a thorough investigation of the methods used in issuing labels by both the Garment Workers and the Tailors and report the same to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate Stephen C. Sumner of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The strike of the brick-makers, steam shovel and dredgemen and stationary firemen against the Purlington Paving Brick Company of Galesburg, Ill., is still on; and

WHEREAS, This struggle has now been carried on for two and one-half years and the Purlington Company still refuses to recognize the justice of the demands of the unions involved, which are,

the right organization and union conditions; and

WHEREAS, This fight has received official recognition and support from the Illinois State Federation and of the city central bodies of the state, with benefit to the organizations involved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pledge support and assistance to the striking brickmakers, steam shovel and dredgemen, and stationary firemen in an effort to bring about an adjustment of the pending difficulty.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate Charles V. Lawler of the Commercial Portrait Artists' Union:

WHEREAS, The following portrait companies located in the city of Chicago: Consolidated Portrait Co., Chicago Copy Co., Fidelity Portrait Co., Central Portrait Co., Chicago Portrait Co. and George Smith Co. after repeated solicitations on the part of the Commercial Portrait Artists' Union, have absolutely refused to comply with union conditions, nor will they consider any overture of the union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in accordance with the usual practices, this subject be referred to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. with a view to adjudication of the existing trouble.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 95—By Delegates Frank A. Scoby, James J. Doyle, Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Standard Oil Co. has for years operated and controlled throughout the United States its cooper shops and preferring always workmen in its employ who are ignorant of our language, customs, laws and decent American conditions; and

WHEREAS, The wages paid to coopers in its employ have been, and are, far below the standard that is being paid to coopers similarly employed in the refineries owned and controlled by the Independent Oil Refiners Company of America; and

WHEREAS, Attempted efforts have been made from time to time on the part of the Coopers' International Union of America to organize the men who are employed by the most gigantic trust of the world, to join the ranks of organized labor and such efforts have always been thwarted by superintendents, bosses and foremen employed presumably to retard the progress and enlightenment of their poorly paid servants by holding up to them the uselessness of being union men;

WHEREAS, A great injustice will be perpetrated if allowed to continue, wherein independent oil refiners and union cooperage manufacturers are compelled to struggle on in a competitive market and be obliged to pay a higher scale of wages than the Standard Oil Co. is obliged to conform to;

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assem-

bled; do, and hereby assure the Coopers' International Union that its struggle is their struggle, and at times in the future patronage will be given to such oil refineries that conform to conditions that conform to an American standard of living; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take up this condition with the officials of the Standard Oil Co., whose offices are located at 26 Wall Street, New York City.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Resolution No. 96—By Delegate T. J. Dolan of the International Union of Steam Engineers:**

**WHEREAS**, The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, through their affiliations with the I. L. A. and the I. U. S. E., have been the recognized union of the shovel and dredgemen of this country for years, by all union men, and also by railroad companies and the large contractors of the country, also by the United States government and foreign governments; and

**WHEREAS**, Excellent wages and conditions are now being enjoyed by all members of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen through their present affiliations; and

**WHEREAS**, By continuing these affiliations, jurisdictional disputes the present great curse of the labor movement is being avoided; and

**WHEREAS**, The Shovel and Dredgemen are now working under labor contracts made in connection with the I. L. A. and the I. U. S. E. that run in some cases yet for eighteen months, and any change of present arrangements of affiliation with the A. F. of L. would only lead to breaking of contracts, or bring on a large, bitter jurisdiction fight, which the officers of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen are, and have been for years anxious to avoid; and

**WHEREAS**, A number of seceders from the I. B. S. S. & D. have organized a so-called union of steam shovel and dredgemen by name the A.-sociated Union of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, and have lately discovered that they cannot work on any union jobs in this country, unless they carry a paid-up card in the I. B. S. S. & D.; and

**WHEREAS**, These seceders have applied to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. for a charter; and

**WHEREAS**, The granting of such a charter would only bring on a bitter jurisdictional fight and disrupt the fine conditions that now exist through the present affiliations of the Shovel and Dredgemen with the A. F. of L.; and

**WHEREAS**, Most of the good men in this dual organization are being kept in this so-called union, by promises of certain individuals, that the A. F. of L. would grant them a charter; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the A. F. of L. in convention assembled, do hereby call up-

on all shovel and dredgemen in the country to affiliate at once with the I. B. of S. S. and D.; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the officers of all organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. are hereby instructed to withdraw any and all support if now given the seceding organization of S. S. & D.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

**Resolution No. 97—By Delegate T. J. Dolan, of the International Union Steam Engineers:**

**WHEREAS**, The government of the U. S. is a large employer of labor on public work; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention go on record in favor of liberal appropriations, by Congress, for all classes of public works, where men can be kept steadily employed.

Referred to Committee on President's Report.

**Resolution No. 98—By Delegate T. J. Dolan, of the International Union Steam Engineers:**

**WHEREAS**, There is now on the Senate calendar a bill making eight hours a day's work on all government dredge contracts; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the A. F. of L. in convention assembled, goes on record requesting all members of the U. S. Senate to pass this bill before the 4th day of March, 1913; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a copy of this resolution be sent to every member of the U. S. Senate and the President of the U. S. by the Secretary of the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on President's Report.

**Resolution No. 99—By Delegate T. J. Dolan, of the International Union Steam Engineers:**

**WHEREAS**, A bill is now in the U. S. Senate, establishing a Department of Labor; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention go on record asking all members of the Senate to vote for the passage of this bill so it may become a law by March 4th, 1913, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a copy of this resolution be sent to each U. S. Senator, and also a copy to Congressman Sulzer, the father of this bill.

Referred to Committee on President's Report.

**Resolution No. 100—By Delegate T. J. Dolan, of the International Union Steam Engineers:**

**WHEREAS**, The government of the U. S. does not pay overtime to men engaged on emergency work being carried on in the Reclamation Dept. of the government; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is hereby instructed to have a bill prepared to present to Congress, and do all it can to get it passed, said bill to, and

thorize the payment of all men working over eight hours per day on government work at the prevailing rate of wages paid for such overtime work, in the district in which the work is being carried on.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 101—By Delegates F. J. McNulty, Frank Glynn, C. P. Ford, of the International Brotherhood of Elec. Workers:

WHEREAS, There has been introduced and is now pending in the Congress of the United States, a bill requiring railroad companies to equip their roads with automatic stop systems for the protection of human life and limb; and

WHEREAS, There have been invented, tested and approved automatic stop systems for the protection of railroad trains and the prevention of railroad accidents; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the legislative committee of the A. F. of L. be instructed to use every effort to have the above bill enacted a law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate Egan of the Ohio Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The portion of the A. F. of L. executive council's report to this convention, which deals with that subject generally referred to as "industrial unionism," is a complete defense of the evolutionary nature of our organization system, which experience proves is the most effective in this country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the executive council be instructed to have this report printed in pamphlet form in such numbers, and in that language, as in its judgment will serve for general distribution in those localities where other remedies other than time-tried trade unionism is favored to rectify social ills.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 103—By Delegates Rowe, Clarke and Green of the American Flint Glass Workers Union:

WHEREAS, The Macbeth-Evans Glass Company, having headquarters in Pittsburgh, Pa., and factories in Charleroi, Pa., Elwood and Marion, Indiana, and Toledo, Ohio, declared for an open shop and locked-out eleven hundred members of the American Flint Glass Workers Union and are avowed enemies of the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, Said concern are the sole manufacturers of the "Alba" glass articles used extensively for illuminating purposes, also the grade of lamp chimneys known as "Pearl Glass," "Pearl Top," "Zenith," etc.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That delegates to this convention, particularly those connected with the Building Trades Department, shall exercise their very best efforts

towards having the product of union labor substituted for the glasswares made, advertised and sold by the Macbeth-Evans Glass Company.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 104—By Delegates T. A. Rickert, B. A. Larger, M. C. Daly, M. Schwarz, V. Altman of the United Garment Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The Legislature of the State of New York has created a State Factory Investigating Commission, the members of which are appointed by the Governor, without compensation, to perform the service of making investigations of and exposing the evil conditions attending modern industry in the State of New York; and

WHEREAS, As a result of the investigation of this Commission a number of remedial laws have been enacted by the Legislature of the State of New York; and

WHEREAS, The tenure of the Commission has been extended for a further period; and

WHEREAS, As a result of the further work of the commission it is expected that additional laws will be formulated and enacted by the New York State Legislature; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled most heartily approves and endorses the New York State Factory Investigating Commission and its work and not only recommends the continuation of the Commission, but that the several other states of our Union shall enter upon a similar line of work.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 105—By Delegate Jacob Tazelaar of the Brotherhood of Painters:

WHEREAS, It is generally believed that the work of this Federation is carried on in the "open" and that there are no secrets in the management of its affairs, because such statements are made by officials representing this Federation; and

WHEREAS, Some people may be in doubt as to the truth of these statements and assurances; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended to read as follows:

Adding new section to Article IX.

All matter coming before the Executive Council shall be reported by said Executive Council in the American Federationist in issue following the Executive Council session, or such matter as from time to time shall be submitted to the members thereof for a vote, the report so appearing shall record the name of each member voting in the affirmative, negative or those not voting, national, state, central and federal unions in affiliation to receive a transcript of the minutes of the meeting over the signature of the President and Secretary.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

**Resolution No. 106—By Delegate Jacob Tazelaar of the Brotherhood of Painters:**

**RESOLVED**, That permanent organizers known as general organizers or salaried general organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall at future conventions be elected instead of appointed by the members of the Executive Council or upon their request.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

**Resolution No. 107—By Delegate Jacob Tazelaar of the Brotherhood of Painters:**

**WHEREAS**, The Commissioner of Labor of the State of New York has on many occasions refused to aid the organized labor movement in prosecuting employers who violate the provisions of the labor laws of that state; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention petition the Governor of New York State requesting the removal of John Williams, Commissioner of Labor of New York State.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 108—By Delegate Jacob Tazelaar of the Brotherhood of Painters:**

**RESOLVED**, That the permanent organizers employed by the American Federation of Labor, known as salaried general organizers shall not be removed by the President or Executive Council except upon charges made against such organizers for misconduct or failure to properly attend to work assigned to them or under their charge, and only after a fair and impartial trial.

Salaried organizers may be laid off by the President or Executive Council when the funds are inadequate to continue them in employment, but shall be reinstated when the opportunity presents itself.

**RESOLVED**, That the meetings of the Executive Council shall be held in the open. That any union man carrying a paid-up card of trade in affiliation with the Federation be permitted to attend the meetings when matters concerning his organization or himself are discussed and decided.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 109—By Delegates Martin E. Goellnitz, Frank Schilf, G. E. Strom, of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers:**

**WHEREAS**, The Hodcarriers and Building Laborers International Union has asked for an extension of jurisdiction over street, sewer and tunnel laborers;

**RESOLVED**, That this jurisdiction shall not apply to laborers under the jurisdiction of organizations already chartered by the A. F. of L., and that it shall in no way interfere with the jurisdiction of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers as granted to them by the A. F. of L. and as reaffirmed and interpreted at the Convention of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. held at Tampa, Florida, 1909.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

**Resolution No. 110—By Delegates Chas. H. Moyer and Edwin Perry of the Mining Department of the A. F. of L.:**

**WHEREAS**, The machinists, boiler-makers, moulders, carpenters, associated steam shovelmen and miners have been on strike against the Utah Copper and other mining companies in Bingham Canyon, Utah, since September 18th, 1912, for the enforcement of recognition of organized labor and the establishment of better wages and working conditions; and

**WHEREAS**, The aforesaid mining companies operate in connection with their mines and reduction plants a railway system known as the Bingham and Garfield Railway; and

**WHEREAS**, The said Bingham and Garfield R. R. is manned and operated by members of the Railway Brotherhood; and

**WHEREAS**, The operation of this railway is greatly jeopardizing the interests of organized labor and rendering succor to the mine operators; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that we petition the Railway Brotherhoods to call out their men on this road and join the allied unions in this industrial dispute; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Secretary of the A. F. of L. notify the Railway Brotherhoods of this action and that the President and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. put forth all legitimate means to the end of securing compliance on the part of the Railway Brotherhoods with the above resolution and petition.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

**Resolution No. 111—By Delegate Duncan McDonald of the United Mine Workers:**

In the recent past a general complaint has been made against the autocratic powers exercised by presiding officers in many Legislatures and in the United States Congress.

This complaint has been so general that the American people have been aroused to action, and are now demanding a more Democratic form of government as evidenced in the recent general election, and the slogan, "Let the People Rule," demonstrates that the people are insistent in these demands:

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor, representing some 1,000,000 members, are expected to play its part in this matter; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention set an example by amending Section 3, Article 3, by substituting therefore the following:

Section 3. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be elected by the delegates to the convention in the following manner: On the first day of the convention, each delegate to the convention shall be provided with blanks on which to record his choice for members of the various committees by inserting on a blank line opposite the name of the respective committees the number of their choice, the fifteen delegates receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected to the respective committees, providing that no two members of

said committee shall represent the same organization, and no delegate shall serve more than one committee. In the event anyone so elected shall be unable to serve, the one receiving the next highest number of votes shall be declared elected in his stead.

The names of the committees and the balance of this section to remain as at present.

#### Referred to Committee on Laws.

#### Resolution No. 112—By Delegate Duncan McDonald of the United Mine Workers:

The initiative, referendum and recall have been adopted by a number of states, and is no doubt to be in the near future an established method of selecting and removing men to represent them and recall those unworthy of the trust reposed in them. No good reason has been advanced why this principle should not be carried into effect in the affairs of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we amend Section 1, Article 5, by substituting therefore the following:

Section 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, eight Vice-presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer, to be elected as follows:

The President, Vice-presidents, Secretary and Treasurer shall be elected by a referendum of the members. Four months prior to the month in which the American Federation of Labor Convention is held, the Secretary shall prepare nomination blanks and send them to each National, International and Federal Labor Union in sufficient number to provide each local with three copies. The recording secretary shall fill in the names of the members nominated by the local union for the various offices and forward the same to the national or international office of his organization inside of thirty days after receiving said blanks. In case of federal labor unions the returns shall be sent direct to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

Section 2. The secretary of the federal, national or international unions shall, within ten days, tabulate the nominations received and forward same to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, who shall, within ten days after receiving the total number of nominations, notify the two receiving the highest number of nominations and who shall have qualified as herein provided for each of the respective positions, whose consent must be obtained, but no person shall be eligible who is not in good standing in his respective organization, which fact must be attested by the president and secretary of the local of which the nominee is a member. Said acceptance to be sent in to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor within ten days.

Section 3. No nominee filing his acceptance with the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor shall be allowed to withdraw his name. The Secretary shall prepare ballots giving the name, location and occupation of the person accepting the nomination, and shall furnish each

affiliated organization with a sufficient number to provide every member in good standing a ballot not later than thirty days prior to the convening of the convention.

Section 4. Local recording secretaries must notify their members by posting notices or otherwise at least one week prior to the dates set for the nominations and election of officers.

Section 5. Each local union shall designate at a regular meeting of the local, where its election shall be held and the place so designated shall be the official voting place of such local union, and under no circumstances shall the votes of any local union be cast or tabulated in any other place than that designated, and no member shall be allowed to interfere with the official tellers during the voting or the tabulation of same.

Section 6. No member shall be allowed more than one vote for any candidate, nor shall the local tellers record the vote of any member who is not present at the time the election is held, except officers, organizers and workers for the organization away from home at the time the election is held, whose vote shall be recorded if sent to the secretaries of their respective local unions.

Section 7. Each local shall select from among its members not less than three nor more than six, two of whom must be the President and Secretary of the local to act as local tellers, whose duty shall be to supervise the election and, when requested, instruct the members how to vote and tabulate the votes cast by the members and enter on the "return sheet" furnished by the Secretary for such purpose to total number of votes cast for each candidate. The correctness of the "return sheet" must be attested with the local seal and signatures of the President and the Recording Secretary of the local union, same to be forwarded to the Secretary of their respective national or international unions.

Section 8. The Secretary of the national or international unions shall have the returns totaled and forward same to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, who shall have the same counted and report same to the convention.

Section 9. The persons receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected to the various positions as hereinafter provided. The candidate for Vice-president receiving the highest number of votes shall be first Vice-president, the one receiving the next highest second Vice-president and so on until eight have been chosen, provided further that no two officers shall be from the same organization.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

#### Resolution No. 112—By Mining Department, American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There is in existence two organizations of steam shovel men, one known as the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men, not in itself an international organization, af-

affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, but a subsidiary organization to the International Union of Steam Engineers, and one organization known as the Associated Union of Steam Shovel Men; and

WHEREAS, A resolution was adopted by the Atlanta convention directing the Executive Council to call conferences of representatives of the different organizations interested for the purpose of uniting in one organization all the men in these crafts in accordance with the laws of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Associated Union of Steam Shovel Men has co-operated with the Executive Council in its efforts to amalgamate the two organizations to its fullest extent; and

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen does not seem desirous of amalgamation on terms fair to all, as is evidenced by the report of the Executive Council; and

WHEREAS, The said Associated Union has repeatedly made efforts to become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, It is imperative to this department that bona fide International organization of Steam Shovel Men affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be chartered immediately; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor recognizing the necessity of and the right to affiliation with the American Federation of Labor of an International Union of Steam Shovel Men does hereby insist that the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the immediate issuance of a charter to an International Union of Steam Shovel Men.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate Joseph D. Cannon of the Western Federation of Miners:

On the first day of the fourth month preceding that on which the Convention of the American Federation is held, Local Unions shall have the right to make nominations for the Executive offices Federation as follows:

For the offices of President, Secretary and Treasurer, one nomination each and for the offices of vice-presidents eight nominations. Returns of nominations by locals to be made to national and international secretaries not later than the first day of the third month preceding that in which the convention is held. Federal unions shall make returns to the Secretary of the A. F. of L.

National and international secretaries shall make the necessary arrangements for the counting, tabulating and publishing of the returns of the primaries for the benefit of their members, and shall, not later than the tenth of the month, send these tabulated returns to the Secretary of the A. F. of L.

The two candidates for the offices each of President, Secretary and Treasurer and the sixteen candidates for Vice-presi-

dents receiving the greatest number of nominations shall be declared the nominees for the offices for which they were candidates, providing they qualify. The Secretary of the A. F. of L. shall, not later than the twentieth of the month notify each candidate of his nomination, and also the two candidates receiving the next and second next highest number of nominations who shall be alternates. Nominees, and alternates must before the fifteenth of the second month preceding that in which the convention is held, notify the Secretary of the A. F. of L. in writing of their acceptance and eligibility.

In case of the failure of any nominee to qualify, the candidate receiving the next highest number of nominations shall be declared the nominee under the same conditions as those applied to the original candidate.

To be eligible for office a candidate must have been a member in good standing for one year preceding his nomination.

The Secretary of the A. F. of L. shall, not later than the twenty-fifth of the month, send to the secretaries of federal unions, a sufficient number of ballots for the members thereof. Ballots to contain the names of the candidates properly listed for the offices for which they stand, and to the secretaries of the national and international unions he shall send forms of the ballots not later than the date specified above.

Secretaries of national and international unions shall, not later than the first day of the month preceding that in which the convention is held, have printed and sent to the locals, ballots in sufficient number for the members.

Locals shall conduct the elections and in no case vote any members not there to vote in person, except organizers or other officers unavoidably absent in business of the Federation or some of its affiliated unions. In that case, the absent one shall have the right to have his ballot presented, sealed and indorsed by his signature, same to be verified by secretary or other proper officer.

Any local union that votes any of its members, not voting in person, or as described above, or that in any other way uses unfair methods, shall be penalized by having its entire vote thrown out.

Local unions shall make returns of the results of the elections to the national and international secretaries not later than the twentieth day of the month.

Secretaries of national, international and federal unionists shall make tabulated returns of the result of the election in their organizations, not later than the first of the month in which the convention is to be held. The same to be published for the benefit of the members.

The convention, upon the completion of its organization, shall elect a committee of seven which shall canvass the vote and report its findings to the conventions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 115—By Delegates John P. White, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, Duncan McDonald, Wm. Green and J. H.

Walker of the United Mine Workers of America:

**WHEREAS**, There exists among the workers employed in the mining and iron industries of West Virginia, Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Colorado, certain sections of Pennsylvania and other states, unusually bad conditions and in all of these industries very low wages are paid; and

**WHEREAS**, Particularly in the coal mining sections of West Virginia, inhuman and barbarous methods are resorted to by certain coal operators to keep their employes from becoming organized and thus hold them, if not in actual servitude and slavery, at least in a condition approaching thereto; and

**WHEREAS**, One of the methods used is to maintain in the mining villages a large force of hired guards, commonly called "Baldwin Detectives," who brutalize and terrorize the miners and their families most shamefully, and whose viciousness and disregard for law and human life have been so flagrant as to attract the attention of both press and public and against which labor generally has most emphatically protested; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, First, That it is the sense of this convention that the organization of the workers in the states and industries herein named be pushed with unremitting vigor until these intolerable conditions are completely changed;

Second, That we demand that the proper civil authorities having jurisdiction extend the protection of the law to the men, women and children living in the territory above named; disarm and drive out these private guards and prosecute wherever possible the men "higher up" who employ and import into peaceable communities these squads of ruffians, criminals and thugs;

Third, We demand wherever necessary the enactment of laws to effectually prohibit the employment of guards or detectives by employers of labor during strikes or labor disputes;

Fourth, That the Executive Council make an investigation in the industries within the several states herein named for the purpose of ascertaining to what extent peonage is practiced, and to what extent the state and federal laws are violated in the importation and employment of bodies of armed men under the guise of guards or detectives.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 116—By Delegates John P. White, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, Duncan McDonald, Wm. Green and J. H. Walker of the United Mine Workers of America:**

**WHEREAS**, The lines are being more closely drawn between capital and labor; and

**WHEREAS**, The capitalists of the country have organized the National Manufacturers Association and other large employers' organizations, compact cohesive bodies, having for their purpose

the destruction of the trades union movement, and realizing that "in unity there is strength;" therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That in order to combat these compact and powerful organizations of employers of labor, this convention adopts and endorses the plan of organization by industries instead of by crafts which often divides the forces of labor, and that the officers of the A. F. of L. be instructed to use every effort to bring this about, and that they visit the different labor conventions and use their influence to mould sentiment along these lines.

Referred to Committee on Education.

**Resolution No. 117—By Delegate John P. White, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, Duncan McDonald, William Green, J. H. Walker of the U. M. W. of A.:**

**WHEREAS**, By reason of the non-enforcement of existing laws, private monopolies or trusts exist, whereby the necessities of life and articles of trade, commerce and the transportation of the same are monopolized, production controlled and prices fixed, in open violation of the state and federal statutes; and with few exceptions, these private monopolies have been encouraged to ignore and violate the law and to increase their wealth, power and control, through the connivance or passivity of public officers charged with the duty of prosecuting them; and

**WHEREAS**, For many years organized labor has suffered from, and repeatedly denounced state and federal officers and courts for being guilty of vexatious, technical delays and vicious discrimination in the administration of justice as between the people and the monied interests, and as the correctness of our complaint is now recognized through declarations made by the President of the United States, by the Governors of different states, by state bar associations, by the press and by public spirited men; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That it is the sense of the delegates to this convention of the A. F. of L. that our executive officers ascertain:

First, To what extent complaints of violations of anti-monopoly laws have been ignored by state and federal officers charged with the duty of enforcing such laws;

Second, Whether state and federal officers have protected from prosecution and punishment violators of the law of the several states and of the United States, prohibiting private monopolies;

Third, Whether state and federal officers have vigorously and impartially enforced the laws providing for injunctions against violators of the statutes prohibiting private monopolies;

Fourth, Whether state and federal officers and courts have enforced the laws prohibiting and providing for the punishment of private monopolies with the same vigor shown by them in their prosecutions and punishment of minor offenses charged against organized labor;



**Fifth.** Whether the investigation and prosecution of anti-monopoly cases have been discouraged, hampered, delayed or prevented by courts and prosecutors;

**Sixth.** Whether public officers, having knowledge of open and notorious violation of state and federal laws, have permitted the continued violation of state and federal laws and thus assisted in the building up of unlawful monopolies to the injury of organized labor and of the public;

**Seventh.** Whether in the performance of their duties, courts and public officers have favored wealthy offenders, and at the same time were guilty of vigorously pressing prosecutions against members of labor unions.

**Referred to Committee on Resolutions.**

**Resolution No. 118—By Delegates John P. White, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, Duncan McDonald, Wm. Green and J. H. Walker of the U. M. W. of A.:**

WHEREAS, There is a growing demand among the rank and file of the trades union movement to participate directly in the election of officers, not only of their respective unions, but of the American Federation of Labor as well; and

WHEREAS, Many of the affiliated national and international organizations have adopted the direct election of all their officers with satisfactory results; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the Committee on Law be instructed to prepare an amendment to the constitution providing for the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor by the referendum method.

**Referred to Committee on Resolutions.**

**Resolution No. 119—By Delegate H. P. Corcoran of the West Virginia State Federation of Labor:**

WHEREAS, A condition exists in the coal mining districts of West Virginia, generally, brought about by the Coal Operators' Association of that state, due to a system which has been in vogue for many years, inaugurated by them, known as the Baldwin Feltz guard system, composed principally of professional strike breakers and ex-convicts; they are licensed by the state to carry fire arms, and paid by the operators. The duties of these guards are to prevent the organizing of mine workers, so that a system of peonage can be maintained, and the mine workers in many sections kept in industrial slavery. These guards have been and are now being used by the coal companies where miners have been on strike for many months in the Paint Creek and Cabin Creek regions of the Kanawa Fields. They have murdered and beaten up a number of miners and have subjected their wives and children to all kinds of insults and abuses. They have dispossessed miners and their families of their homes. They have forced not only the miners, but their wives and children, to wade the streams, preventing them

from having access to the public highways. They have subjected them to many other abuses that would fill many pages if related. They have at different times beaten up many labor organizers, who were performing a duty to a cause, none greater, than that of striving to place him an life above property and bring about a higher standard of wages and working conditions for the men engaged in the coal mining industry. When these men did not heed their warning to leave; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor of West Virginia, through his state federation and central bodies, has been using every honorable effort within its power to have a statute enacted by the legislative body of that state, completely removing such a damnable system, that has not only persecuted many thousands of our class, but has encircled them with chains of industrial slavery. These guards have been curing proposed legislation has been prevented by big business interests, composed of the coal operators, gas, oil and railroad interests who generally control the legislative, judicial, and executive branches of government in that state; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That this convention take some action that will assist organized labor of West Virginia to not only secure remedial legislation sought, but also assist in bringing about a more thorough organization of the many thousands of workers of the different crafts of that state, thereby making it possible to bring about better conditions generally.

**Referred to Committee on Organization.**

**Resolution No. 120—By Delegates Timothy Healy, William J. Brennan, M. J. Friel of the International Brotherhood Stationary Firemen:**

WHEREAS, The proceedings of the bi-annual convention of International Unions for Steam Engineers held at St. Paul, Minn., in September, 1912, shows that the aforesaid organization extended a claim for jurisdiction by change of title and also by amending article 19, section 1. to read as follows:

A candidate for membership in a local of the International Union of Steam Engineers must be a competent engineer or apprentice engineer. He shall possess a license in localities where such is required. When a candidate presents himself for membership and is out of employment, the local union shall be judge as to the wisdom of admitting him to membership; and

WHEREAS, From many localities complaints have been received from local unions of the I. B. of S. E. against the actions of the T. U. of S. E. for their infringements on the charter rights of the I. B. of S. E. as granted by the American Federation of Labor in violation of section 2 of article 2 and section 11 of article 9 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** By the 32nd Annual Convention of the American Federation of

Labor that the said action of the International Union of Steam Engineers was in direct violation of the Constitution of the A. F. of L. and in conflict with the charter rights of the I. B. of S. E. as granted by the A. F. of L.; be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Union of Steam Engineers be and is hereby instructed to refrain from admitting to membership firemen, oilers, water tenders, boiler washers and firemen helpers under the guise of apprentices, or any other term which may be applied to them, while employed at any of the above named occupations.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 121—By Delegate James P. Holland of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity:

WHEREAS, The International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers was organized in June, 1888, for the express purpose of affording a complete system of self-government for the men employed at the several branches of the trade of steam-fitting; and

WHEREAS, The history of trade unionism has demonstrated that each trade through its membership is best qualified to enact laws and provide and promulgate rules and regulations tending towards the betterment of the trade in an organization confined exclusively to men of the same trade, viz.: "one organization—one craft;" and

WHEREAS, "Steam fitting" has been recognized for many years as a trade and so admitted by the general labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. has repeatedly, through its convention and officers, in no uncertain manner declared against compulsory arbitration as contrary to the spirit and purpose of the American sense of justice and fair play, with view therefore of offering a plan looking toward the solution of this difficulty along fair and just lines that permit the rank and file of the men engaged at the various branches of steam fitting to decide for themselves as to their future form of organization;—the following proposition is submitted;—be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., now in session in Rochester, N. Y., that the President of the American Federation of Labor, be, and is hereby instructed to issue a call for a convention to all men engaged at the various branches of the steam fitting trade irrespective of their affiliation, and request them to meet during May, 1913, at some centrally located city to be selected by the President of the A. F. of L., to determine for themselves their future form of organization.

Referred to Adjustment Committee.

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate James P. Holland of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that Article XI, Section 2 of the Constitution be amended by erasing the word "to" on the fourth line after unions, and add "that they must," etc.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 123—By Delegate Joseph Smith, of the Michigan State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, For years the Michigan State Federation of Labor, and many central labor unions have declared their opposition to local option and prohibition and have pledged their different organizations against any attempt to bring about local option in Michigan; and

WHEREAS, John B. Lennon, Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor is using his office in the local option fight in Michigan, and using his office on the front page of The American Issue, the official organ of the Michigan Prohibition party, and on February 12, 1912, there appeared in that paper an article by Mr. Lennon, his picture, and under his name, Treasurer—The American Federation of Labor. In view of the fact and the position taken by the organized labor in Michigan against local option; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Twenty-third Annual Convention of the Michigan State Federation of Labor, instruct our delegates to the next Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to protest against Mr. Lennon using his high office to defeat the expressed will of organized labor in Michigan.

Resolution No. 124—By Delegates Henry Prinz, Daniel Harris and E. A. Bates, of the New York State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, In the Mohawk Valley, New York State, there are over seventy-five thousand wage workers employed in the textile industry; and

WHEREAS, The large majority of these workers are at the present time unorganized, although we are of the opinion the time is now ripe for organizing this large body of unorganized workers, to the end that a higher standard of wages and working conditions may be secured; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as strongly urging the Executive Council of the American Federation to place some of their organizers in the Mohawk Valley, New York State, at their earliest convenience; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we, the officers and delegates from the state branch American Federation of Labor, New York, pledge our hearty co-operation immediately this work is started.

Referred to Organization Committee.

**Resolution No. 125**—By Delegate J. C. Privett, of the Central Trades and Labor Council, Jacksonville, Fla.:

**WHEREAS**, During the debate in the United States Senate upon the compensation bill, Senators from Arkansas, Missouri, North Carolina, Texas, Florida and Georgia did their utmost to prevent the passage of this necessary and just legislation; and

**WHEREAS**, No compensation laws have been enacted by the states from which the greatest opposition came; neither have these states enacted efficient employers liability laws; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the central labor bodies and the state federations of the states herein mentioned be especially urged by the officers of the American Federation of Labor to secure the passage of good, practical compensation laws.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 126**—By Frank H. McCarthy, of the Boston Central Labor Union:

**WHEREAS**, The Boston Building Trades Section, a once powerful organization has been literally torn to pieces, and rendered almost useless as a labor organization by various of the building trades locals having withdrawn therefrom; and

**WHEREAS**, Some of the building trades locals that have withdrawn, have formed a dual building trades organization and have ordered and engaged in strikes against attempts of the regular Building Trades Section to enforce American Federation of Labor laws and divisions; and

**WHEREAS**, The Boston Central Labor Union has been compelled to suspend from membership some sixteen local unions in an effort to protect the Building Trades Section of Boston, and enforce A. F. of L. laws; and

**WHEREAS**, All these local unions refuse to affiliate with the Boston Building Trades Section, and the dual building trades organization is still in active existence, thereby demoralizing not only the regular Building Trades Section of Boston, but all organized labor of Boston and vicinity; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council be directed to immediately take such action as will cause a conference of representatives of all international unions concerned to be held in Boston at which conference a representative of the American Federation shall be

present, the purpose of the conference being to end the present deplorable condition of affairs in the Boston Central Labor Union and the Boston Building Trades Section. Unions withdrawn from the Building Trades Section and unseated in the Boston Central Labor Union are eleven unions of Brotherhood of Carpenters, three unions of Brotherhood of Painters, Iron Workers Union, Iron Building Laborers Union.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

**Resolution No. 127**—By Delegate Emil Arnold, of the B. of P., D. and P. of A.:

**WHEREAS**, The conventions of the American Federation of Labor are called for the purpose of considering labor matters; and

**WHEREAS**, The injection of religious or anti-religious matters have no place in the proceedings of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That all religious or anti-religious discussions as such shall be prohibited at all future conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 128**—By Delegate Sol. Sontheimer, of the Hartford, Conn., Central Labor Union:

**WHEREAS**, An organizer of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Charles A. Miles, was instructed to proceed to Thompsonville, Conn., to organize the textile workers of the Hartford Carpet Company; and

**WHEREAS**, Upon the arrival of the organizer at Thompsonville it became very apparent he was an unwelcome visitor insofar as the company officials were concerned, every hall in the town was closed to him, and when an effort was made to hold an open-air meeting, this was quickly prevented by the town officials. Organizer Miles was then held up and searched for concealed weapons notwithstanding the fact of his denial of carrying such weapons, this occurred on the public highway, in full view of a gang of hired ruffians, who as soon as the police left him, began to brutally beat him, pelt him with decayed vegetables, rolled him down the embankment of the river, and as he was being ordered to leave the town was finally fired upon, the bullet peeling the skin from his temple; and

**WHEREAS**, From evidence now in our possession we are of the opinion that the Hartford Carpet Company is solely responsible for the brutal assault and attempt upon the life of Organizer Miles; and

**WHEREAS**, At the solicitation of the Hartford Central Labor Union, Governor Baldwin of Connecticut decided to hear the protest of twenty-two dele-

gates representing the organized labor movement of the state of Connecticut, in conjunction with President John Golden of the United Textile Workers of America; and

**WHEREAS**, After a full hearing of the case all that could be secured from Governor Baldwin was a suggestion that the case be presented to either the county prosecutor or the grand jurors, all of whom we are convinced are completely under the domination of the Hartford Carpet Company, which practically owns and controls the town of Thompsonville; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled do hereby offer our emphatic protest against the brutal, inhuman and cowardly assault committed upon an American citizen in the peaceful discharge of his duties as an organizer of the American Federation of Labor; be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we call upon Governor Baldwin of Connecticut to order a rigid and searching investigation of the whole affair with the avowed object of securing the arrest and conviction of all those concerned in the brutal attack on one of our organizers; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a copy of these resolutions be immediately forwarded to Governor Baldwin of the State of Connecticut, with a request that he act at once.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 129—By Delegate Andrew J. Gallagher of the California State Federation of Labor:

Fellow Delegates: I am instructed by the California State Federation of Labor to urge the earliest possible settlement of the controversy which has existed for the past four years within the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. We wish you to know that the 65,000 affiliated members of the California State Federation are not unappreciative of the apparent efforts heretofore put forth to end this unfortunate dispute; nor are we unmindful that you are as anxious as we to secure a unified harmonious trade union organization and federation, but wish to call your attention to the necessity of action through the power vested in you that will, if possible, expedite a settlement and conclusion of this long drawn out and seemingly useless international clash. Our central councils have been thrown into vehement and acrimonious debate, have almost been disrupted, and have had their charters not only threatened, but in one case at least revoked, all because of laws which this Federation

has seen fit to provide as penalties for failures of central councils to do certain things or take certain actions. It may be remembered that this Federation being a voluntary organization has not provided the same penalties to be vested upon the national or international organizations in affiliation, and it may be also remembered that the unions which compose the central council, which lost its charter, are all component parts of the national or international organizations, and we submit that when these component parts decide that they do not wish to outlaw their brothers they appreciate the fundamental principles underlying the voluntary association of unions in this Federation. We ask relief from this burden of clash in councils, of division to the detriment of the good work which these councils and state bodies can and cheerfully do perform. We know the rights of the affiliated I. B. E. W., but we also wish to call attention to the fact that those who have seceded from the I. B. E. W. are also human, and are or at least were trade unionists. And while we know that you have done all that was given you the light to do to end this destructive internal war, yet we feel that there are measures which might be adopted, if desired, to secure effective peace. You might place both organizations without our protection, no longer to disturb our national, international, state federations, city centrals and local unions, to return only when they come in peace and exhibiting toward each and all a true spirit of brotherhood. Or you might induce them to agree on a set of officers who would be acceptable to at least two-thirds of the workers in this avocation; or you might, if you wish to use the same methods that are visited in your wisdom on state bodies and city centrals, apply these compulsory measures to your affiliated national or international organizations, and if the doctrine of compulsion is to obtain, compel all parts of this Federation, that is, national and international to in turn compel their membership to refuse to work anywhere with any seceding or expelled members of any part of this Federation. We wish it understood we are loyal to the enunciated principles of this American Federation, the highest of which is voluntary association, which might also be interpreted to mean voluntary disassociation. We are forced to expel unions, and to refuse them association and we are anxious to be relieved of this wholly uncalled for burden, and no longer have visited on us the struggles between leaders for office or power, but we wish to go forward with the important and vital measures that are ours to further. We petition you to adopt measures as will speedily and effectively remove this dispute from the path of organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

## Fifth Day—Monday Morning Session

The session was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Monday, November 18th, the convention having been adjourned on Thursday evening to reconvene on Monday morning in order to afford the several committees an opportunity to consider and report upon the matters referred to them.

President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Kline, Klapetzky, Baine, Thoman, Strom, Goellnitz, Barnes, Yount, Ford, Peeney, Friel, Dyche, Rosenberg (M.), McSorley, Bailey, Bryan, Healey (D.), Price, Weber (J. N.), Hendrick, Leonard, Murphy (P.), Whitehead, Gallagher (J. T.), Huddleston, Tobin (Dan. J.), Williams (T. J.), Holt, Swick, McGinley, Garman, Sause, Landers, Elyea, Doherty, Bryan (F. O.), Hannon, Wood, Spencer, Lawler, Lampa, McAndrews, Lebowitz, Beckman.

Secretary Morrison read a communication from Hon. Ben W. Hooper, Governor of Tennessee, in which the convention was invited to hold its 1913 session in that state, and assuring the delegates that every courtesy and attention would be tendered them by the citizens of Tennessee.

Communications were also read from Mayor H. E. Hawse, of Nashville; from Robert L. Burch, Chairman Executive Committee, and Houston Dudley, President of the Nashville Board of Trade and Nashville Industrial Bureau, inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in that city.

A communication was also read from L. H. Lewis, Manager Convention and Publicity Bureau of the Indianapolis, Indiana, Commercial Club, extending an invitation on the part of the commercial bodies of that city to the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in Indianapolis.

A telegram was read from the Secretary of the Toledo, Ohio, Central Labor Union, inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in that city, stating that the Toledo trades unionists and business men were already making preparations in anticipation of the invitation being accepted.

A similar telegram was received from Edward P. Usher, President of the Central Labor Union of Toledo.

Delegate Scharrenberg requested that the following telegram be read and made part of the minutes of the convention:

"San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 15, 1912.

"Mr. Paul Scharrenberg, care A. F. of L. Convention, Rochester, New York:

"Please extend to the American Federation of Labor a most cordial invitation on behalf of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition to hold their 1915 meeting in San Francisco at the time of the Universal Exposition. You can assure them of a most hearty welcome.

"CHARLES C. MOORE,  
"President Panama-Pacific International Exposition."

President Gompers—The chair is in receipt of a telegram from Mr. William D. Mahon, President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, who requests that a resolution be permitted to be introduced in connection with his organization at this time.

In a communication accompanying the resolution President Mahon stated that on account of an arbitration case it was impossible for him to reach the convention in time to introduce the resolution. The resolution is as follows:

Resolution No. 130. By W. D. Mahon, of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America:

WHEREAS, Many of the street and electric railway companies of America are now requiring their employees to put in from twelve to nineteen hours each day in order to get in a day's work, for which they receive actual pay of from eight to ten hours time; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention endorses the attempt of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America to secure legislation providing that no street or electric railway company shall be allowed to require of their employees more than twelve consecutive hours in any one day to put in their regular day's work of from eight to ten hours; and, further be it

RESOLVED, That all state and provincial branches are hereby urged to give their aid and assistance in securing the above legislation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Supplemental Report of Committee on Credentials.**

Delegate McDonald, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials desires to report that we have received credentials from A. B. Lowe, M. J. Powers and C. C. Allen, representing the International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, 91 votes, and recommend that they be seated.

The committee also recommends that the name of Miss Mary Macauley be substituted in place of Wesley Russell, representing the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America.

Respectfully submitted,  
EDW. J. MARX, Chairman,  
W. NEER,

DUNCAN McDONALD, Secretary.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be adopted and the delegate seated.

Vice President Alpine—I would like to ask the chairman of the committee what the status of the credential of Mr. Tasher is.

Delegate McDonald—The credential was held up pending the result of the vote on the other report and he has not been seated up to this time.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Furuseth—In accordance with the recommendation of the President, the Committee on President's Report moves that the question of the influence of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law upon the labor movement be made a special order by this convention for a free discussion thereon, and we suggest that the time be set for to-morrow morning immediately upon the finishing of the morning's business. (Seconded by Secretary Morrison, and carried.)

President Gompers called the list of committees in order. The chairmen of several committees stated their reports were ready to present when the signatures of the committee could be attached or when reports of sub-committees could be made to the general committees.

**Report of Committee on Treasurer's Report.**

Delegates Adames, Secretary of the Committee, read the following report:

To the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

We, your committee on Treasurer's Report, desire to submit the following: After carefully examining the report of the Secretary, also that of the auditing committee, by comparison, we find them to correspond with that of the Treasurer.

Your committee desires at this time to commend Treasurer Lennon for his loyalty to the American Federation of Labor, and his continued efficient service for the past twenty-three years as the custodian of your funds.

It should be a source of satisfaction to this great body of representatives, as well as to the rank and file, to know that the vast amount of money that has passed through his hands, has been correctly accounted for.

Respectfully submitted,

J. W. KLINE,  
T. J. DOLAN,  
T. J. GALLAGHER,  
WM. JAMES ADAMES,  
DANIEL HARRINGTON,  
FRANK B. GLYNN,  
THOMAS L. HUGHES,  
HARRY WILSON,  
JOSEPH B. ETCHISON,  
GEO. E. NEISHAM,  
M. R. WELCH,  
JEREMIAH A. KANE,  
CLARENCE E. SWICK,  
GEO. C. CAMPBELL,  
C. W. WOODMAN,

Committee.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

**Report of Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.**

Delegate Heritage, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Local and Federated Bodies submits the following report on the matters that have been referred to it:

With reference to that part of the report of the Executive Council referred to your Committee, which may be found on page 23, second day's proceedings, under the caption of "Strikes and Lockouts of Directly Affiliated Local and Federal Unions," your committee endorses the action taken by the Executive Council in rendering speedy and effective assistance to those organizations that made application for aid and were entitled to it, also the moral and financial aid rendered other Local and Federal Unions. Especially

does your committee endorse the following expression of the Executive Council:

"It has been our desire and endeavor to deal as generously in such cases as is permissible under the constitution, but yet we wish to take this opportunity of impressing upon the local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated the necessity for complying with the requirements of the constitution in giving notice where there is a likelihood of a strike or lock-out being inaugurated."

We commend the above to the officers of Local and Federal Unions for their consideration.

While fully recognizing the fact that strikes are as essential as they are unavoidable under conditions brought about by obdurate and selfish employers, and holding the opinion that no strike in the history of organized labor was a losing proposition for the wage earning class, your committee desires to go on record as being conscious of the fact that the work done by the Executive Council and other leaders in the labor movement in the direction of giving sound advice and wise counsel, thus bringing about favorable settlements of wage and other kinds of industrial disputes and avoiding the hardships incident to strikes is one of the most valuable and useful functions they fulfil.

In sending officers and organizers of the American Federation of Labor into localities where trouble has threatened much good has been accomplished.

Resolution No. 35—By E. Lewis Evans, Tobacco Workers International Union, referred to the committee is as follows:

Resolution No. 35—By E. Lewis Evans, of the Tobacco Workers International Union:

WHEREAS, The trade union label is one of the vital instruments in advancement of the interests of the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, It is the effort on the part of every trade unionist to give the greatest possible publicity to the union label, so as to indelibly impress it upon the mind of the consuming public; and

WHEREAS, A number of state federations and central bodies have established a principle of requiring the delegates representing the various trades to stand an examination for efficiency as a delegate and be able to show that he has at least a reasonable number of labels about his person; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor heartily commends the state federations and central bodies that

have already adopted this principle as part of the efficiency of a representative from a local union affiliated; be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Rochester urges the extension of the aforesaid principle and that all state federations and central bodies establish by legislation a requirement that all delegates must be able to pass an examination which requires an exhibit of not less than three labels on or about his person.

While your committee fully endorses the furtherance of and more extended use of the union label by all reasonable methods, and heartily commends the State Federations and city central bodies that have taken steps to impress upon the minds of delegates that they have a duty to perform in that direction, it believes it unadvisable to urge upon anyone that they should enact hard and fast laws upon the subject. It, therefore, non-concurs in the last paragraph of the resolution.

H. B. PERHAM,  
Chairman.  
CHAS. E. HERITAGE,  
Secretary.

OSCAR F. NELSON,  
JAMES G. HANNAHAN,  
JOHN J. HYNES,  
JAMES F. HOLLAND,  
ALVIN C. HOWES,  
MARTIN GOELLNITZ,  
THOS. HARRISON,  
FRANK GRIMSHAW,  
EDW. MENGE,  
L. HART,  
J. W. HOLDER,  
GEO. MILLER,  
ANDRIES MEYER.

Delegate Heritage—I move the adoption of the report of the committee. (seconded and carried.)

#### Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

On that portion of the report of the President under the caption "Citizenship for Porto Ricans," the committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its efforts, through the Legislative Committee, to secure the passage of this bill so that the rights of citizenship may be speedily granted to the Porto Ricans.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 16 be amended to read as follows:

**Resolution No. 16—By Delegate Milton Snellings of the Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union:**

**WHEREAS**, The people of the District of Columbia have been deprived of the right of local self-government, and a form of government under which an immense majority of them have neither voice nor influence has been forced upon them by Congress without their consent; and

**WHEREAS**, The present form of government in the capital of the republic—the political heart of the nation—is contrary to the fundamental principles of American liberty, to establish which our revolutionary forefathers pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor; and

**WHEREAS**, The ballot is one of the workers' most effective weapons, deprived of which they are powerless to redress many of their grievances or to prevent the few from despoiling the many; and

**WHEREAS**, The Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C. has repeatedly petitioned the Congress of the United States for the restoration of a republican form of government in the national capital, and has presented a plan for such a form of government; and

**WHEREAS**, The people in no other city in this country are deprived of the right and opportunity to express their views and register their will through the ballot box; and

**WHEREAS**, Opportunity having been afforded the people of the Federal District on the recent general election day, to express themselves by a "straw ballot," nearly ninety-three per cent of those availing themselves of this opportunity thereby declared that "The people of the District of Columbia should be allowed to vote"; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That it is the sense of the American Federation of Labor that, while maintaining Federal control of Federal affairs, the Congress should at once re-establish in the District of Columbia a government of the people, by the people and for the people;

**RESOLVED**, That organized labor throughout the United States, and especially in the District of Columbia, should exert itself to the utmost to promote the enactment of such legislation; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to lend such aid as they may deem wise and helpful to secure for the citizens of Washington such a change in the form of government.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 20—By Delegate Henry Prinz:**

In accordance with the recommendations of the Committee on Resolutions, submitted to and approved by the New York State Federation of Labor, I present the appended resolution and ask that it may receive the careful consideration of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

**WHEREAS**, The trade union movement is on record for bettering and uplifting the conditions of women wage workers; and

**WHEREAS**, A great majority of the women wage earners of the state of New York receive far less than living wages; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention place itself on record for a statute establishing a minimum wage for women and that the Legislative Committee be instructed to draft a minimum wage bill and have same introduced in the 1913 session of the Legislature.

Our committee reported that the subject matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, for such consideration as they deem best on this subject.

The committee reported as follows: Inasmuch as the American Federation of Labor has never expressed itself upon the principle of a minimum wage rate established by state or federal legislation, your committee recommends that the subject and the principle involved be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to make an investigation and submit a report to the next convention of the A. F. of L.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted, the vote being unanimous.

**Resolution No. 52—By Delegate Fred Brockhausen of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor:**

**WHEREAS**, A number of State branches favor bi-annual conferences for the purpose of concerted action in matter of State labor legislation; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council is hereby instructed and authorized to assist in the arrangement of a conference of representatives of State branches to be held at a centrally located point of the country some time between August 1 and December 31 of the year 1913.

The committee reported as follows: Your committee offers as a substitute the recommendation that the officers of the A. F. of L. communicate with the officers of State Federations of Labor with the object of securing greater uniformity in legislative efforts in the several states.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.



They recommended that Resolution No. 78 be amended to read as follows:

**Resolution No. 78—**By Delegate Frank H. McCarthy of Boston Central Labor Union:

**RESOLVED,** That the employees of the United States Navy Yards and Stations should have Saturday half holidays throughout the entire year; and, be it further

**RESOLVED,** That the Executive Council be directed to use every effort possible to cause the enactment into law of the Saturday half holiday referred to above.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

Delegate Coughlin—I move to amend that the organizations affected be consulted before the Executive Council takes action on the proposition before the house. (Seconded.)

Delegate Coughlin urged that the employees be organized and wages and conditions in privately owned navy yards be improved before any more burdens were imposed on the government navy yards.

President Gompers—Can you state the organizations which, in your judgment, are affected.

Delegate Coughlin—The machinists, pattern makers, sheet metal workers, boiler makers, to some extent, electricians, moulders, blacksmith and helpers.

The amendment offered by delegate Coughlin was carried and the motion as amended was adopted.

**Resolution No. 80—**By Delegate Chas. P. Fahey of Nashville Trades and Labor Council:

**WHEREAS,** The contracts for convict labor in Tennessee will expire July 1, 1915; and

**WHEREAS,** The Tennessee Federation of Labor and the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of that State have endorsed a measure to be introduced in the legislature, which meets the first Monday in January, 1913, which provides for the employment of the prisoners sentenced to not more than three years upon the public roads, thus reducing the competition of convict labor with skilled labor to some extent; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that we most heartily endorse the proposed measure and request the Executive Council to do all in their power to assist the State Federation of Labor and the State Farmers' Union in Tennessee in their efforts to abolish the contract system of prison labor in Tennessee when

the present contracts expire on July 1, 1915.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be adopted.

President Gompers suggested that the words "competition with free labor" would be more in accord with the expression of the American Federation of Labor on the subject than the words "competition with skilled labor."

Delegate Fahey discussed the question at length and explained in detail the laws in Tennessee in regard to employment of convicts. He referred to the attitude of the farmers in that state as friendly to organized labor and stated that the plan proposed in the resolution would be favored by the farmers and would be a step toward securing their support in the effort to prohibit all employment of convicts in competition with free labor.

Delegate Cannon—I move as an amendment to the pending motion that the attitude of the American Federation of Labor be that convicts, when employed at any kind of work, be employed under union conditions and that the dependents of those doing the labor receive part of the compensation, the balance to be held in trust for the convict when his time has been served.

President Gompers—The chairman cannot receive that resolution as a declaration of the policy of the American Federation of Labor. It should come in the shape of a formal resolution and should receive the consideration of some committee. The general subject of the convict labor system has been referred to one of the committees of the convention, and the committee will undoubtedly make some kind of report upon it. Your motion would be in order at that time as a substitute for the report. The question here is specifically as it deals with one case.

Delegate Cannon stated in that case he would oppose the pending motion, as he did not desire to see the convention go on record taking a stand against what might be termed common labor. He referred at length to conditions in Montana and other western states, stating that in Montana men doing work on public streets and highways received three dollars a day for eight hours' work.

Delegate Furuseth stated that the question of convict labor had been referred to

the Committee on President's Report and they would no doubt make a report upon it, and read from the proceedings of the Atlanta convention the policy of the American Federation of Labor on the subject, as expressed by that convention.

Delegate Fahey stated that he agreed with the section of the proceedings read by Delegate Furuseth; that he was a member of the committee that recommended it in the Atlanta convention, and still believed in that policy. He stated that the resolution referred to conditions in Tennessee, and gave a more detailed explanation of the laws in regard to road building and the employment of convicts in that state.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Vice President Valentine in the chair.

**Resolution No. 82—**By Delegate Samuel Gompers of the Cigarmakers' International Union of America;

WHEREAS, Progress and civilization are interrupted and retarded when international peace is disturbed; and

WHEREAS, With a better conception of justice, life and human rights, thinking, peace-loving men the world over deplore the barbarism, the waste, and the cruelty of war; and

WHEREAS, Means and instrumentalities are in existence whereby international disputes may be decided without resort to crude, brutal and uncivilized methods; and

WHEREAS, Questions of honor and justice should be determined in some rational manner, not by conflicts which decide only relative physical endurance and power, or the comparative military progress of contestants and in no way decide the merits of the issues; and

WHEREAS, The levelling forces of industry, commerce, travel and communication have swept aside artificial prejudices and barriers, and have stimulated and fostered the bond of unity and universal brotherhood so that the taking of life in war becomes clearly an act involving moral issues and standards; and

WHEREAS, True to the highest and best conception of human life the trade union movement from its first inception has been opposed to war; and

WHEREAS, The trade union movement knowing that though others may fail, yet the brunt of war, not only upon the battlefield itself, but the burdens thereafter entailed is borne in the main by the working people; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor recognizes the identity of interests of the wage-workers and the brotherhood of man of all the world, realizes the duty which devolves upon the organized labor movement of all civilized countries to carry on an educational propaganda having for its purpose the awakening of the hearts and con-

sciences of all mankind to the enormous waste and cruelty of war; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the American Federation of Labor emphatically reaffirms its previous declarations for the settlement of all international differences through arbitration, looking toward the final establishment of universal international peace among the peoples of the civilized world.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 84 be amended to read as follows:

**Resolution No. 84—**By Delegates of the Pattern Makers League of North America and the International Molders Union:

V. HEREAS, The so-called "open shop" policy has in general practice been a cloak of hypocrisy behind which an active policy of discrimination is set in motion against all union men and to prevent the existence of trade union organization; and

WHEREAS, While publicly announcing its so-called "open shop" policy with its intended implication that union and non-union workmen are employed without discrimination, the Winslow Brothers Company in its correspondence to men seeking employment informs them that union men are not employed, a quotation from one of their communications reading: "We have an open shop and therefore do not care for any union men"; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That union men are justified in believing that the policy of the Winslow Brothers Company now enforced in its shops should properly be termed non-union and anti-union.

The committee recommended that the resolution be adopted as amended.

Delegate Wilson (Jas.), in discussing the question, said in part: This resolution is presented for the purpose of directing attention, not alone to the attitude of firms that operate open shops where union and non-union men are employed, but likewise to direct attention to this concern of the men engaged in building industry. Three or four years ago this firm started a fight on the International Molders' Union. After the struggle had gone on for some time they sent letters to the pattern makers in their employ telling them if they would leave the union they could remain at work but that unless they left the union they would be discharged. Since that time we have had difficulty in doing business with this concern. The men who

handle the finished products can assist us, and we bring this to the notice of the delegates principally for the purpose of directing attention to the fact that a firm that wants to run an open shop states specifically in its letter offering employment to men that they run an open shop and therefore do not desire to hire union men, and for the purpose of directing attention, particularly of the building trades, to the fact that the Winslow Company of Chicago, with offices in New York, refuses in its plants to hire union men.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 85 be amended to read as follows:

**Resolution No. 85—By Delegate Egan of the Ohio Federation of Labor;**

WHEREAS, Our system of state government, which guarantees to each commonwealth the management of its internal affairs, has naturally resulted in the passage of labor legislation that should be uniform among those states interested in the same production and distribution, and which are grouped in various sections of our country; and

WHEREAS, The value of uniform laws, as applied to our industrial activities, will be beneficial not only to the workers, but to all other classes as well; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That we approve of the efforts which have been and are now being made by the A. F. of L. through its Executive Council and the State Federation to secure the enactment of uniform legislation in the several states.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution, as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 91 be amended to read as follows:

**Resolution No. 91—By Delegate Joseph Morton of the Chicago Federation of Labor;**

WHEREAS, It has been represented to this convention that injustice and oppression are practiced upon the employees of the piano factories controlled by J. V. Steger, and upon other residents of the village of Steger, Illinois; and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor has adopted a resolution directing its Legislative Committee to draft a bill and present the same to the next Legislature of the State of Illinois, creating a legislative commission to inquire into labor conditions in the piano factories controlled by Steger & Sons Piano Mfg. Co. or J. V. Steger, and in the village of Steger, Illinois; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That this convention heartily approves of the proposed investigation, and urges the passage of said bill recommended by the Chicago Federation of Labor, and respectfully requests the Illinois Legislature to inquire carefully into past and present labor conditions in the factories and village aforesaid, and to take such action upon its findings as may be equitable and just.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 127.—By Delegate Emil Arnold of the B. of P., D. & P. of A.:**

WHEREAS, The conventions of the American Federation of Labor are called for the purpose of considering labor matters; and

WHEREAS, The injection of religious or anti-religious matters have no place in the proceedings of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That all religious or anti-religious discussions as such shall be prohibited at all future conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended non-concurrence.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Rodriguez opposed the report of the committee and spoke in favor of the adoption of the resolution. He expressed the hope that no one would interpret the resolution as being an anti-religious resolution; that he was acquainted with the reasons for its introduction and that it was not for the purpose of opposing any religion that he spoke in favor of its adoption. He expressed the opinion that the labor movement must continue to regard religion as a private matter and that it would be detrimental to the labor movement to inject it into their meetings.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.) spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee and opposed the resolution, stating that he had no objection to the representative of any denomination taking the platform to express his views in regard to labor affairs; that all he asked was an opportunity to reply to them when he did not believe in what they said. He stated further that he would be perfectly willing to open the doors of state and central bodies and local meetings to a discussion of religion, politics, economics or anything else that had a bearing on the labor

problem, but he wanted a chance to reply to the speakers who came before labor bodies and professed friendship for organized labor.

Delegate Wheeler stated that he was not entirely in sympathy with the resolution; that he believed a closer interchange of ideas between the religious organizations and the labor movement would bring good results to both sides. He stated that he recognized the enormous moral influence the religious organizations of the country had at their command and if the representatives of labor were allowed to present the side of labor to them it would result in great good to the workers. He stated that as a representative of the trade union movement of Los Angeles and as a recognized Socialist he had within the past two years been invited on three different occasions to address audiences in the largest churches in that city, and that a better feeling was growing up between the organizations of labor and the churches in that community.

Delegate McDonald, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials—Do I understand from the report of the committee that fraternal delegates from any and all religious societies are to be invited to participate here? I might state my reason for asking is that the Credentials Committee now has credentials from the Central Baptist Association of Pittsburg, which I received this morning, and credentials I received a few days ago from the Verein of the German Catholic Societies. The committee has not passed on these as yet.

President Gompers—The chair desires to say this in connection with the subject that Delegate McDonald has mentioned, that a few days ago a gentleman presented a letter here in the form of a credential or a certification that he was selected by this German Verein of Catholic Societies to be a fraternal delegate, and at the same time there was a credential from some Protestant denomination. The chair undertook to say to both these gentlemen that, so far as the Catholic churches were concerned, they were represented by Fraternal Delegate Father Dietz, and so far as the other denominations were concerned these churches were represented in the person of Fraternal Delegate Macfarland. To attempt to spread this out and extend it would probably result in a revulsion of

feeling on the part of the delegates in this and other conventions, and probably there would be a curtailment instead of an extension.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee—The committee had in mind the thought that the introducer of the resolution had in mind that by this wording the speaking of religion from the platform would be prohibited at future conventions. While the language does not say that, the committee inferred such was the case by the presentation of the matter before the committee. We had no intention of extending the number of representatives who might appear from some of the church organizations, but take the position in non-concurring that it is not advisable to say that no one, regardless of whom he may be or what part he may have played as a churchman in the interest of the trade union movement, shall be denied the platform.

Delegate McDonald stated that one of the gentlemen who had presented credentials had been very active in working among members of organized labor during a miners' strike in western Pennsylvania, and he felt that such a fraternal delegate should not be denied the privilege of a seat in the convention to listen to the proceedings when others who may not have shown such an interest in organized labor were seated. He stated, however, that he would like to see the convention take some very definite position in regard to the matter.

Vice President Duncan, Chairman of the Committee, in stating the position of the committee, said in part: The committee in reporting adversely on this resolution had no revolutionary idea; we simply let the matter come to the convention floor to remain, as far as those representatives of the church are concerned, as it has been in the past, with no conception of additional or factional religious representation. It seemed to occur to me that Delegate McDonald had an idea in his mind that those clergymen who have come here and have addressed us in this and other conventions came as individuals, and that therefore a man representing some section or some locality might as well be given a credential as a fraternal delegate as they. That is not the understanding nor has it been the practice in this convention up to the present time. We began through Dele-

gate Stelzie, who was a union machinist and who has been working upon the subject of getting the churches and organized labor closer together for many years. He was sent as a fraternal delegate and a representative of the Protestant churches of America, not of any locality nor as representing Mr. Stelzie. Later on the Federation of Catholic Societies were represented by a fraternal delegate, not as an individual of those societies nor representing any portion of the country, but representing the Catholic Societies, therefore representing it in the broadest sense of the term coequal with the representative of the Protestant churches. To think of admitting men, even of fine religious temperament and friendliness to our movement, simply because they happen to be active in any one locality would by and by give us as many fraternal delegates on the platform as we might have delegates on the floor of the convention.

Vice President Duncan discussed the report of the committee and the resolution briefly, stating that as a representative of organized labor he had preached in twenty-seven different churches in recent years and deplored any action that would result in dissention rather than a building up of the fraternal feeling that was being developed between the labor movement and many of the ministers of the different churches.

On motion, debate was closed.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 101—By Delegates F. J. McNulty, Frank Glynn, C. P. Ford, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, There has been introduced and is now pending in the Congress of the United States, a bill requiring railroad companies to equip their roads with automatic stop systems for the protection of human life and limb; and

WHEREAS, There have been invented, tested and approved automatic stop systems for the protection of railroad trains and the prevention of railroad accidents; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. be instructed to use their every effort to have the above bill enacted into law.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 104—By Delegates T. A. Rickert, B. A. Larger, M. C. Daley, M. Schwartz, V. Altman of the United Garment Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The Legislature of the State of New York has created a State Factory Investigating Commission, the members of which are appointed by the Governor, without compensation, to perform the service of making investigations of and exposing the evil conditions attending modern industry in the State of New York; and,

WHEREAS, As a result of the investigation of this commission a number of remedial laws have been enacted by the Legislature of the State of New York; and

WHEREAS, The tenure of the commission has been extended for a further period; and

WHEREAS, As a result of the further work of the commission it is expected that additional laws will be formulated and enacted by the New York State Legislature; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled most heartily approves and endorses the New York State Factory Investigating Commission and its work and not only recommends the continuation of the commission, but that the several other states of our Union shall enter upon a similar line of work.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 83 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and T. A. Hanson:

WHEREAS, There now is and has been a struggle going on in Mexico to abolish the present condition of peonage and of land tenure; and

WHEREAS, There is considerable agitation in some quarters to influence the United States Government to intervene between contending factions in the said country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we are utterly opposed to any intervention in Mexico, that we believe in a determined policy of "hands off" on the part of our government; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we extend our cordial greetings and best wishes to the men in Mexico now struggling to abolish age-long wrongs by striking the shackles from the limbs and minds of men and women, and to abolish the present land tenure.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be adopted.

Chairman Duncan, of the committee, stated that the amendment, while changing the language of the resolution, made practically no change in its meaning.

The question was discussed by Delegate Gallagher (A. J.), Delegate Furuseth,

Vice President Duncan, Delegate Cannon.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

At 12.45 the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2 o'clock p. m.

## Fifth Day—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 p. m., Monday, November 18th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Klapetsky, Kline, Kramer, Wheeler, Strom, Goellnitz, Conway, Yount, Ford, Feeney, Dyche, Schwartz, McSorley, Taggart, Bailey, Bryan, Healey (Dennis), Coakley, Lowe, Allen, Powers, Price, Hedrick, Sheret, Murphy (P.), Whitehead, Huddleston, Welch, Holt, Swick, Brockhausen, Sullivan (J. H.), Garman, Sause, Elyea, Doherty, Hannon, James, Stokes, Spencer, English, O'Rourke, Lampa, Lebowitz, Beckman.

A communication from P. J. McGinley, delegate from the Central Labor Union, Cohoes, New York, was read by the Secretary. Delegate McGinley stated in his communication that he had been called from the city on account of local troubles and it would be impossible for him to return to attend future sessions of the convention, and desired to be excused from attendance and his name omitted from the list of absentees.

The request of Delegate McGinley was complied with.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

"Berlin, November 4, 1912.

"Mr. Samuel Gompers, care of Seneca Hotel, Rochester, N. Y.:

"Dear Brother Gompers:—

"Your report received and part of it translated. Mr. Legien thinks it will make a splendid showing in his report. Just the sort of material we needed. I think, for the enlightenment of our European fellow trade unionists. As far as I know, Bro. Morrison usually submits a statistical table to the convention, which gives the average membership of every affiliated international. I think you ought to add that table to your excellent report. Would be all right if you were to send it immediately from Rochester.

"Bro. Legien wants me to convey his best wishes to you and your fellow workers for the forthcoming convention. He is convinced of the great work achieved by the American Federation of Labor, of the great difficulties you have to overcome, and also of your daily and ultimate success. All good wishes to all mutual

friends and to the delegates of American Labor, who are now assembling in their annual parliament.

"Yours very sincerely,

"A. BAUMEISTER,

"Asst. Sec."

### Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate James Wilson:

WHEREAS, There is now pending in the Senate a bill which has passed the House of Representatives, creating a separate Department of Labor with a Secretary at its head who shall be a member of the President's Cabinet; and

WHEREAS, The men selected by the President to serve as secretaries of the various departments have almost invariably been lawyers, professional or business men, whose environment, interests and standards are usually not in harmony or sympathy with those of the working people; and

WHEREAS, The contemplated department cannot be representative of labor, unless the Secretary who directs its operations and determines its policies is cognizant of labor's purposes and the forces that have shaped them, and is thereby fitted to be labor's spokesman in the Cabinet of the President of the United States; and

WHEREAS, This Secretary cannot be truly representative of labor unless selected by the only agency by which the working people as such have the means of giving expression to their wishes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the A. F. of L. instruct its authorized representatives to use every honorable means to have this bill enacted into law; that members of all affiliated organizations be urged to use their influence with their respective Representatives and Senators to the same end; and furthermore, that the A. F. of L., in convention assembled, do demand the appointment of a recognized representative member of organized labor for the office of Secretary of the department to be created, and do authorize and direct the Executive Council to present names to the President of the United States from which to select a Secretary for the said department.

The committee recommended the adoption of the following as a substitute for Resolution No. 62:

WHEREAS, There has been a Department of Commerce and Labor in the administration of the government for many years, with a Secretary who is a member of the President's Cabinet; and,

WHEREAS, In the administration of said department labor has not received that consideration which we believe the importance of the labor movement requires; and,

WHEREAS, A bill for the establishment of a Department of Labor, with a Secretary who shall be a member of the President's Cabinet, has passed the House of Representatives in Congress and is now pending in the Senate, which if passed and properly administered will give labor representation in the administrative affairs of the government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee be instructed to use every effort possible to secure the enactment of the bill providing for the establishment of a Department of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to use all its influence to secure the appointment of a representative of labor in the Cabinet of the President of the United States.

On motion of the substitute offered by the committee was adopted.

The Secretary of the Committee reported that Resolution No. 108 contained two separate resolutions, but through a typographical error they were included under one number, and stated that the committee made separate report as follows:

Resolution No. 108—By Delegate Jacob Tazelaar of the Brotherhood of Painters:

RESOLVED, That the permanent organizers employed by the American Federation of Labor, known as salaried general organizers shall not be removed by the President or Executive Council except upon charges made against such organizers for misconduct or failure to properly attend to work assigned to them or under their charge, and only after a fair and impartial trial.

Salaried organizers may be laid off by the President or Executive Council when the funds are inadequate to continue them in employment, but shall be re-instated when the opportunity presents itself.

The committee recommended non-concurrence in the resolution.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The second resolution is as follows:

Resolution No. 108½—RESOLVED, That the meetings of the Executive Council shall be held in the open. That any union man carrying a paid-up card of trade in affiliation with the Federation be permitted

to attend the meetings when matters concerning his organization or himself are discussed and decided.

The committee recommended non-concurrence.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Tazelaar opposed the recommendation of the committee and spoke in favor of the adoption of the resolution.

The question was briefly discussed by Treasurer Lennon.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by a vote of 121 in the affirmative to 31 in the negative.

Resolution No. 115—By Delegates John P. White, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, Duncan McDonald, Wm. Green and J. H. Walker of the United Mine Workers of America:

WHEREAS, There exists among the workers employed in the mining and iron industries of West Virginia, Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Colorado, certain section of Pennsylvania and other states, unusually bad conditions and in all of these industries very low wages are paid; and

WHEREAS, Particularly in the coal mining sections of West Virginia, inhuman and barbarous methods are resorted to by certain coal operators to keep their employes from becoming organized and thus hold them, if not in actual servitude and slavery, at least in a condition approaching thereto; and

WHEREAS, One of the methods used is to maintain in the mining villages a large force of hired guards, commonly called "Baldwin Detectives," who brutalize and terrorize the miners and their families most shamefully, and whose viciousness and disregard for law and human life have been so flagrant as to attract the attention of both press and public, and against which labor generally has most emphatically protested; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, First, That it is the sense of this convention that the organization of the workers in the states and industries herein named be pushed with unrelenting vigor until these intolerable conditions are completely changed;

Second, That we demand that the proper civil authorities having jurisdiction extend the protection of the law to the men, women and children living in the territory above named; disarm and drive out these private guards and prosecute wherever possible the men "higher up" who employ and import into peaceable communities these squads of ruffians, criminals and thugs;

Third, We demand wherever necessary the enactment of laws to effectually prohibit the employment of guards or detectives by employers of labor during strikes or labor disputes.

Fourth, That the Executive Council make an investigation in the industries within the several states herein named for the purpose of ascertaining to what extent peonage is practiced, and to what extent the state and federal laws are violated in the importation and employment of bodies of armed men under the guise of guards or detectives.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Boy Scout Movement," the committee reported as follows: Your committee recommends that the recommendation contained in the Executive Council's Report under this caption be adopted.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

#### **Report of Committee on Secretary's Report.**

Delegate Landers, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates to the 32nd Annual Convention of the A. F. of L.

Your Committee on Secretary Morrison's report begs leave to submit the following for your consideration:

We have given the part pertaining to the receipts and expenditures careful consideration and find they compare with the report of the Federation's Auditing Committee, which met previously at Washington and audited the Federation's entire finances.

We note with satisfaction that at the close of the fiscal year there was \$119,473.93 in the treasury. Of the amount on hand, \$85,663.27 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions, to be used to pay benefits in the case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions. The total receipts from all sources are \$207,373.60, the total expenses, \$277,479.23, which makes an excess of expenditures over receipts of \$70,105.63.

This expenditure for the year in excess of the income needs a few words of explanation and we find the two long strikes of the Muscatine button workers and the strike on the Harriman lines, along with an expenditure of \$30,000 more for organizing purposes the past year over previous years not alone caused, but warranted this overdraft.

Your committee desires to direct particular attention to pages 10, 11, and 23, in

which is conveyed information of the greatest value. The chart on page 23 is well worthy of not only the greatest study, but of special action by this convention. The magnificent clearness with which Secretary Morrison demonstrates the growth of the Federation since the year 1897 to 1912 is so patent that your committee recommends that the subject matter be printed in a four-page pamphlet for general distribution.

The handsome increase in membership tabulated in Secretary Morrison's report from year to year shows the organization's growth and solidarity of the American labor movement.

In conclusion, your committee takes pleasure in congratulating Secretary Morrison upon the splendid and concise report furnished to this, the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. The report as compiled by Secretary Morrison shows the great care and study used in compiling the statistical facts, and the members of your committee feel they would be lax in their duties did they not compliment and congratulate the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor and his efficient staff upon the magnificent work, showing labor's growth through affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

Fraternally submitted,

R. H. CURRAN, Chairman.  
S. L. LANDERS, Secretary.  
WESLEY RUSSELL,  
D. F. FEATHERSTON,  
JOHN M. GILLESPIE,  
I. N. HYLEN,  
J. P. MILLER,  
JAMES P. MALLEY,  
WM. McKAY,  
EDW. E. SHILLING,  
J. P. McGINLEY,  
JOHN J. HENLEY,  
J. F. MORRIS,  
CHAS. E. JAMES,  
L. W. BUTLER.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Report of Committee on Labels.**

Delegate Swartz, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 2—By Flour and Cereal Mill Employes Union No. 14,039 of Lethbridge, Alta.:

WHEREAS, The paper sticker issued by the American Federation of Labor to



locals of the flour and cereal mill workers does not fulfil the object in view; and

WHEREAS, The said sticker is expensive in that it entails upon the local unions the cost of labels and the labor of affixing the same to the bags; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be asked to issue cuts of the label, and the label be printed upon the sacks when the same are made; and that, in the event of any firm or company not living up to an agreement, the local union shall have the right to cancel the label by a cancellation stamp placed over the original label on the sack to show purchasers that the product is unfair; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the object to be attained is that the union shall remain in control of the label without being at unnecessary expense, but shall take direct action when the contract appears to be broken.

The committee reported as follows: Your Committee non-concurs for the reason that the plan as proposed seems to be impractical because an employer having possession of a quantity of sacks upon which the union label might be printed would not be disposed and apparently could not be compelled to surrender such sacks to have the label cancelled in the event of their contract with the union being annulled.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Universal Label" the committee reported as follows: We recommend that, inasmuch as the Label Trades Department at its convention which closed a few days ago, decided that this subject be investigated and reported to the next convention of the Label Trades Department, your committee recommends that action by this convention be deferred pending the report from the Label Trades Department.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 38—By Frank Scoby and James Doyle of the Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, At a convention of the Coopers' International Union, held at St. Louis in September, 1912, it was deemed advisable to establish a repair label, the same to be placed on all beer and ale cooperage that has been repaired by members of the Coopers' International Union; and

WHEREAS, Through the process of repairing beer kegs and barrels, the union label that is placed on the bung stave where the package is newly made, is removed when a broken bung stave is re-

placed by a new stave thereby leaving the package without any guarantee that such was made by union men and under union conditions; and,

WHEREAS, In justice to the patrons who at all times insist that only union made packages shall be used to supply their needs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, do hereby endorse the beer barrel repair label of the Coopers' International Union and call on all members and friends of organized labor to see to it that the repair label is placed on new heads and staves when such packages are placed upon the market.

Facsimile  
of



repair  
stamp.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate Fred Brockhausen, of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor:

RESOLVED, The Executive Council is hereby instructed and authorized to secure from all its directly and indirectly affiliated organizations having labels, trade marks or shop cards, all items of expense in maintaining, operating and defending such labels, marks or cards, covering a period of twelve months, between January 1911 and January 1912; and further

RESOLVED, That the result of this investigation be compiled in detail and reported in printed form to the next convention.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for such action as may be deemed advisable.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Gallagher (A. J.)—The committee recommends a resolution looking for data and cost of label advertising, agitation and defense to the Executive Council without recommendation. Now if there is any part of our work we want to find out about in order to lead to an intelligent action it is the cost of such work, and I cannot see why the committee, unless members of it are irrevocably com-

mitted against a general label, are afraid of recommending that the Executive Council secure this information. I therefore move you that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with our favorable recommendation.

The amendment was seconded and carried, and the motion as amended was adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 28 and 92 were read by the committee. A recommendation of the committee was also read. After a brief discussion both resolutions were withdrawn, No. 28 by Delegate Coughlin upon the request of the representatives of the Garment Workers, and No. 92 by the authors of the resolution. The committee requested and received permission to withdraw its recommendation for further consideration.

Resolution No. 36—By E. Lewis Evans of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The products of union and non-union labor are in severe competition with each other in the market; and

WHEREAS, It is the duty of all the union workers to increase the sale of union labeled products as much as possible; and

WHEREAS, The tobacco workers among the other trades have adopted a union label to give distinction between the fair and unfair brands of tobacco, snuff and cigarettes offered for sale; and

WHEREAS, A larger consumption of the union label brands of tobacco, snuff and cigarettes is necessary to the continued betterment of the conditions of the tobacco workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of all members of the American Federation of Labor that a greater measure of patronage should be given to the brands of tobacco, snuff and cigarettes bearing the union label; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That inasmuch as tobacco, snuff and cigarettes bearing the union label are on sale in all cities and towns in the United States and Canada, the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Rochester, New York, hereby pledges itself to the duty of creating a greater demand for union labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes by purchasing only such brands as do bear the Blue Label, accepting nothing as a substitute, the dealers' persuasive powers to the contrary notwithstanding.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 59—By A. A. Myrup, Henry Koch and J. Goldstone of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America:

WHEREAS, The label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America represents bread and other bakery and confectionery goods made under fair and sanitary conditions, honest wages, living hours and by union men; and

WHEREAS, The label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America is the only means of distinguishing union from non-union; there, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, re-endorse the label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That every member of each affiliated union be, and is hereby requested to ask for the union label on all products he or she may purchase, therefore showing or proving his or her loyalty to the cause of unionism in a substantial manner.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of President Gompers' report under the caption "Union Label Trades Department" the committee reported as follows:

Your committee agrees with the conclusions of the President in his report under the heads "Union Label Trades Department" and "Union Labels," and to the end that the expectations of the President may be most speedily realized it is urged that all organizations having labels, cards or emblems shall, at the earliest possible date, become affiliated with the Union Label Trades Department and thus show that they appreciate the work of the department and the labor movement in general in promoting the labels, cards and union buttons of affiliated unions and demonstrating that they do not occupy the position of reaping an advantage without an equivalent return.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has at previous World's Fairs exhibited a display illustrating the aims and aspirations of organized labor as well as recording the great achievements in the various phases of our movement; and

WHEREAS, The Panama-Pacific International Exposition will be held in San Francisco, Cal., in 1915, to commemorate the opening of the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, Said Exposition will give a splendid opportunity to make the world at large more familiar with the great work constantly being done by the American Federation of Labor for the amelioration and uplifting of the country's toilers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Executive Council is hereby directed to bring up to date and prepare for shipment and exhibition to the Panama-Pacific International Exposition at San Francisco the display herein referred to.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 44 and that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "American Federation of Labor Exhibit at San Francisco, 1915," be referred to the officers of the American Federation of Labor to be carried into effect.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee recommended the adoption of the following:

RESOLVED, That all members of organized labor be instructed to educate their families and friends that when purchasing any article to ask for the union label, and that the stationery issued by all international unions and their affiliated locals have printed thereon "Remember the union label when purchasing any article."

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

#### Report of Committee on Education.

Delegate Walker (J. H.), Secretary of the committee reported as follows:

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate Edwin S. Burns of Logansport Trades and Labor Assembly;

WHEREAS, We recognize the trade union as the legitimate agency through which the working class will secure the just rights of labor; and

WHEREAS, There exists in many localities a wrong apprehension and misconception of the true purposes and aims of the American Federation of Labor, thereby causing confusion among the membership, and tends to create a wrong impression as to the legitimate intent and purpose of the parent body, and as this unsatisfactory condition is an impediment to the growth of our organization and our influence for progress among the toilers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council at the earliest possible date take up the question of arranging for lecture courses to be held under the auspices of the central bodies of organized labor holding charters from the American Federation of Labor throughout the United States, Canada and our insular posses-

sions, said lecture courses to be held during the winter months from January to April of each year; and be it

RESOLVED, That the salaries and traveling expenses of said lecturers be borne by the American Federation of Labor and all local expense, such as hall rent, advertising, etc., be paid by the local central bodies where such lectures are held.

The committee reported as follows: That the principle contained in Resolution No. 27 be endorsed, but that as in the judgment of the committee the income of the American Federation of Labor is not sufficient to pay for the services of such a corps of lecturers, we feel that the Executive Council should compile a list of the men and women who in their judgment are competent to meet the requirements and who are willing to give their services in this respect, with a statement of the terms on which they can be secured, so that any of the subordinate organizations desiring and able to meet these terms may be able to secure their services.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, It is a deplorable fact that in many of the universities of this country, which are financially supported by the people, the educational work is confined solely to the comparatively few who are able to give their entire time for a number of years in acquiring a so-called college education; and

WHEREAS, State-supported universities can make returns to the people who pay the bills in two ways:

First, by creating in all the people the realization of their educational needs and to provide the facilities for satisfying that need—University Extension.

Second, by making its graduates useful members of the state, who realize their obligations to the state and to the people who provided for their education; therefore, be

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-Second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we most heartily favor a popular system of University Extension similar to the one provided by the State of Wisconsin; further

RESOLVED, That we urge upon all State Federations, central bodies and organized labor generally to make every effort in their respective states to cause such changes to be made as will bring the work of state-owned universities nearer to the needs of the working people.

The committee recommended that the resolution be endorsed.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

The resolution was discussed briefly by Delegate Simpson and Delegate Scharrenberg, both speaking in favor of it.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Vice President Hayes in the chair.

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate Edw. C. Strelle, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, The policy of the American Federation of Labor is to further legislation in the interest of humanity, and the better education of the children of America; and

WHEREAS, The education of the child is conducted by the State; and

WHEREAS, Uniform school books, properly selected, with a consequent state course of study, tend to a higher degree of efficiency at a reduced cost to the taxpayers; and

WHEREAS, State uniformity of school books, in connection with the Federal copyright law, aids in the control of the school book monopoly; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 32d Annual Convention assembled, endorse state uniformity of school books, whether furnished free or by individual purchase, and hereby instructs its Executive Council to further and support, by all honorable means, all just laws in the interest of the people, and not in the interest of the publishers.

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate Stephen C. Sumner of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Believing that one of the greatest problems confronting the worker to-day is the proper education of his children, thereby fitting them to meet the exigencies of modern industrial conditions, the workers of Illinois, by unanimous vote in this State Convention demand:

1st. That the schools shall be so standardized in the course of study as to give the school children a maximum of educational value during the school life of the child.

2nd. That text-books in the graded and high schools of the State shall be uniform in character.

3rd. That the ownership of the copyright shall be vested in the State itself.

4th. That teachers shall, as far as possible, confine their work to teaching, not to the hearing of recitations, and leaving the actual work of teaching to the parents in the home under the guise of home-work.

5th. That the so-called "vocational schools" be confined to apprentice schools to be conducted jointly by the trades unions and the school authorities, after the manner so successfully operated by the Carpenters and similar organizations; and

WHEREAS, To accomplish our purpose in Illinois we must do battle with the wily agents of the school-book trusts, the greediest corporation in existence. Not content with robbing the parents through excessive charges they also rob the children

through manipulation of courses of study and constant changes of school-books. One state, or one section of the country, cannot hope to win speedy victory from these grasping corporations, and so, in order that we may hope for reasonably sure and immediate results, we respectfully ask that the American Federation of Labor indorse our work and plan of action in the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor desiring to insure to the child of the workers of our country as thorough a schooling as may possibly be obtained in the public schools of our nation, recommend to the trade unionists of the country the following declaration:

RESOLVED, That the workers of every commonwealth demand of the state authorities the enactment of a statute providing for uniform school-books in the public schools of such state; that the copyright of such series of school-books be vested in the state school officials, in trust, for the people of such state; that such books shall be of the highest standard of excellence and workmanship; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all vocational training in public schools, or conducted under the supervision of public school officers, or paid out of public taxes, be modeled after the apprentice schools now being conducted jointly by the Carpenters' union and other trade unions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be, and is hereby, empowered to make such research and investigation, by committee or otherwise, and to publish the findings of such investigations in such manner as will best serve to call attention to the need of a thorough and practical reform in our public school system.

The committee recommended that the following portion of Resolution No. 87 be adopted as a substitute for Resolutions No. 87 and 49.

WHEREAS, We believe that one of the greatest problems confronting the workers to-day is the proper education of their children, thereby fitting them to meet the exigencies of modern conditions of life; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor desires to insure to the children of the workers of our country as thorough a schooling as may possibly be obtained in the public schools of our nation; and

WHEREAS, To accomplish our educational purposes we must do battle with the agents of the school book trusts—the greediest corporations in existence, which not content with robbing the parents through excessive charges also rob the children through manipulation of courses of study and constant changes of school books; and

WHEREAS, One state or one section of the country cannot hope to win speedy victory from these grasping corporations, in order that we may hope for reasonably sure and immediate results; be it

**RESOLVED**, That the workers of every commonwealth demand of the state authorities the enactment of a statute providing for uniform school books in the public schools of their respective states; and

**RESOLVED**, That such books shall be of the highest standard of excellence and workmanship; and

**RESOLVED**, That the copyrights of such school books shall be vested in the state, in trust for the people of the state; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby empowered to make such research and investigation, by committee or otherwise, as shall throw the most light upon this matter, and to publish the findings of such investigation and research in such manner as shall best serve to call attention to the need of a thorough and practical reform in our public school system.

On motion the substitute offered by the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 65**—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, Thos. Harrison, Geo. E. Neesham and A. J. Chlopek of the International Longshoremen's Association:

**WHEREAS**, The Federal authorities and contractors persist in employing alien labor on certain work in the territory of Hawaii; and

**WHEREAS**, This action on their part is detrimental to our members and citizen labor in general; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take this matter up with the proper authorities at once in order that citizen labor be given preference on all government work in the territory of Hawaii.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 68**—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, Thos. Harrison, Geo. Neesham, A. J. Chlopek of the International Longshoremen's Association:

**WHEREAS**, There is a bill before the Congress of the United States creating a National Department of Health; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the 32d Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. endorse said bill; and be it further,

**RESOLVED**, That the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. be instructed to use their best efforts to secure the passage of said bill.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 68 be concurred in; also that the Owen Bill as amended by the Executive Council be endorsed by the convention, and that all affiliated organiza-

tions be urged to co-operate with the Executive Council in its efforts to secure the enactment of the bill.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 69**—By Delegate Fred S. W. Holt of the Arkansas Federation of Labor:

**WHEREAS**, The Central Labor Union of Hot Springs, Ark., and the individual members of the different unions affiliated therewith have undertaken to interest organized labor throughout the country in the building and maintenance of a National Federation Sanatorium; and

**WHEREAS**, We believe such an institution would be one of the greatest helps toward the uplift of our people, and the greatest blessing that could be bestowed upon the sick or afflicted, and an onward step in the progress of our great movement; and

**WHEREAS**, We believe the one spot best fitted for such an institution would be the spot where the "God blessed" water flows, Hot Springs, Ark.; and

**WHEREAS**, The various affiliated labor organizations of Arkansas, assembled in annual convention, have pledged their financial support toward the building and maintenance of such an institution; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we the delegates assembled in this, the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., subscribe ourselves to the ideas as set forth in this resolution, and that a committee of five be selected by this convention upon the adoption of this resolution, whose duty shall be to devise ways and means towards the establishment and maintenance of a National Federation Sanatorium, said committee to report back to the convention before final adjournment.

The committee recommended non-concurrence in Resolution 69, believing it to be impractical for the Federation to attempt anything of the kind at the present time, and that it would be impossible to comply with the provisions of the resolution as to procedure.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 102 be amended to read as follows:

**Resolution No. 102**—By Delegate Egan of the Ohio Federation of Labor:

**WHEREAS**, The portion of the A. F. of L. Executive Council's report to this convention, which deals with that subject generally referred to as "industrial unionism," is a complete defense of the evolutionary nature of our organization system, which experience proves is the most effective in this country; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council be instructed to have this report

printed in pamphlet form in such numbers and in that language as in its judgment will serve for general distribution.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 116—By Delegates John P. White, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, Duncan McDonald, Wm. Green and J. H. Walker of the United Mine Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The lines are being more closely drawn between capital and labor; and

WHEREAS, The capitalists of the country have organized the National Manufacturers Association and other large employers' organizations, compact cohesive bodies, having for their purpose the destruction of the trades union movement, and realizing that "In unity there is strength;" therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in order to combat these compact and powerful organizations of employers of labor, this convention adopts and endorses the plan of organization by industries instead of by crafts which often divides the forces of labor, and that the officers of the A. F. of L. be instructed to use every effort to bring this about, and that they visit the different labor conventions and use their influence to mould sentiment along these lines.

"The committee reported as follows: That we non-concur in Resolution No. 116, and that we reaffirm the autonomy declaration of the Scranton convention, which is as follows:

"Scranton, Pa., December 14, 1901.

"To the Officers and Delegates to the Twenty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

"Greeting—The undersigned, your special committee appointed to consider the question of the autonomy of the trade unions, beg leave to say that it is our judgment the future success, permanency, and safety of the American Federation of Labor, as well as the trade unions themselves, depend upon the recognition and application of the principle of autonomy, consistent with the varying phases and transitions in industry.

"We realize that it is impossible to define the exact line of demarcation where one trade or form of labor ends and another begins, and that no hard and fast rule can be devised by which all our trade unions can be governed or can govern themselves.

"We emphasize the impossibility of the establishment of hard and fast lines; but if history and experience in the labor movement count for aught we urge upon our fellow workmen that toleration and forbearance which are proverbial of our movement; for, without the recognition and application of these qualities any de-

cision we may formulate will be futile. We, therefore, recommend as follows:

"1. As the magnificent growth of the American Federation of Labor is conceded by all students of economic thought to be the result of organization on trade lines, and believing it neither necessary nor expedient to make any radical departure from this fundamental principle, we declare that, as a general proposition the interests of the workers will be best conserved by adhering as closely to that doctrine as the recent great changes in methods of production and employment make practicable. However, owing to the isolation of some few industries from thickly populated centers where the overwhelming number follow one branch thereof, and owing to the fact that in some industries comparatively few workers are engaged over whom separate organizations claim jurisdiction, we believe that jurisdiction in such industries by the paramount organization would yield the best results to the workers therein, at least until the development of organization of each branch has reached a stage wherein these may be placed; without material injury to all parties in interest, in affiliation with their national trade unions. Nothing contained in this declaration is intended or shall be construed to mean a reversal of any decision rendered by former Executive Councils or previous conventions on questions of jurisdiction.

"2. We hold that the interests of the trade union movement will be promoted by closely allied and sub-divided crafts giving consideration to amalgamation, and to the organization of District and National Trade Councils to which should be referred questions in dispute, and which should be adjusted within allied crafts' lines.

"3. The American Federation of Labor being a voluntary association, cannot direct and should not adopt methods antagonistic to or in conflict with established trade union laws, and in order to carry the above recommendations into effect, and in full recognition of its logical position, the American Federation of Labor pledges its officers to aid and assist in the adjustment of such craft encroachments as disputants may be willing to submit to its arbitration."

Delegate Walker, Secretary of the Committee—This is one of the questions that the committee as a whole could not agree upon. There was a substitute offered for the report of the committee that has just been read, and I want to offer now as a minority report for the majority report which is before the convention at this time the following:

"That where practical one organization should have jurisdiction over an industry, and where in the judgment of a majority of the men actually involved it is not practical, then the committee recommends that they organize and federate in a department and work together in such man-

ner as to protect, as far as possible, the interests of all connecting branches."

I move the adoption of that as a minority report. (Seconded.)

President Gompers—The hour of four o'clock has arrived, and a special order of business has been set for this hour. It was arranged to have an illustrated lecture by the Factory Inspector of the State of New Jersey.

Delegate Wilson (J.)—In view of the importance of this matter, and as there is other work before the convention that will take up our attention I move that this matter be made a special order for some time to-morrow.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.)—In order not to confuse the discussion on the report that has been submitted by the Committee on Education, and as we will have only half an hour after this illustrated lecture is over, I therefore move that this subject that is now submitted by the Committee on Education be taken up immediately after the special order beginning at 10 o'clock to-morrow morning has been disposed of.

Delegate Furuseth—I rise to a point of order. There is nothing before the convention but the special order.

The chairman declared the point well taken.

President Gompers introduced to the convention Mr. Lewis T. Bryant, Chief Factory Inspector of the State of New Jersey.

Mr. Bryant spoke at some length in regard to fire protection and the use of safety devices and devices for the conservation of health in the factories. The address was illustrated by stereopticon views of the interior of factories and shops fitted with such devices, and by moving pictures showing the most approved fire escapes and methods of fire prevention, fire drills of factory employes, etc.

At the close of the address a rising vote of thanks was given to Mr. Bryant for his valuable and interesting address.

President Gompers—The chair has suggested to the minority of the committee to offer what has been offered as an addition to the report of the majority of the committee rather than as a substitute for it. My understanding of the two reports may not be entirely accurate, but to me they do not seem to be necessarily in conflict, and perhaps it would not be the part of wisdom to decide on

that subject immediately unless we have the matter in printed form before us so we can determine for ourselves whether there is conflict; and if there is conflict thresh it out and find where we can agree; but from my understanding of both reports there does not seem to be anything necessarily in conflict.

Vice President Valentine, Chairman of the Committee—I am going to suggest that we have other matters in connection with our report, and if we can temporarily lay this aside, have it printed and the committee meet again, it can be taken up and discussed to-morrow.

Delegate Simpson—I move that the matter come up as a special order immediately after the other special order of business set for 10 o'clock to-morrow has been disposed of. (Seconded and carried.)

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "International Anti-Home Work Congress," the committee recommended that the convention endorse the action of the Executive Council, and recommended further that the Executive Council be authorized to send a representative, at their discretion, to any similar meeting that may be held in the future.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Conservation of Natural Resources," the committee recommended that the convention endorse the action of the Committee on Conservation of Natural Resources, and that the American Federation of Labor continue to be a part of and to co-operate with that body.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Glass Bottle Blowers—Flint Glass Workers," the committee recommended that the action of the Executive Council in bringing about an amicable adjustment of the dispute between the two organizations be commended.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Convention of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America," the committee reported as follows: The committee recommends that the convention

express appreciation of the assistance given our movement by the Farmers' organization; that we pledge ourselves to do all in our power to build up and strengthen their union and assist them in every way possible, and that we continue to exchange fraternal delegates with that organization.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of President Gompers' report under the caption, "Labor Day and Labor Sunday," the committee reported as follows: That we endorse the sentiment expressed by President Gompers with regard to Labor Day and Labor Sunday, and urge the different local unions and central bodies to arrange on these occasions for meetings and public gatherings and have competent speakers to deliver addresses setting forth our aims and purposes as well as our accomplishments.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of President Gompers' report under the caption "American Federationist," the committee reported as follows: We approve its being used as an open forum by all writers upon the problems that affect our interests, and urge that every subordinate body subscribe for at least one copy each month to be kept on file for information and reference, and that we also commend it to all our members and all others interested in labor's problems as the most reliable publication in our land conveying labor's position, not only on all important questions of general import, but also on all local matters of more than ordinary importance.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of President Gompers under the caption, "Wider Use of Schools," the committee reported as follows: That we approve the action of the authorities in various localities in permitting the public school buildings to be used for public meetings to consider questions of public welfare, and that we also endorse President Gompers' recommendation that the members of our organizations renew their efforts to secure wider usage of public school buildings, and utilize these convenient public buildings for trade union and central body

meetings, as such meeting places would ensure an environment with wholesome, moral influences.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Simpson discussed the question at length, and opposed the use of schools for meetings of organized labor bodies on the ground that it might discourage the building of labor temples in various cities. He advocated the building of labor temples in every city where it was possible to do so in order that all the organizations might have a central place of meeting and keep in close touch with each other.

Delegate Biggs stated that a labor temple was the very best acquisition that could be secured to the movement, and referred at length to the benefit the labor temple in Seattle was to the movement there.

Delegate Walker, Secretary of the Committee, stated that the committee did not have in mind attacking the movement to establish labor temples in any city where they could be established, and stated further that if the report of the committee was adopted, so far as the committee was concerned, it would not be considered a movement in opposition to the establishment of labor temples where the movement was strong enough to establish them.

The question was further briefly discussed by Delegate Kelly, Delegate Simpson and Delegate Vanderveld.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

President Gompers—The chair desires to ask your attention for a moment on a question of personal privilege and explanation. During the last few days I have been in receipt of some telegrams and a letter upon a subject I desire to call to your attention. The telegrams being generally vague and containing nothing upon which to base an answer it was impossible for me to answer. I received a letter to-day from the Pattern Makers' Association of Schenectady, in which a clipping from the Knickerbocker Press, of Albany, is enclosed. The clipping reads: "Gompers on Berger's Defeat. New York press (Progressive)." And the important part is contained in the first paragraph which I shall read to you: "Samuel Gompers has expressed satisfaction over



the defeat of Congressman Berger, the Milwaukee Socialist, who was the lone representative of his rapidly growing party in Congress. He thinks the reverses of the Socialists in Milwaukee and some other places will help the cause of union labor."

My answer to the questioner in this letter as well as my answer to the telegraphic correspondence is that it is absolutely untrue. I have never directly or indirectly stated or intimated that I found satisfaction in the defeat of Mr. Berger, and I just want to add this for the paper

with its comment and with its further statements contained in other parts of this communication, that it emanates from a source that has always misrepresented the President of the American Federation of Labor.

In answer to a question from Delegate Wilson (Jas.), President Gompers stated that the telegrams he referred to were not sent from the Pattern Makers' Association.

At 5.45 p. m. the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9.30 a. m., Tuesday, November 19th, 1912.

## Sixth Day—Tuesday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Tuesday, November 19th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Klapetzky, Kline, Strom, Goelnitz, Fitzgerald (W. H.), Conway, Yount, Ford, Moser, Larger, Schwartz (M.), Dyche, D'Andrea, Etchison, Bailey, Healey (D.), Lowe, Allen, Powers, Price, Daly, Rumsey, Crane, Hynes, White (J. P.), McDonald, Green (Wm.), Scanlan, Lanigan, Murphy (P.), Nelson, Whitehead, Gallagher (T. J.), Huddleston, Short, Welch (M. R.), Connors, Carolan, Behrens, Swick, McGinley, Garman, Landers, Elyea, Doherty, Stokes, Spencer, Lampa, Lebowitz, Beckman, Weiss.

### Supplemental Report of Committee on Credentials.

Delegate McDonald, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

November 19, 1912.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the A. F. of L.:

Your Committee on Credentials desires to report that we have received a credential from the Women's International Union Label League for Mrs. Anna B. Field as a fraternal delegate, and recommend that she be seated.

Respectfully submitted,

EDW. J. MARX, Chairman,

W. NEER,

DUNCAN McDONALD, Secretary.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted and the fraternal delegate seated.

### Report of Committee on Education.

Delegate Walker (J. H.), Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

On that portion of the report of President Gompers, under the caption "Labor Press," the committee reports:

"We concur in that portion of the President's report emphasizing the necessity for an up-to-date, thoroughly reliable labor press of sufficient scope to keep everyone informed fully as to labor's side of all questions of interest that affect the cause of labor, and urgently recommend that every effort possible be made to induce or require the membership of organized labor to support the labor papers of their own crafts and of the general labor movement."

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

### Industrial Education.

The committee has considered that portion of the Executive Council's report under the caption "Industrial Education," and desires to express its appreciation of the splendid work of both the special and the general committees on that question. The work and the report of the general committee on education includes a study of every scheme of vocational education in the United States and presents in detail in the briefest possible manner the work done in the schools investigated. The report, which is printed in pamphlet form and contains 114 pages, will be distributed to the delegates to this convention, and we urge that each delegate read carefully this very valuable hand-book on this matter which is so extremely important to our members.

The original action taken concerning vocational education was in accordance with a resolution adopted by the Denver Convention of 1908. A special committee on industrial education was appointed to investigate and report on the subject matter to the Toronto Convention. In compliance with the resolution, the committee made a preliminary report, but later, by authority of the Toronto Convention, the life of the committee was extended so that it might further pursue its studies in the light of a searching investigation, which was being carried on by the United States Bureau of Labor.

The investigation and report made by the United States Bureau of Labor undertaken at the request of the American Federation of Labor's Committee on Industrial Education, is believed to be the most comprehensive inquiry ever made on the subject in the United States.

Text of the resolution creating the special committee on industrial education is as follows:

The President, in conjunction with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, be, and is hereby, authorized to appoint a special committee of at least 15, to be composed of the majority of trade-union members of this convention, who will serve without compensation and incur no expenses other than the necessary and legitimate expenditure within the judgment of the President and the Executive Council, to investigate the methods and means of industrial education in this country and abroad, and to report its findings, conclusions, and rec-

ommendations to the next annual meeting of the American Federation of Labor.

The final make-up of the committee follows:

JOHN MITCHELL, Chairman,  
FRANK DUFFY, Secretary,  
SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
FRANK MORRISON,  
JAMES DUNCAN,  
D. A. HAYES,  
WILLIAM D. HUBER,  
JOSEPH F. VALENTINE,  
JOHN R. ALPINE,  
H. B. PERHAM,  
MRS. RAYMOND ROBINS,  
MISS AGNES NESTOR,  
DR. CHARLES P. NEILL,  
HON. W. B. WILSON,  
REV. CHARLES STELZLE,  
CHARLES H. WINSLOW,  
EDWARD HIRSCH,  
JOHN GOLDEN,  
JAMES WILSON,  
JAMES O'CONNELL,  
JOHN B. LENNON,  
HUGH FRAYNE,  
JAMES ROACH,  
STUART REID.

#### Scope of the Resolution.

From the terms of the resolution under which the committee was constituted it is evident that what was desired was:

1. A thorough investigation of the needs of industrial education.
2. A statement of the extent to which the needs are now met by existing institutions.
3. As the result of such investigations, some definite suggestions for the promotion of industrial education in such manner as might best serve the interests of the whole people.

#### Point of View and Recommendations of the Committee.

The committee entered upon its duties without fixed notions as to the form industrial education should take throughout the country, and, in consequence, its inquiries and studies have made the most profound impression upon its members.

Keeping in mind the scope of the resolution, as well as the complexity of the situation, the committee addressed themselves to the following questions, in an effort to bring out practical suggestions toward the solution of the problem:

1. Should trade, vocational, technical, and industrial schools be established as a part of the public-school system?
2. Should private industrial educational institutions be tolerated?
3. Under what conditions and terms should industrial schools, either public or private, be countenanced and supported?
4. Under what conditions should the semiprivate or semipublic industrial schools—namely, the so-called cooperative industrial schools—be approved or disapproved?
5. Should they be free or supported by the city, county, or state in which they are located?

6. Should they be under the control or partial control of the National Government?

7. Should their instructors be practical men from the ranks of trade occupations, or should they be men who know nothing of the trade itself except its theoretical side?

8. What should be taught under the head of "Industrial Education"; the cultural side, the professional side, the practical side, or all combined?

9. To what extent, if any, should labor headquarters, labor temples, and labor halls be used to furnish industrial education?

10. To what extent should "Prevocational Courses" be encouraged?

11. What disposition shall be made of the product of industrial schools?

#### Point of View.

After an extensive as well as intensive study of the entire subject, covering a period of more than three years, examining the many experiments now in vogue, ascertaining through first hand information the purposes and merits of the several types of school now prevailing, the committee is prepared to offer the following as a partial solution of the above questions.

In regard to 1—should trade, vocational, technical, and industrial schools be established as a part of the public-school system?

We believe that technical and industrial education of the workers in trades and industry, being a public necessity, should not be a private but a public function, conducted by the public, the expense involved at public cost and as part of the public-school system. In order to keep such schools in close touch with the trades and industries, there should be local advisory boards, including representatives of the industries, the employers, and organized labor.

In regard to 2—should private industrial educational institutions be tolerated?

Organized labor's position regarding the injustice of narrow and prescribed training in selected trades by both private and public institutions, and the flooding of the labor market with half-trained mechanics for the purpose of exploitation, is perfectly tenable and the well-founded belief in the viciousness of such practices and the consequent condemnation, is well nigh unassailable.

In regard to 3—under what conditions and terms should industrial schools, either public or private, be countenanced and supported?

We believe in private initiative, coupled with active co-operation between the school authorities and the trade unions, or private undertakings which are manifestly for the educational advancement of trade-union members.

In regard to 4—under what conditions should the semiprivate or the semipublic industrial schools, namely, the so-called

co-operative industrial schools, be approved or disapproved?

The problem is divided into two parts as follows:

(a) Public control of cooperative schools.

(b) Private control of cooperative schools.

As to (a) the cooperative-school plan is an attempt to combine training in the processes and practices of trades, in manufacturing or other establishments, with general instruction in a school which includes theory plus academic studies that bear directly on the trade work. The details of such systems vary, but the most popular is the half-time plan.

In the last analysis, industrial education will be measured by intensely practical men of the industrial world, on the basis of skill and intelligence as developed by undertakings, to fit the youth of the country for wage-earning occupations. In order to meet this test successfully, apprentices must be trained under real conditions in productive industry, thereby making the cooperative-school plan a necessary feature of our public-school system.

The public schools should teach the theory of the trade, while the actual practice and processes should be taught in the shop. This method permits of continuous development of capacity and relieves the manufacturer of the expense of the theoretical instruction, and provides a means of weeding out boys who are not adapted to particular trades.

By this method the boy, the employer, and the community are benefited. The obligation to provide industrial education of a theoretical nature, therefore, should rest entirely with the public schools.

As to (b)—private control of cooperative schools:

The committee reaffirms its position in condemning any system of public instruction privately controlled, or any scheme of private selection of pupils, and calls attention to the introduction of a plan which is being put into operation in several localities and fostered by manufacturers' associations.

This cooperative scheme is a limited plan for industrial education, carried on between the high school, which engages a teacher for the purpose, one satisfactory to the manufacturers, and a group of the latter who indenture such boys as they desire to have. The idea is, of course, to give a thorough training. But—

(a) The manufacturer is not obliged to take any boys or to keep any boy.

On the other hand, the high school is obliged to educate all duly qualified boys, to give them all that the city provides.

Therefore those who study in such a co-operative course do so on sufferance.

In regard to 5—should they (the schools) be free, supported by the city, county, or state in which they are located?

The committee reaffirms its advocacy of free schools, free text books, the raising of the compulsory school age, and a close scrutiny of courses and methods of instruction.

In regard to 6—should they (the schools) be under the control or partial control of the National Government?

Results vast in importance and magnitude have come from the action in Congress in 1862, in giving land grants to each state, to be used for state colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts. This appropriation of lands, followed by direct appropriation of moneys in 1890 and 1907, provides these colleges with a fund averaging about \$65,000 per state, or a total of over \$3,000,000 annually. While the funds so appropriated were for a long time used largely for general studies, the subjects of mechanic arts, agriculture, and home economics were finally developed, so that they now compete on nearly equal terms with the literary and scientific courses.

Since most of this fund is in demand to train engineers, technical agriculturists and teachers in the mechanic, agriculture and home economics subjects, comparatively little is available to give school training to those who wish to become experienced workmen, farmers or home-makers.

There is a movement at present, in which labor is taking a prominent part to still further develop education, to which these colleges were dedicated. Since only one college in a state can do little more for our greatly enlarged population, than to provide courses of study for those who are to become technicians, and can not give equal opportunity in liberal and practical education to all of the industrial classes, this new movement is crystallizing around a plan for including the secondary public schools under the scope of additional similar grants, thus creating and giving direction to a complete national scheme of education, in which labor should receive recognition and its just share of attention.

In regard to 7—should their instructors be practical men from the ranks of trade occupations, or should they be men who know nothing of the trade itself except its theoretical side?

The committee believes that experience in European countries has shown that academically trained teachers have been dismal failures; notwithstanding this experience, many so-called trade or vocational schools in the United States have, in the recent past, attempted experiments with academically trained teachers with very unsatisfactory or disastrous results.

The teachers of trades and manual vocations must keep up with modern shop practices and processes in establishments which are doing regular productive work; otherwise they will fall far behind and be teachers of obsolete methods and processes. Successful teachers must be men of practical experience, with more than a text-book acquaintance with the industrial world.

A good trade teacher needs at least a fair general education, with specialized knowledge of such arts or sciences as may be related to the trade he is to teach; a practical knowledge of the trades such as is usually gained only by working at

them under the ordinary shop conditions, and in addition an understanding of the general principles of teaching, that he may be able to impart his knowledge to others. The combination is not a common one. To be a skilled trade worker presupposes years of training and experience in the shop, and men possessing this have usually begun work by 16, with only a grammar school education at most. Even if they have added to this by night study they have had no experience in teaching, and find much difficulty in imparting their own knowledge to learners. The trained teachers, on the other hand, while thoroughly familiar with the theory and underlying principles of the trades, usually lack concrete and practical experience with industrial processes. As a general rule, therefore, the school has to choose between the skilled worker not trained as a teacher and the professionally trained teacher, who knows the theory of the trades, but has little, if any, practical experience.

In regard to 8—what should be taught under the head of "Industrial education"—the cultural side, the professional side, the practical side, or all combined?

The committee believes that the course of instruction in a school giving industrial education should include English, mathematics, mechanics, physical trades, elementary mechanics, and drawing; the shop instruction for particular trades and for each trade represented; drawing, mathematics, mechanics, physical and biological science applicable to the trade, the history of that trade, and a sound system of economics, including and emphasizing the philosophy of collective bargaining. This, it is believed, will serve to prepare the pupil for more advanced subjects, and, in addition, disclose his capacity for a specific vocation.

In regard to 9—to what extent, if any, should labor headquarters, labor temples, and labor halls be used to further industrial education?

The committee is convinced that there are conspicuous activities throughout the country known as "educational hours" at central labor union meetings, which might well be exemplified to advance and organize a propaganda for industrial education. Such meetings might also be turned into an educational "forum" in the interest or advocacy of membership by trade unionists on both state and municipal educational boards and committees.

In regard to 10—to what extent should "prevocational courses" be encouraged?

For more than a decade the introduction of properly balanced courses in trade training and the enrichment of these courses have embarrassed the advocates of industrial education not a little; in fact, attempts to scientifically analyze processes and practices of the trades have met with resentment on the part of superintendents, supervisors, and foremen of large industrial establishments. The reason for this resentment is that those usually seeking such information are manual-training school teachers, unfortunately the greater number of whom are women. Moreover, it is conceded

that such teachers have very little sympathy with trades, as such, but look upon manual and trade instruction as a way out of the difficulty of educating the sub-normal pupil. Hence, the objection of those interested in trades or trade education to thrusting upon industry the dull boy.

On the other hand, even public trade school instructors in some instances have turned a deaf ear to what they call impertinent inquiries as to methods of procedure. Such instructors usually consider the proper kind of equipment, processes, and practices necessary for the training of apprentices "their stock in trade." However, insistent demand that rule of thumb methods be abolished has resulted in genuine attempts to teach the trades scientifically, systematically, and sympathetically.

As a result of this new era in the advancement of scientifically arranged courses with the necessary equipment, it seems eminently proper at this time to point out the overwhelming desire on the part of advocates of manual-training schools to establish within such schools and elsewhere "prevocational courses" for pupils between the ages of 12 and 14.

While we welcome practical courses for those who are to later enter upon specialized vocational and industrial courses, we maintain that "prevocational courses" should be taught by tutors with practical knowledge of the vocations toward which the pupils are to be pointed; in other words, we can not too strongly condemn any attempt to thrust upon school systems courses of instruction which presume to try out the adaptability of the pupils for particular vocations and which are taught by women teachers with absolutely no practical knowledge of the metal, woodworking and such other trades for which instruction may be offered.

If "prevocational courses" are to be offered in publicly administered schools in an effort to establish a scheme of vocational guidance, then we insist that such courses be given by men tutors, who not only have a practical knowledge of the particular trades, but in addition, teaching experience coupled with an insight into the adaptability and inclination of the pupils for such vocations.\*

Finally, we favor and advocate increasing the number of men teachers in industrial schools, as well as "prevocational schools" to the end that all practical instruction in trades be given by properly trained teachers who have had in addition to their teaching experience at least four years practical experience at particular trades.

In regard to 11—what disposition shall be made of the product of industrial schools?

A most serious and troublesome question arises concerning the disposition of the product of industrial schools. If the teaching of any trade in its entirety is to turn out journeymen, near journeymen,

\*Same to apply to trades and vocations in which women are exclusively employed.

or all-round workmen, then there must necessarily be a product which will have a commercial value. If it is not, the work has not been carried on as it would be under real commercial conditions and the training therefore is imperfect.

If the product of these schools is to be put upon the market in any way, there is likely to be much opposition from manufacturers, contractors and organized labor. Since it will inevitably come into competition with the product of regular establishments, it has been pointed out that if the students were regular apprentices in industrial establishments, they would be working as much in competition with apprentices and journeymen in other establishments, as if they were doing the same kind of work and producing the same kind of articles in the schools. This meets the objection only partially from the standpoint of labor and not at all from that of the employer. In both cases, the objection is to what may be called subsidized competition; competition which is not hampered by the necessity of making its product pay for its own cost of production. The difficulty does not, of course, arise in apprenticeship schools in which a manufacturer trains his own employees, but in philanthropic and public industrial schools. It presents a serious problem, for which as yet no satisfactory solution has been found.

As previously stated in this report, the committee believes that instruction should be given for its educational value or, in other words, it should be "construction for instruction, rather than instruction for construction."

An agreement between school authorities and contractors who are erecting public buildings, whereby pupils of schools given instruction in building trades, shall be permitted during a part of the time to make practical application of their training, on buildings in course of erection, the pupils to receive credit for such work as part of their course, has been suggested as a feasible and unobjectionable plan. Similarly the work under the various city departments, has been suggested to provide practice for pupils in many other trades.

This in no way is a new experiment, as practical application of the same is being made in foreign countries with considerable success.

A minor difficulty in connection with a product having a commercial value is the temptation to increase output by keeping the student longer at one machine or operation than is absolutely necessary for practical educational purposes; in other words, there may be a tendency, for the sake of revenue, to follow the example of the shop and specialize instead of giving well-rounded training. This, however, is a matter of school administration but, nevertheless, of great concern and can be easily guarded against if the right attitude is shown by school administrators.

#### **Recommendations.**

The committee, after due consideration of the importance of the several systems

of schools now in operation throughout the country, recommend the following specific types of schools for the advancement of the prospective apprentice to the trades, as well as for those who have already entered the trades:

1. Supplemental technical education: Supplemental technical education for those already in the trades. The demand for such instruction is measured by the necessity for training in particular trades and industries, and the chief aim of such instruction should be to present those principles of arts and sciences which bear upon the trades either directly or indirectly. Such schools are commonly known as continuation schools, whether their sessions are held in the day, evening, or on the part-time plan.

2. Industrial education: The establishment of schools in connection with the public-school systems, at which pupils between the ages of 14 and 16 may be taught the principles of trades, not necessarily in separate buildings but in schools adapted to this particular education by competent trade-trained teachers.

3. Trade-union schools: The committee recommends the continuance of progressive development in supplemental trade education as inaugurated by trade-unions, such as the supplemental trade courses established by the International Typographical Union; School for Carpenters and Bricklayers, Chicago, Ill.; International Printing Pressmen's Technical School, at Rogersville, Tenn., and the School for Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers, of New York City. The establishment of the Printing Pressmen's Technical Trade School, following the example set by the International Typographical Union, marks another epoch in the introduction of trade education by trade unions.

That the typographical union and the printing pressmen should be the first trades unions to establish such schools was a foregone conclusion, for in proportion as occupation makes claim on the intellect of the workers greater educational opportunities become necessary.

Those trades which call for the greatest intellectual or technical skill on the part of the worker afford the most available opportunities for educational activity.

It is not because the personnel in the printing trades is better, but rather because these occupations are becoming increasingly more technical and subdivided in their character.

The committee further recommends that all trade-unions which have not adopted a scheme of technical education give the matter the consideration it so richly deserves; and they further believe that the undertakings of the above unions call for the most enthusiastic admiration and are entitled to the most cordial and loyal support.

4. We recommend that if in the course of time schools under public administration with a broad and liberal course of instruction (with an advisory committee composed of employers as well as trade-unionists) shall demonstrate practical

efficiency in training workers for the highly skilled trades, we favor the recognition of that portion of time spent in the schools which, after an examination by the union at interest of the practical and theoretical ability of the apprentice, can be considered comparable to actual training in particular trades as a substitute for a period of the apprentice's time spent entirely in the industry.

#### Federal Aid.

In addition to the above recommendations and in compliance with the action of the St. Louis convention regarding Federal aid for vocational education, this committee urges a greater interest in the education of the 25,000,000 children of school age in the United States, 50% of whom leave school by the end of the sixth grade at approximately 14 years of age.

Not only are we confronted by this state of affairs, but of the 50% who remain in school only one child in three finishes the eighth grade; only one in five enters the high school, and only one in thirty finishes the high school courses. Some idea of the extent of this vast problem can be gleaned when it is realized that the cost of maintenance of the common schools of the country is five hundred million dollars (\$500,000,000) a year. In addition to this sum there has been expended for the equipment in these school plants one billion dollars, and the benefits of this enormous expenditure are enjoyed by only 50% of the children of school age.

The Vocational Education bill, known as Senate 3, introduced by Senator Page of Vermont (a similar bill having been introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman Wilson) is one of several introduced in Congress to advance the cause of vocational education throughout the states by a liberal Federal grant for agriculture, the trades and industries, as well as home economics. The passage of this bill has been hindered somewhat by the activities of certain Senators who are opposed to its provisions but in favor of another bill much narrower in scope and relating only to colleges and experiment stations, while the Page bill includes all such provisions and in addition creates a plan for Federal grants to secondary public schools, thus giving direction to a complete scheme of education in which all the children of the nation should receive a just and equitable share of attention.

Much time and attention has already been given to this bill by the President of the American Federation of Labor, as well as by the Legislative Committee, and considerable hope has been expressed for its ultimate success. It still holds its place on the Senate calendar and is to be considered early in the third session of the Sixty-second Congress, which meets in December of this year. Every effort should be made to secure such legislation guaranteeing high Federal standards with the widest possible latitude within the states for adaptation to the specific needs of the various communities.

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH F. VALENTINE, Chairman,  
JOHN H. WALKER, Secretary,  
JAMES J. FREEL,  
D. A. CAREY,  
BEN COMMONS,  
PAUL SCHARRENBERG,  
JAMES L. GERNON,  
PHIL H. MUELLER,  
AGNES NESTOR,  
JOHN F. PIERCE,  
JOHN D. CRANE,  
THOMAS WRIGHT,  
FRED W. SUITOR,  
EDWIN W. WEEKS,  
W. T. BROWN,

Committee on Education.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Lynch (J. M.)—As an encouragement to the unions that may have under consideration following the example set by the International Typographical Union, I may state that we now have 3,500 students of our craft. I think there are very few colleges that have as large a student body, and as a result those printers who have taken it have benefited by it; a great many of them have been able to secure a scale of wages in excess of the prices running from two dollars to fifteen dollars a week. So we are getting practical results through the education we are conducting through an educational commission made up entirely of printers and located in Chicago. I make this as a statement of facts, not theory.

Treasurer Lennon, in discussing the question, said in part: I want to say just a few words on this question because of my contact with educators and because of the knowledge of the situation that they believe at least confronts them. They are not intentionally antagonistic in the main to our movement.

Many of them, as a matter of course, do not understand. The idea of vocational or trade education is becoming very general among the educators of this country. The first question they ask is, "Where are we to get the teachers that you trade unionists advocate shall be used?" Now, my friends, that is not a question that can be answered off hand; it is a question we must help the educators and school boards to solve. We cannot stop the trend in the direction of this kind of education in the schools; but we can, if we co-operate with the educators, have it come our way. There will be some mistakes made, as a matter of course, but we can afford to overlook them and correct them.

I know of members of our organizations who have been furnished with the reports of the special committee and have never taken the trouble to read them. How can they intelligently meet the question with the educators of their various communities? In the various states this question is going to the country schools, not only to the city schools but the little schools at the cross-roads. They are proposing to teach domestic science and a moderate knowledge of the carpenters' trade and the blacksmiths' trade. Now if we will co-operate with the educators we will see that this is done in a way that is beneficial and not detrimental to those trades.

I desire to impress upon the trades unionists here, and through the men here those at home, the necessity of giving careful examination to what the special committee has done during the last three or four years. It is great work and it is entitled to consideration, because it is more important, as it has to do with the welfare of our children and grandchildren, than possibly any other matter that has been or will be considered by this convention.

Delegate Frey, in discussing the question, said in part: This question of industrial education is such an important one to us as trades unionists, and has never yet received that careful study it deserves, that I feel warranted in taking up a few moments of the convention's time to express a thought or two in connection with the subject. Every one of us is familiar with the fact that the trend of modern industry is to specialize and

that that specialization, instead of making expert mechanics, tends to develop a man in a single, narrow channel where he is only made familiar with a small part of the work required to finish the product of the industry in which he is engaged. The result is that there may be a decreasing amount of mechanical skill and general knowledge of the trade developing in our country. I think we are warranted in saying at least that there is no increase in the degree of mechanical skill among the boys who are now learning the trade in the various industries.

Some educators have noticed this tendency and a large number of employers have also noticed the same tendency, and they have endeavored to establish schools where boys will be taught a specialty in the trade where they will be prepared on two or three months or a year's training to take the place of mechanics and make it more difficult for us to win strikes or to maintain our organizations. I think we might as well face the fact that the present system of education, so far as training a boy or girl to be self-supporting in the industries, is faulty, and that we require a revolution in some of the methods. I believe our movement is the one that must set that revolution on foot and make the change that is absolutely essential. We take the boy and girl now, with a little smattering of knowledge, from the school room and throw them into the industries; we separate them in one day from the school room and place them in the factory. Some of our good friends have suggested that the boy and girl after working all day in the factory or mill might go to a night school to get some added knowledge they require to make them more proficient to earn a livelihood in their industries. In one country the question, while not solved, at least is solving itself. They have the continuation schools, and instead of taking the young man and woman out of a school and throwing them into the industry for all time they say there shall be a graduation of that school period. They take the young person and for the first six months or the first year of their employment in factory or mill, force the employer to allow that individual during work hours to go to school to secure an education that will allow



him to better hold his own in the industry in which he is engaged.

I believe what we need to-day is to adopt some emphatic declaration in favor of a continuation school system that will say to the employer, "You cannot take the child from the common school or even from the high school and force him to work the regular working hours of your establishment. That child must go to a continuation school where he will be taught the theory and taught something of the practice of the industry he is engaged in."

There is one danger we have in the industrial form of education we have in this country to-day, and that is that it is subsidized very largely by those who are antagonistic to our movement. And while carried on by private parties they hope to put it in the mildest form where it will work out to their benefit without conferring the kind of education we think is necessary for wage workers. I think we should commit ourselves definitely in favor of a vocational education that will be entirely under the charge of the public school system, where our children will be able after leaving schools to have an opportunity to learn something about the theory of industry in which they are engaged and where gradually, tapering off for three or four years, they will have an opportunity to be educated in the public schools and prepare themselves for the vocation they will follow in this life.

Delegate Simpson, in discussing the question, said in part: The previous speaker referred to continuation schools. I think the organized workers interested in the work of the American Federation of Labor should also be acquainted with the methods that are being adopted in other countries along this practical line. Little has been said about a system of continuation schools that will meet with the approval of organized labor. There are two systems of continuation schools in Germany. In Berlin there is a system of continuation schools which permits of the boys going to this school up to 7 o'clock at night, the employers being compelled to send the apprentices to those schools up to that hour. In Munich the law is somewhat better and I think would meet more with the approval of organized labor. If a boy works from 8 o'clock

in the morning till 5 o'clock at night he is compelled to attend school during those hours and the employer is compelled to pay the boy's wages during those hours. I contend that between the two systems the latter is far preferable in the interest of organized labor and should be supported if there is going to be an establishment of the continuation schools.

I think the suggestion of the previous speaker is an excellent one, because you will find if you go through the schools of the United States, both the eastern and western parts, that the continuation school as institutel in Germany has not been developed in this country to any great extent, and it should be the duty of the employer to pay the apprentice after he has gone into the factory and is a producer and an important factor in that industry. The employer should pay him during the time he is in school because it is to the benefit of the employer that the boy shall be made a more efficient worker by going to those schools.

Delegate Simpson discussed at length the question of technical education, and described the evolution of the skilled trades where formerly work was done by hand and is now being done by machinery.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

President Gompers—The hour of 10 o'clock having arrived, the special order of business, which is a discussion on the subject of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, its interpretation by the Supreme Court of the United States and the application of that law and interpretation to the voluntary associations of labor.

Delegate Furuseth—I suggest that that part of the President's report having reference to that matter be read from the platform so we will know what the statement is. Secondly, I would suggest that Mr. Mulholland, who is one of the defenders of the Hatters, and has the best information of what the Sherman Anti-Trust Law is doing to us, be requested to make a statement to this convention preliminary to the discussion to be carried on.

No objection being offered, the chairman stated that Mr. Mulholland would address the convention.

Secretary Morrison read the portion of

the President's report referred to by Delegate Furuseth.

Mr. Frank L. Mulholland was introduced to the convention by President Gompers.

Mr. Frank L. Mulholland—Mr. President and Delegates of the convention: The report of your president has been so full upon the Hatters' case that there possibly remains little that I can say to you except to bring you in a little closer personal touch and sympathy with the now famous Hatters' case. I agree with the report in that there can be nothing that can come before your convention of such vital importance to each and every one of you as is the question now under consideration. You possibly have not realized that each and every one of you are defendants in this particular piece of litigation. You possibly have not realized that each and every one of you who were affiliated with organized labor as far back as 1902 may be subject to a fine of \$5,000.00 and imprisonment for a period of one year. And I shall refer to that in just a minute more, but this piece of litigation is important to you and it is important to me as a member of organized labor, because it attempts to say that you and I, because we are affiliated in the labor movement, can be held responsible for the act of each and every member of that movement.

You possibly know that the great hatters' districts are in Connecticut, New Jersey and in the neighborhood of Philadelphia. You possibly know that over in Danbury, Connecticut, there has been a firm known as D. E. Loewe & Company engaged in the manufacture of hats. Along in the fall and winter of 1901 and during the spring of 1902 an effort was made to unionize the factory of D. E. Loewe & Company. Various conferences were held with committees and an effort was made to reach an amicable adjustment. Failing in this effort, on the 25th day of July, 1902, the union men employed in that factory quit work. The next day the nonunion men employed in that factory quit work, so that by the night of the 26th of July, 1902, that factory was cleaned out and only six or seven men remained. The matter ran along until August. Then the agents of the United Hatters on the road began to effectively advertise the union label. They called upon the trade wherever the hats of D. E. Loewe & Company were sold and asked the dealers to transfer their patronage to firms using the union label. This condition continued until the summer of 1903, and then Mr. Daniel Davenport, the attorney of the American Anti-Boycott Association, began two pieces of litigation. First he filed in the courts of Connecticut an action against the officers of the American Federation of Labor and a number of individuals of the United Hatters' organization. At the same time he filed in the Federal Court at Hartford an action brought under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust act, naming as defendants some 255 members of the Hat-

ters' Union and drawing his complaint so broad as to include each and every one of the then 1,400,000 members of the organized labor movement of this country.

And so I say this particular piece of litigation is important to each and every one of you, because in that complaint you are charged with being parties to a conspiracy carried on contrary to the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust act. I take it that most of you are familiar with the Sherman Anti-Trust law. It is the act of July 2, 1890, and for the purpose of this presentation I will have to call your attention to but two sections of it.

"1. Every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states, or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be, illegal. Every person who shall make any such contract or engage in any such combination or conspiracy, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court."

You understand that under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust law there are three methods of procedure, first, the criminal prosecution, with punishment of a fine or imprisonment; second, the instituting of proceedings in the equity court to secure an injunction. The second section of the act I desire to read is as follows:

"7. Any person who shall be injured in his business or property by any other person or corporation by reason of anything forbidden or declared to be unlawful by this act, may sue therefor in any Circuit Court of the United States in the district, in which the defendant resides or is found, without respect to the amount in controversy and shall recover threefold the damages by him sustained, and the costs of suit, including a reasonable attorney's fee."

The Danbury Hatters' case was, of course, brought under Section 7. The complaint charged, and had to charge in order to give the Federal Court jurisdiction, that for years there had been a conspiracy among the members of the United Hatters of North America and members of the American Federation of Labor, the purpose of which conspiracy was to destroy interstate commerce, to destroy the interstate commerce of any employer who failed to agree with the labor movement of this country in the policies it was at that time advocating. I take it that most of you understand that if you live in New York and I live in New York and you want to bring an action of law against me you must bring that action in the State of New York. The defendants resided in Connecticut and the complainants resided in Connecticut. The great damage sustained by

Mr. Loewe was not because of boycotting proceedings but the damage he suffered by reason of the loss of his employees. Under ordinary circumstances that law, if recoverable, would be in the state courts of Connecticut. In order to bring that element of damages within the purview of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, Mr. Davenport had to allege that the strike, the calling out of the men, was a part of the carrying out of the conspiracy to destroy Mr. Loewe's interstate commerce. So you want to understand that everything done in connection with that strike is alleged to have been done for the sole and only purpose of destroying interstate commerce.

Now you have a strike in California where they are engaged in the manufacturing of products that are manufactured to be shipped into Nevada. What is the result? You haven't a right to withdraw your labor from that employer, because if you do you are preventing the manufacture of goods which, if manufactured, will become a part of the interstate commerce of this country. So I say this is important because there is a next step. It has been declared that hatters scattered throughout the jurisdiction of our Federal government may not collectively refuse to buy nonunion hats, may not collectively ask their friends not to buy nonunion hats, may not ask their friends collectively to not buy the hats of Loewe & Company, because if Mr. Loewe was finding a market for his hats in California or Michigan the hats when shipped would be a part of the interstate commerce of this country. So I say the next step is to prevent men collectively to withdraw their services because they are withdrawing their services from the employment of the men engaged in the manufacture of a product that will become part of the interstate commerce of this country.

This complaint was filed and a demurrer was filed to it. This demurrer was passed on favorably and it was dismissed. It was carried to the Circuit Court of Appeals of New York and was by that court certified to the Supreme Court of the United States. I want you to gauge the situation that came before the Supreme Court. I said the complaint as drawn alleged that everything done by the Hatters was with the intention and for the sole purpose of destroying interstate commerce, and I take it most of you understand that matter, coming before the Supreme Court for hearing upon a demurrer, the Supreme Court has to accept as the truth everything alleged in the bill of complaint. That is, you demur to a pleading and for the purpose of hearing upon the demurrer you admit the truth of every allegation contained in the complaint, and of course the foundation allegation of this complaint was that all of these things had been done in pursuit of a conspiracy to destroy interstate commerce.

In the first trial of this case it developed that the American Federation of Labor never was asked and never did en-

dorse any boycott against the product of the firm of D. E. Loewe & Company. And so when we came before the Supreme Court on the first hearing we had to admit that every allegation contained in the complaint was the truth, and we expect that when we go back before the Supreme Court, if we do, we can say face to face to that court that Mr. Davenport and the American Anti-Boycott Association secured this decision by false pretenses.

The case was set for trial. A large judgment was given. We carried the case to the Supreme Court of Appeals and the record of it cost \$3,500 to print. We had many errors cited. The District Court granted another trial because the judge had taken away from the jury things that should have been decided by the jury. The case was carried to the Supreme Court and we went back to Hartford to try the case on the 20th day of August of this year. The trial lasted about nine weeks. We supposed we were making headway. The result of the trial was that a judgment of \$80,000 was returned by the jury. This of course is tripled by the court, making a judgment of \$240,000. Add to this \$5,000 of attorney's fees, several thousand dollars for costs charged against these defendants, and you will see that we have a verdict of something like a quarter of a million of dollars.

We are now preparing the case for appeal to the Circuit Court of Appeals. It will probably be some months before the case again comes on for a hearing. There are just a few things I ought to say to you in order that you may grasp the importance of this particular piece of litigation. Of the men who went out on strike on July 25-26, 1902, but three are defendants in this case. Every man who went out on strike resided in Danbury. Only three of the men who went out on strike are defendants. You will ask how they made the other men defendants. I had Mr. Loewe on the witness stand. I said, "Do you know a man by the name of John Brown?" He said, "No, sir." "Did you ever hear of John Brown?" "No, sir." "Did you ever know where he resided?" "No, sir." "Did you ever hear directly or indirectly of his ever having done anything against you or the product of your plant?" "No, sir." That man was a defendant—a man who was to be mulcted out of his property by Mr. Loewe! I asked him as to some twelve men and then his counsel said, "Why, Mr. Loewe, they are defendants." "Oh," he said, "are they?"

I asked him who selected the defendants in that piece of litigation and he said Mr. Davenport, his attorney, or rather he said the attorney for the American Anti-Boycott Association. I asked him if prior to the time he signed his name to the complaint he knew who were to be made defendants in the case. He said that he didn't, except that before he signed it he looked over the names of those who resided in Danbury. I asked him if his partner's son was not a union

man and went out with the other defendants. He said he was. I asked if he had been made a defendant and he said "No, sir."

Those 198 men who are still defendants in the Danbury Hatters case, with the exception of twenty-one, never knew there was a strike in the Loewe plant. Man after man took the stand and testified he never heard of D. E. Loewe & Company, men from Norwalk and Bethel, and yet those men stand before the law to have their little properties and their homes taken away from them.

I have missed one important matter. When this action was commenced in the Federal court the property of those men was attached. That is, their little homes were placed under attachment, and since 1903 the homes of two hundred and some odd working people have been under attachment. The savings in the banks of Danbury, Bethel and Norwalk were placed under attachment, so that \$55,000 of the savings of those men were tied up and unavailable for their use. To-day down in Connecticut all this property is under attachment. You will understand a man working at the hatters' trade must be somewhat of an old man, he must have been fortunate and in good health if he has accumulated a little property. The average age of the first sixteen of these men is over seventy-two, and the collective age of these sixteen is 1,147 years. You can grasp the situation by this. Originally there were 255 defendants. Thirty-six have died since the complaint was filed, two have gone insane and in the original case seventeen were dismissed.

Now these men are not roustabouts, they are men who stand high in the communities in which they live. Three of them are ex-representatives of that community in the state legislature, one is a state humane officer, one is a state commissioner of labor, two are now in the state legislature, one is in the senate of that state and one is in the congress of the United States. So I say they are men highly respected in the communities in which they live, and they are brought into this case without any reason for their being there except that they are members of organized labor.

Now, what does it mean to my organization or to your organization? It means that if any officers or group of agents of your international do anything that brings it within the scope of the Sherman Anti-Trust law your property can be taken away, your wages garnished, your bank account attached. It is the most important question you have before you for consideration, because it is an attempt, as this report says, to say to organized labor, "You cannot afford to affiliate with your union, because if you do you become individually responsible to answer in damages for what that union or the members, officers or agents of that union may do."

It is a great question. It is the first time in the history of jurisprudence in this country that a man could be made

a party to a conspiracy without his knowledge, that a man could be charged as being a party to carrying on a conspiracy against the law without his knowing he was participating in such a conspiracy. Now as to the future. We anticipate we will be able to reverse this case again in the Circuit Court of Appeals. When the case was sent back for retrial the Circuit Court of Appeals said no man could be held to answer in damages unless he participated in the unlawful acts alleged or that he had such knowledge that these unlawful acts were being committed by his officers and agents that he could be charged with having acquiesced therein. But when the case was submitted to the jury last month it was put to them in this wise: That no man can be held to answer unless he knew or ought to know that these acts were committed. They introduced a great volume of testimony, a cartload, they said. They brought in newspapers to show articles on this boycott had been published, they brought in everything the American Federation of Labor through its conventions assembled, its Executive Council and its president had ever said on the boycott question. They dug up the relics of the past and paraded them before the jury, evidence which we believe was absolutely incompetent in the trial.

There is another little story of human interest in connection with this trouble. In 1886 the manufacturers of the Danbury District organized and elected this man Loewe as secretary. They organized for the purpose of unionizing their shops and making a contract with the Hatters' organization that they might get the use of the union label. At that time forty-eight, I think, of the men who are now defendants in this case, were coerced into joining the union by Mr. Loewe's organization. So we have the ridiculous situation of men now being summoned in the court for doing that which Mr. Loewe said they must do or lose their employment in the shops of Danbury.

The Hatters' organization is composed of about 9,000 members, and I was interested to find that it is an organization that has been in existence for more than one hundred years. In the course of the preparation of this trial we dug up an old charter or certificate of affiliation more than one hundred years old. These old men who are defendants began to work at the trade as boys. They have been in the hatters' business for longer than most of us have been on this earth. They are not so familiar with some of the modern conditions in the trade union movement as you and I possibly. There are men that are made defendants who belong to the Hatters' Union because at the time they became affiliated with the American Federation of Labor they were members of the old hatters' organization, but they had not worked at the trade for years. These are mostly old men who have not been active either at their trade or in the labor movement for many years, but are made defendants in this

case, as Mr. Loewe said, merely because in looking over the records of the county in which they lived he ascertained they owned property on which an attachment might be levied.

What is your remedy? I know of no other remedy than that which has been suggested through the legislative branch of our government. We do not know what the Supreme Court will say when we again come before that body; but I cannot conceive of the Supreme Court of this country saying that you or I can be parties to an unlawful conspiracy without our knowledge of the existence of such a conspiracy. I thank you most heartily for your careful attention.

Delegate Walker (J. H.)—Mr. Chairman, I listened very attentively to the address of Mr. Mulholland. I agree with him that it is a big question and that it is one the labor movement has to meet. I feel, however, that they ought to meet it squarely, and I believe that until we do meet it squarely and fight it out that every labor organization in our country is in jeopardy. Under existing circumstances it is only proper and it is only fair that, aside from meeting the real issue squarely, everything should be done in court that can be done for these men to avoid sacrificing their little properties or their savings. At the same time the big issue is so much greater than what is involved in that respect, and it so vitally affects every labor organization in our country, that provision should be made for caring for that phase of it, and the occasion should be taken to meet this issue squarely and the fight started should be continued until the finish.

I feel that if it were possible the labor movement of this country should stand behind these men, pay the costs of attorneys and whatever the decisions may be; if damages are assessed against them, that they be reimbursed by this movement for their losses; and the issue itself should be kept in mind, should be kept forever before the people of our nation and particularly the workers of our country. I agree that they have done what every human being would do under the circumstances in using every atom of evidence and every means within their power to avoid being assessed for damages by that court; and the things that are incidental on both sides have been taken advantage of, justly so, by them in their desire to avoid being sacrificed; but the thing I believe that court should be compelled to decide, so we would know where we stand, is this question of

whether men have the right under our law to not only refuse to spend their money for any particular product of any particular concern, but whether or not they have not the right to ask every other man and every other woman to refuse to buy that particular article. That is the question, in my judgment, that this Supreme Court should be compelled to decide in this case. I feel that it should be made clear, that it should be acknowledged, if the defendants charged have been guilty of it, that they did refuse to buy that product and that they did ask their friends and sympathizers to refuse to buy that product, and then have the court decide under our law they did not have the right to do that very thing. If they haven't the right to do that, then we haven't the right to do that anywhere in any phase of our work. And if we haven't the right to refuse to buy a product that another man has for sale, a product we think is unfair, why, it necessarily follows we haven't the right to refuse to work to manufacture that product.

I think the right to live on the part of the labor organizations in this country is involved in this issue, and I feel we should not dodge the real issue, that we should meet it squarely and compel them to make a decision that cannot be misunderstood. We should not dodge ourselves and we should make it impossible for that court to dodge the issue. If under our existing law we haven't the right to refuse to buy those things and ask our friends to refuse to buy them, then there is only one thing left for this movement. If we find under the law that we have not the right to do this we should immediately set about and have something done in our country similar to what was done in Great Britain—change the law and the courts so that we will have those rights and be able to exercise them to the same extent as the employers from time immemorial have exercised those rights on their side. That, in my judgment, is the real issue, and I do not believe we should dodge it or let them dodge it. The only way we can be fair in taking that kind of position is to arrange to protect those men who are simply being made the scapegoats, the figure-heads, on which to decide this issue that affects the entire labor movement.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.)—I understood Attorney Mulholland was given the floor

for the purpose of explaining some of the incidents connected with this case, and that he would be followed by the committee with a report and recommendation bearing on the subject. Was not that the order agreed upon?

President Gompers—The chair did not so understand it. The committee reported, as you know, favorably on the suggestion of the Executive Council that the subject matter of the Sherman Anti-Trust law and the interpretation placed upon it by the Supreme Court of the United States and the application of that law to the organization of the working people be made a subject of general discussion for a session or for a day. The chairman of the committee informed me this morning that what the committee had in mind was to hear the general discussion and base a recommendation upon their conception of what the convention desired the committee to do.

Delegate Furuseth—That is right.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.)—Delegate Furuseth shakes his head and then says it is all right.

President Gompers—Please make a statement in regard to the present situation as you understand it, Delegate Furuseth.

Delegate Furuseth—We found in the recommendations of the Executive Council and of the president a recommendation that this matter be given to the convention for a general discussion, to consume such time as the convention might feel inclined to give it, be it a session or a day. We took that recommendation, reported it back to the convention with our favorable recommendation and moved for the special order to-day.

We understand, or think we understand that something of tremendous importance is going on. We would like to understand what is the information and what is the possible desire of the convention in the matter of the action to be taken. We were impelled to this action for several reasons, one of the most important of which is that there is, as we have found, a disposition to listen to what is being said on those tremendously important questions, then adopt the recommendation and promptly go home and forget it. Now if you all get your fighting clothes on, tell what it is doing to you and give us some idea of what you think you want to do to

it you may not forget it when the convention is over, you may possibly be induced to go on with it. And so we hope to hear what this thing has been doing to you, what you fear it may do to you, if you have any fears in the matter at all, and then it will be more easy for our committee to suggest what can be done to it by this convention and by the labor movement as a whole.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.)—I was under the impression, as were other delegates here on the floor, that as usual the committee would present a report and recommendation and it would be recommended to carry on this contest that has been waged by the Hatters. In the absence, however, of recommendation by the committee and the committee suggesting that the matter be discussed by the delegates here and the recommendations be made afterwards—as a representative of one of the international unions that is interested in this case I can say that, in my opinion, from coming in contact with printers in different parts of the country who are interested in this subject, who know something about it, who have read the newspapers regarding certain steps that have been taken in the courts in Connecticut and up to the Supreme Court of the United States, there is a general disposition on the part of members of the Typographical Union that organized labor of the country ought to be a unit, as Delegate Walker stated, and get behind the United Hatters and fight the case to the very last ditch. It is the only thing, practically, that we can do, because if the statements that were made by Attorney Mulholland are correct, as I believe they are, then certainly every person here can appreciate that we are all in the same boat and that if the Hatters are finally worsted in the United States Supreme Court in their second appeal that decision will rebound on the entire organized labor movement of this continent.

Since the Hatters case was filed and after the first decision was rendered I noticed quite a number of other damage suits were filed in the courts. And you perhaps realized, too, what was on foot when a few days after the second decision was rendered mulcting the Hatters out of \$250,000, \$240,000 and costs, suit was begun against the officials and members of the United Mine Workers in the State of West Virginia for damages amounting to \$750,000, or three-quarters of a million.

I suppose they want to make it an even million while they are in the sandbagging business through their courts.

There is the position. This is not a beautiful theory, this is not a case of a dreamy rainbow with which we are confronted, but a solid, substantial fact that we are compelled to face. I am sorry to say that after more than a century of supposed liberty we have enjoyed as a people, which people is overwhelmingly composed of labor, of working men who have had the power in their own hands to control the administrative, the legislative and the judiciary branches of government, and instead of using them in their own interests have deliberately gone out for generations and thrown that power into the hands of the enemy, with the result that the enemy is in control of the courts and is using that club for the purpose of beating us into submission or into a condition of degradation and wage slavery.

That is the condition with which we are confronted, and largely because of the fact that the workers have been negligent in the matter of directing, of saying who should be in control of the powers of government, who should frame the laws of this country and who should have the appointing power of United States judges, those judges who have usurped such power unto themselves, who have encroached upon the liberty of the people, to an extent, by the gods, that has even sickened a former president, who went out in an insurrection and bullmoosed it in the last campaign in favor of recalling the judges or their infamous decisions!

Now when such a condition confronts us, a political condition absolutely, because I don't see how we are going to upset these decisions by hurling a thousand or ten thousand or one hundred thousand men on strike against the edicts of this little tyrannical crowd of judges who have the final say-so as to the interpretation of the law, and if they so feel disposed, even where a law is interpreted against a labor organization and the workers are assessed—some of them tottering on the verge of the grave, seventy years of age, 36 defendants already dead, 2 insane—yet these workers are assessed their little meagre savings in the bank, their homes are taken from them in order to satisfy the greedy combination organized under the name of the National

Association of Manufacturers, who have a poodle dog called the American Anti-Boycott Association to fight their cases in the court, and Mr. Davenport has so far succeeded very well, yet they interpret this law against the propertyless workers, and, on the other hand, if it pleases this august assemblage of old fossils down at Washington, in order to permit some their own class to escape, they can read the word "reasonable" into the same law and whitewash them when they are dragged into court.

Oh, yes, they tell us we have laws in this country affecting the rich and the poor alike! On the face of things that may be true, but it depends on who interprets the law and how it is interpreted. The judges are corporation judges—none others are appointed. Even this distinguished rebel politically who went up and down the line a few months ago running amuck against the traditions he upheld, was the one who appointed the infamous Judge Wright, who is attempting to destroy the liberties of the workers of this country. Theodore Roosevelt appointed United States Judge Wright at the dictation of Big Boss Cox of the City of Cincinnati, who tried to grab the whole State of Ohio, yet he, as I say, has evidently sickened with this evident jug-handle justice that has been visited against the people of this country by these corporationists that have been appointed. Well, the only thing as I say, we can do is to here and now pledge this organization to stand behind the United Hatters financially as far as it is possible to go to wage this contest.

Secondly, we can call upon the workers of the entire country to take up the Hatters' case as a subject for discussion in their local and central body meetings, and if possible to call mass meetings in their various communities to stir up the great mass of people on the outside, the thousands and tens of thousands who are undoubtedly in sympathy with our struggle. In that way, by arousing public opinion, we can perhaps bring pressure to bear on the powers that be in Washington.

And thirdly, we have got to amend the Sherman Anti-Trust law, whether it be in some such bill as is now pending or some other, it is immaterial so long as we can get the results. This thing is a fact, that after pledging our financial and moral support we must begin to bring pressure to bear on the triumphy wing of capi-

talistic politicians who are in control of the powers of government, or will be after the 4th of March next. For more than sixteen years now we have heard the acknowledged leader of the Democratic party promise his support in behalf of the labor bills pending in Congress. Very good. Now is his brilliant opportunity to make good so that the working people of this nation will realize that he meant business instead of putting up a great big political bluff. I don't care a rap, as a matter of fact, I have already heard and read that if these radical measures are forced in Congress by William Jennings Bryan and the so-called progressive element of his party they will be opposed by the conservative or stand-pat element of his party, with the result that the same split will take place that occurred in the Republican party, for which I earnestly hope and pray every night before I go to sleep that it will take place as early as possible and that he will get some justice.

Delegate Frey—Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I feel it is a most fortunate thing that it is possible for us in a convention of this kind to discuss, not only the Hatters' case, but, what is more important to us, the Sherman Anti-Trust law. I feel that in our meetings and in our official publications in reference to this law we should take the same position an old Roman took years ago. Rome was built up, strengthening herself on the north, on the Mediterranean, and on the south the city of Carthage was growing. There was an old Roman Senator, called Cato, and whether the Senate was discussing the tariff of the day or the latest fashions of the Roman ladies, he would get up and say, "Carthage must be destroyed." No matter what we are doing we should say the Sherman Anti-Trust law must be repealed or amended, because it is as great a menace to the progress of our labor movement as the city of Carthage was to the city of Rome.

This Hatters' case first became important to us because the United States Supreme Court held that the Sherman Anti-Trust law applied to us. They claimed we came under its scope. They applied it to one organization, they will probably apply it to others. If we are to be an illegal conspiracy under the law whenever in defense of our position we can be held to interfere with interstate com-

merce, then there are very few of our contests with employers that will not bring us under the scope of that law. Our courts have told us that the law applies to us as well as to business combinations, and I want to very briefly—because I realize I would be unjust to go into this question at any great length—I want to call attention to a decision or two handed down by the United States Supreme Court that may be an indication of what is in the minds of a great many as to the application of that law in the future to our own movement.

Two great cases, great cases because they enjoy popular attention, came before that court, the case of the American Tobacco Company and the case of the Standard Oil Company. In both of those cases the Supreme Court held they were illegal conspiracies because they had endeavored to restrain interstate commerce. The Supreme Court held that not only were they illegal conspiracies but that their organizations must be dissolved and gave to a lower court the authority to dissolve those two corporations. I have no desire to discuss that order of the court upon those two corporations, but I do want to ask you to think for a moment, and then afterwards a great deal, of what would happen if any of our affiliated organizations came before the Supreme Court under the Sherman Anti-Trust law and the Supreme Court should take the identical position it did with the American Tobacco Company and the Standard Oil Company.

Mr. Chairman, this question is a fundamental one, this question of the law as it reads and its application and interpretation by the United States Supreme Court and inferior Federal courts. It means, in my opinion, that so far as the law and the interpretation of that law by the court is concerned most of our international and national unions can, not only be declared illegal conspirators, but the court may take upon itself the authority to order our dissolution. It is the one great menace that confronts our movement. We are studying the courts carefully these days because of the extraordinary, the astonishing decisions some of them are handing down.

We believe in the right of organization. Employers believe in the right of organization. They enjoy that right and through their organizations exercise their right of breaking down our own. They



apply their so-called open shop policy to disrupt our union; where we haven't a 100 per cent organization they force non-union men upon us and through all the other methods with which we are familiar some employers' organizations are carrying on a continuous effort to break down our own. Their right to do this has never been questioned on any ground, it has never been questioned by the court; but while our American courts, or some of them, have held that the employer has a legal right to endeavor to break down our own organization these same courts have held that we did not have a right to retaliate, that we had no right to defend ourselves when the employer was trying to disrupt our organization.

You may be familiar with one of those recent decisions handed down by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, in which that court held, and has now made it part of the judicial legislation of that state, that union men shall not have the legal right to strike against the introduction of nonunion men among them.

Now, Mr. Chairman, we are face to face with a law the United States Supreme Court has held applies to organizations, applies to living beings as well as to business and property rights, a law that is now so interpreted that it applies to our flesh and blood and our efforts to elevate our standard of living, exactly as it applies to the methods of huge business corporations in their methods of driving competition out of the field. That court has given us an indication of what it had in its mind in the American Tobacco Company and Standard Oil cases; and I believe unless this law is repealed or amended we will have a decision in regard to one of our own international unions which will be on a par with the decision in the two cases I have cited; but it will not be used in the same way, because of the efforts of the government will be used to assist the employers to break down our union and deny us the right to protect ourselves and maintain our organization.

And for these reasons and many others I have not mentioned I believe we should have a slogan in our movement that should be sounded everywhere, and that is that the Sherman Anti-Trust law must be either repealed or amended, so that our right to associate together and to use our associations in our contest with em-

ployers shall not be decided an illegal conspiracy but shall be held as an essential right.

President Gompers—It is my hope to be able to contribute something toward this discussion a little later on, but before we proceed further I desire, with your permission, to make this statement: That one of the preponderating causes in influencing the two juries which have tried the Hatters' case, the first and the second, was the statement that the American Federation of Labor would bear the cost of any award the jury might give to D. E. Loewe & Company. Efforts were made by the attorneys for the Hatters to show that the American Federation of Labor made no such pledge, and could not and would not. Secretary Morrisson was on the stand in the last case, with Vice President Mitchell, Vice President O'Connell, Treasurer Lennon and myself, those who had been in continuous attendance on conventions of the American Federation of Labor, those who had been on committees, to testify that no such pledge was made and no such idea contemplated. The statement made by two delegates this morning that the American Federation of Labor should get behind the Hatters in these cases and stand the cost of the award would do more to damage the situation as it exists than any other one thing.

I cannot understand how it is possible for the American Federation of Labor to do that thing. And if you did, it would simply invite additional litigation, more suits, because it would be urged that the American Federation of Labor and the membership of its affiliated organizations would come to the rescue of defendants in suits brought against them and it would amount to about eight or ten or twelve or fifteen cents a member on all the organizations, and hence make the impression on the minds of the juries that after all, no matter how large the amount of the award, it would be a mere bagatelle which all would bear.

The American Federation of Labor realized that the onslaught upon the Hatters involved a principle and that the Hatters could not alone bear the expense of such litigation; and as a consequence the Federation took up the case where the Hatters were almost compelled to abandon it for want of financial resources, and undertook to carry it up to the higher courts

and then to pay the costs in the legal presentation of the defense before the courts.

My only purpose in rising at this time is to impress upon the minds of the delegates the utter futility of attempting to meet that phase of the case which would pledge the Federation to bear the costs of the award. You could not do it, and if you did it you would be simply inviting additional litigation of this character by any employer or business man who felt or imagined he had a grievance and could present it in a suit for damages against any of our organizations or unions or our men. My purpose is to warn the delegates of this convention against a very injurious and perhaps dangerous proposition.

Delegate Ryan (J. P.)—Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: I take it we are gathered here to-day to do that which will be beneficial to the trade union movement. The reason I rise to my feet is because of the fact that the delegate who just preceded President Gompers said that one of two things had to be done, that we had either to repeal the Sherman Anti-Trust law or amend it. He did not say how he should amend the law. Although I have not been prominent in this movement I have been identified with it for years, and I want to give some suggestions that may be beneficial to you in your deliberations.

As you all know, prior to the Sherman Anti-Trust law we had the common law conspiracy; that is, where two or more persons gathered together to do an unlawful act or a lawful act by unlawful means they were guilty of conspiracy under the common law. Now the trust conspirators can get in his office and so conspire that you cannot reach him. He has his blacklist that nobody can find anything about; but repeal the anti-trust law if you will and he is absolutely safe to do his own sweet will.

Now about labor organizations. You know there are many of them and that sometimes after our meetings our deliberations have been spread broadcast and have reached the ears of our enemies so that they are unable to get at us at once while we are prevented from getting any remedy against them. You can see at once, taking a safe and sane view of this thing, that if you repeal the Sherman Anti-Trust law, full of flaws as it is, you

can see where we could be held guilty while the trusts could go on their way rampant and destroy us. Now assume that you amend the law will you be in any better position? I say that before you propose any amendment—I don't know what the Executive Council has in mind, but I know they will thresh it out well before making a proposition that will reduce us to a worse condition—some amendment should be found that will prevent its being applied to organizations of labor. Suppose that were done and it went up to the Supreme Court of the United States what would be the decision? I believe Mr. Mulholland will agree with me that undoubtedly they would say it was class legislation and that the law was unconstitutional.

Now there are two kinds of arguments, the argument to the man and the argument to the thing. We must strike at the root of the evil. I must admit at this time that I do not know how that law should be amended; but I know there is some way out of it and I hope you will weigh well your actions before you attempt to repeal the Sherman Anti-Trust law. That law should have been known as the Edmunds law, because Senator Edmunds really drew the act. When it was drawn there was a proposition, I believe by Senator George of one of the Southern States, to eliminate from the law the labor organizations. They refused that thing over and over; it was said if that was done it would be an unconstitutional law. I know and feel there is some way out of this situation, but I have full faith that when the American Federation of Labor comes to propose an amendment it will be one that will stand and we will have a remedy complete and adequate against these encroachments on our rights.

Delegate Rowe—I do not believe we ought to waste much more time in a discussion of the Sherman Anti-Trust law. The majority voters of the United States have elected a Democratic President. You have a Democratic House, you are going to have a Democratic Senate, and you have been promised that all these laws of which labor has complained are going to be remedied, they are going to remove this porous plaster application by the United States Supreme Court of the Sherman Anti-Trust law. According to the press of the country a special

session of Congress will be called in April. If we indulge in talk from now to April it will not bring about a meeting of the United States Congress at an earlier date. The people who have confided in the Democratic party, I believe, can afford to wait patiently on their promises.

I therefore move that the address of Attorney Mulholland and the remarks of President Gompers be printed verbatim in the minutes of this session and be printed in pamphlet form and distributed gratis to the various organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for the enlightenment of their constituents. (Seconded by Delegate Ryan).

President Gompers—Might the chair suggest that you withdraw the motion for the time being?

Delegate Rowe—Yes.

President Gompers—One of the reasons is that thus far I have not addressed the convention upon this subject, and I do hope to be able to say something upon it.

Delegate Furuseth—There is another reason why it should be withdrawn for the time being, and probably withdrawn altogether, that is if anybody here has any desire to run away from this question.

Delegate Biggs—Of course it is all right to stand by the Hatters, that is our duty, but this is just on the face. What we want to do is to get at the bottom of this thing, to destroy the source of this trouble. And how can we do it? I don't believe we can get any amendment to the Sherman Anti-Trust that will exempt the labor organizations from its provisions, and if we do get such an amendment it would take a very long time; but I do believe if we were to go into a crusade throughout the country for the repeal of the law, not because it applies to you men, but on the theory that the Supreme Court has read into that law language Congress did not put into it. If we appeal to the country at large for the repeal of the law we would get men back of us, small business men and others, who have been ground fine by the trusts under the interpretation these judges have given of the law and the language that has been read into it that Congress did not put there. If we do that we will have a better show to have the Sherman Anti-Trust law repealed

rather than have it mended to exclude voluntary organizations like the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Brais—There is something further than the empty effect of this law, there is a cause. It seems to me the trade unions stand in a very peculiar position; we want the protection of the law, yet the trades unions are trying to dodge responsibility. It seems to me an incorporation law that would make the trades union legal before the law should be one of the points touched on. Then we would have a standing before the bar to stand for our rights and justice. The small business men the previous speaker mentioned are for the Sherman Anti-Trust law. The small business men are being ground between the trusts and the so-called labor trusts. We all know the trend of industry is towards centralization, towards combination, and the big corporations of the country want to see the Sherman Anti-Trust law repealed. The small business man does not want it repealed, and don't forget for a minute that the small interests are not going to stand for the repeal or the amendment of the law because it would affect their business. It works against the big trusts and they are all against the big trusts. The big trusts want to see the law repealed because it interferes with their progress. The trusts are here, they are here to stay. They claim it is a law against progress because it prevents the centralization and combination of industry. We find the law as applied to trades unions is injurious. The trades unions are on the one end and the trusts on the other and a large army in the center is fighting against both. I think we should ask to have the Sherman Anti-Trust law done away with entirely and let progress continue as it should continue. A proper incorporation law would do away with this trouble. If we were incorporated the corporation would be liable to damages and not the individual members. The incorporation of trades unions has been a subject of discussion for years but has never been decided upon. Many of our trades union officials do not know which side to jump.

President Gompers—Will an interruption interfere with your trend of thought?

Delegate Brais—Not at all.

President Gompers—The chair would like to call your attention to the fact that there is a Federal law on the statute

books of the United States providing for the incorporation of any national trade union by providing simply a technical office in the capital of the nation, Washington, D. C. The law has been passed more than twenty years. Any national or international union can incorporate under that law if it so desires.

Delegate Brals—Has that proposition ever been taken up?

President Gompers—Time and time again.

Delegate Brals—Has it ever been decided to do it or not to do it?

President Gompers—Many international unions decided they would not. There are a few national trade unions incorporated under that law.

Vice President Duncan—The law further provides that even if there is an incorporation under that law the incorporation only applies to the District of Columbia and the territories of the nation, not to the states.

Delegate Brals—It is my opinion that before we can solve the problem we are discussing to-day the trades unions will have to assume some responsibility before the law. I am also of the opinion that the Sherman Anti-Trust law must be repealed, and I am sorry to say we must take sides with the trusts and combinations to get it repealed.

At 12.45 the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2 p. m.

## Sixth Day—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 p. m., Tuesday, November 19th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees** — Noschang, Klapetzky, Kline, Huber (Wm.), Strom, Conway, Meyer, Yount, Feengy, Hannahan, Dolan, Dyche, Taggart, Bailey, Bryan (W. E.), Healey (Dennis), Lowe, Powers, Allen, Price, Call, Daly (T. M.), Crane Skemp, Murphy (P.), Whitehead, Gallagher (T. J.), Huddleston, Welch (M. R.), Curtis, Vanderveld, Swick, McGinley, Elyea, Doherty, Fahey, Bryan (F. O.), Bonner, Stokes, Niven, Bates, Spencer, Snellings, Lampa, Bohm, Waldron, Lebowitz.

Vice President Mitchell moved that the report of the Committee on Adjournment be made a special order of business for 11 o'clock Thursday morning. (Seconded and carried.)

President Gompers—Resumption of the discussion on the subject of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and its application to organized labor is in order.

Delegate Furuseth—With some of the things said about the Sherman Anti-Trust law and the courts with reference to it I have very little sympathy because here is an instance in which, in my opinion, the courts have done what the legislative branch of the government instructed them to do. I cannot for the life of me understand what construction you could possibly give to Sections 1 and 2 of the Sherman Anti-Trust law that will not make it an anti-combination law and that will not, of its own necessity,

compel it to be applied to organizations of labor as long as it forbids any arrangement or agreement, in the form of a trust or otherwise, and makes it illegal. I see no possible way out of the application where the courts have gone along—I don't speak just of the rulings that may be made before a jury—but where the Supreme Court has gone is in reading into the law "reasonable" and "unreasonable."

What is a corporation? And I ask your attention for a minute. What is a corporation? It is a person, so created by law, so held by the courts, so that Brown & Company is a person, Green & Company is a person, Black & Company is a person, and the law says that these three persons shall not combine together to hold their goods or that which they have to dispose of at their own terms and conditions with reference to the rest of the world. Now these three corporations join together and they become a trust. There are three persons, if you please. The question is taken before the Supreme Court and it dissolves them into their original component parts.

Now go on with this comparison. Take this line of reasoning, which is the line the law follows and that the court follows. John and Jim and Tom and Joe join together to dispose of their labor power jointly upon conditions prescribed by themselves. They work on some

things that are matters of interstate commerce, and it doesn't make any difference how small their union is, if it be but of three persons, if the work it has to do is to produce something for interstate commerce or that goes into interstate Commerce that little organization comes under the Sherman Anti-Trust law. If somebody wants to go after you, whether your organization be the miners, which is the biggest here, or the carpenters, which is the next biggest, or the smallest local union, if its product goes into interstate commerce it becomes subject to the Sherman Anti-Trust law. And the United States court sitting in any part of the country can call this union before it upon the motion of the District Attorney or upon the complaint of somebody who considers himself injured and the court can dissolve it into persons, as it dissolved the Standard Oil Trust into its separate corporations, as it dissolved the Tobacco Trust into its separate corporations. And it has in its power to send the officials of that organization to prison and to fine them \$5,000 each.

There isn't any question at all as to what this law is. I cannot understand how anybody ever could have conceived of any question as to what it meant, except on one proposition I have always found coming to the consideration of every man, and especially every American working man, and that is that, no matter what you do or permit to be done it is going to turn out all right. That peculiar fatalistic optimism that is the national characteristic has made it impossible to see until somebody gets a very hard bump, such as the Hatters got. But this is not the first time the law has been employed. It was employed in all its severity within twelve months after it was enacted, and you need do no more than to look into the court records to find it was so applied in New Orleans.

Now what is the remedy? There must be an absolutely clear line established between the product of labor which is property, and necessarily is the property of somebody, beginning with being the property of those who made it, and the power which makes it possible to make this property. You must make a clear line of distinction between the real labor power, which is not property but life, and the result of the labor power in opera-

tion, which is property, capable of being owned by somebody.

On that proposition there was introduced in the House of Representatives nine years ago a bill which makes the cleavage absolute and distinct. The bill was considered absolutely tight on that proposition. It takes the working people and labor power absolutely out from under the Sherman Anti-Trust law. It does not do it by exempting labor at all, so far as labor has any property, but it exempts energy, ability to work, the capacity to work, the labor power inherent in man. Nothing was done about it but it can be dug up and made use of.

In the last session of Congress a committee was established by the Senate to investigate into the Sherman Anti-Trust law and what it is doing to modern society. The Senate sat a long time and heard a great many witnesses. It has not so far made a report. There is a possibility that it may make a report upon the lines suggested in this statement of mine; I hope it will; I don't know whether it will or not. All I can say is that I hope it will. The trouble with existing society is this: That it cannot conceive of the worker being without a master. He belongs to somebody all the time. The employer says, "He belongs to me, he is part of my property." He capitalizes him and uses him, and when he is through with him he throws him away. But underlying all these things is this proposition: That the carrying on of a business carries with it a right to so much working power and at such prices and conditions as will make that business profitable.

Then, lo and behold! Among ourselves arises, and you hear it on every side expressed unconsciously, "My union, "My men," "Our men." You hear it right and left. So if he is not the property of an employer he is the property of some combination of working men, not his own combination, not something that arises voluntarily in himself, but something he may be compelled to get in. Or there is a third possibility, and it is growing, the padrone system. Always the poor devil belongs to somebody or something except himself.

Now if you want to write something into the law you can write into it that the man belongs to himself, that he is an individual entity, that he has a right

to affiliate himself with others in the same way and combine with others in the same way as have the fishes of the sea, the birds of the air and the animals in the field. And if you will write that into the law so as to protect him from those who undertake to be the masters, no matter what they call themselves, you will have accomplished something that will cure this trouble finally and make it possible for the individual man to live his own life as he should be permitted to live it.

Delegate Heberling—We can go back a few years and see that year after year the courts of this country have arrogated a little more power to themselves and have enslaved the workers little by little until we have come to this momentous question in regard to the Hatters. In 1894, in Colorado, while there was a peaceful assembly composed of citizens of the state discussing a strike that was on at that time, and it was an open meeting, men with bayonets surrounded the hall, took the citizens off to the city and incarcerated them in jails. Some of them were held more than thirty days before they allowed them to have bail, because they assembled to listen to the statements of men who were strikers. There has never been any redress for that to the workers.

A little later on we saw in the same state men taken away from their families and homes and deported; we saw the commissary departments and stores destroyed by the powers that controlled the government. And I want to say to you the courts never returned a dollar of that; it was left to the legislature of Colorado to return to the miners by an act of the legislature some sixty thousand dollars for damage that was done the commissary department that was to keep women and children from starving.

The courts are arrogating to themselves a power that, in my mind, the constitution never intended them to have. We find from the statement made by the eloquent attorney who defended the Hatters that they have gone so far as to take away from the workers their homes and their savings, and when they have that power they can take away from you the right to strike. This question is far deeper, to my mind, and far broader than the Sherman Anti-Trust law, it is a question of the liberty of the citizens of this nation. If a judge by decree can

read into a law that you must spend your money for an article that is obnoxious to you, that you do not want, then you have no business to have money in your pocket because it is not yours, it is beyond your control if that can be done, and it now appears it is what they have attempted to do.

In all I have read in the history of the past, in the history of nations that flourished and fell, there is no greater crime committed than to take the home away from an honest man who in his old age is not able to work any more to satisfy the arrogance of the money power of this country. It should be the duty of every working man in this country to insist upon laws being enacted to have the recall of judges if necessary if they will not do the right thing. We have in this country a class of men who have no sympathy with the toilers of the nation. They have received large salaries from the corporations and it is impossible for them to know the wants or know what justice would mean to the rank and file of the citizens of this country that produce the wealth of the country. And those are the men who are given a life tenure of office in this republic of ours. They set aside the will of legislatures. In Colorado they have disfranchised the people of the sovereign state. After a Governor of that state was elected by a conceded majority of 10,000 and inaugurated the Supreme Court set him aside and a man served in the office who was not elected by the people. We have seen those things come to pass. Now if step by step this has been done in the past, step by step you will be enslaved by the action of the court. We have seen men without trial by jury put in jail although they committed no crime. Other men have been put in jail for standing up and giving a public opinion; and we have got before us in the labor movement a case where they have been attempting to put in jail three prominent men in the labor world, three men present in this hall to-day, because they exercised the right of free speech that each and every one of us believes was guaranteed to us by the constitution of the United States.

The great trouble with the people of this country to-day is that they are too indifferent. If a union is attacked you forget the principle that is involved. If

the Hatters or any other organization is unjustly dealt with it should be to the interests of every working man in this country to see that the wrong is righted. If the Sherman Anti-Trust law is unjust it should be repealed. Each decision is getting a little worse as far as labor is concerned, and it appears that a majority of the judges who have had to do with labor disputes in this country were controlled by the money powers and the employing class; and if it is settled to be a fact that a working man cannot buy with what he earns a product that suits him then we are not free. And it is going down the line until the day will come when they will disfranchise you as they have done in some of the states for certain things.

I want every man to go out of this convention and be active and energetic in declaring the rights of the citizens; and if the courts of the United States will stand out against the liberties and the rights of the people of a republic, if they will use coercive measures against the liberties of the citizens, then we will take measures, if need be, to amend the constitution of the United States so that we can put a brake on this power that has been arrogated by a few men who put other men in jail without trial by jury. The day will come when these wrongs will come home to every working man if they are allowed to continue. I want to thank you for your kind attention.

Delegate Gold—I move that this convention go on record that the American Federation of Labor is in no way responsible, directly or indirectly, for the liabilities of the Danbury Hatters.

President Gompers—It is within the right of the delegate to not only make the motion but insist upon it. Before he continues the chair would suggest that the entire subject matter, when the discussion is closed, be referred to the Committee on President's Report. Then the Committee will report to this convention. If the report does not meet with the approval of this convention it is subject to amendment or change. In the meantime it would be better to permit the committee to work out its own proposition in its own way.

Delegate Gold—This means I must bring it before the committee.

President Gompers—The chair suggests that you withdraw the motion temporarily, and if the committee's report does not

meet your views you can offer that as an amendment.

Delegate Gold—I withdraw it.

Delegate McDonald (D.)—In discussing the Sherman Anti-Trust law it is a difficult matter to do so without also discussing the attitude of the court in connection therewith, and I believe our objection is based more especially on the position, the attitude of the courts than on the Sherman Anti-Trust law itself. And reviewing the attitude of the court after just reading the "History of the Supreme Court," written by Gustavus Meyers, and reading "Eig Business on the Bench," written by Mr. Connolly, and other works along that line I am inclined to the belief that unless we can find some other method of selecting our judiciary it will be almost immaterial what kind of laws we have on the statute books, and immaterial whether we amend the Sherman Anti-Trust law or not.

The Sherman Anti-Trust law was not intended, so far as the great bulk of the people were concerned, and many of our leading legal lights have said it was not intended to apply to labor, it was intended to curb the powers of the great corporations and trusts. And since the attitude of the court has been expressed I am rather inclined to the belief it was a very clever scheme on the part of the trusts to get the law on the books and then have the Supreme Court rule on it and include labor, get labor in the net, while the trusts that are supposed to have been "busted" are doing business at the same old stand.

When the Standard Oil Company was prosecuted under the Sherman Anti-Trust law as being a combination in restraint of trade—after it was "busted" and you could see the pieces flying through the air—the stock went up on the New York stock market. When the Tobacco Trust was "busted" they started putting in more United Cigar Stores. We find other cases where the Sherman Anti-trust law was used apparently to "bust" the trusts and the trusts profited by it. Now we find that after they have "busted" the trusts the Supreme Court has taken upon itself the privilege to read the word "reasonable" into the law we find the concerns it was originally intended to curb have escaped and the people not supposed to be affected are the victims of the law.

I maintain it is not so much a question of the legal phase of the matter as the decisions rendered by the courts thereon. If we look into the history of the men who have occupied positions in the Supreme Court of the United States and the various states we will find they have had their training as corporation lawyers. We find that many of the men sitting in federal courts were recommended for those positions by the financiers, the Steel Trust, the railroad interests and others. I have not heard of one of them being appointed that was endorsed by the common people of the country. It means that the men in control of our industrial institutions to-day, the men this law was intended to curb, are the ones that have been instrumental in putting the men on the United States Supreme Court bench and the federal benches. They get their training as attorneys for railroad interests, trustified interests, and like the rest of us they are only a product of their surroundings. Men who have been surrounded by corporation interests, employed to defend railroads and other large corporations when damage suits are pending, we find are still occupying the same position on the bench when handing down decisions in reference to this and other laws on the statute books.

What is the remedy? We all want a remedy. Whenever the men who have the power to appoint these men to a life term job, without the possibility of recalling them, realize that the American people in registering their protest are no longer going to tolerate men sitting on the bench in this country who have been recommended by the money interests, the landed interests and the vested interests, and when the people demand their recall there will possibly be a way out of this proposition. But I fear very much, even if you are instrumental in repealing or amending the Sherman Anti-Trust law they will find some other law to nail labor to the cross.

When the Taff-Vale decision was rendered in England the workers protested by sending 58 members to the next Parliament. And whenever the people of this country, regardless of their political affiliations or anything else, realize their powers, and when we get one of those lemons handed to us by the courts we will wake up at the next election and register

our protest, they will discontinue this practice of nailing labor to the cross at every opportunity.

I find in going over this "History of the Supreme Court of the United States, and article "Big Business on the Bench," there are scarcely any men sitting in the federal courts of this country or in the Supreme Court of the United States, and in very few instances in the State Supreme Courts, that were not when practicing attorneys fighting for these interests, and they are put in there for the express purpose of giving labor the worst of it and defending the men who originally employed them. Not only that, but some men were placed on the Supreme Court of the United States who had brothers and relatives directly interested in the concerns, and they would not be good brothers to the other fellows if they rendered decisions against them.

We may disagree on some of the technicalities, but we all agree there is something wrong, and if we adopt the same policy our British brothers adopted a few years ago when the courts there laid hold of the funds of the engineers in what is known as the Taff-Vale decision, and send about seventy-five labor representatives to the next Congress of the United States they will sit up and take notice, and not until that time.

The organization with which I am connected is now being sued for \$750,000. The Danbury Hatters' Case was very ably presented this morning, and after those cases, if there is another organization that begins to assert its power they will bleed us and take our funds every time an organization is able to make a reasonable fight for its membership. I will positively refuse to go to the ballot box and endorse anyone for a position who has been found guilty of putting men on the Supreme Court bench who have been employed previously in defending the interests of "big business." I wish everyone would read the books I have referred to. I find there where men who had defended railroad corporations were on the bench when women sued for damages. In one instance a woman who sued a railway company was taken into court, this man who acted as the corporation lawyer said she was shamming; the court abused her; she got fifty or sixty dollars damages and a few weeks after died of her injuries. I want



to say we have seen too many of that stripe sitting on the Supreme Court bench. We ought to have the recall, not only for the lower courts but for the highest courts in our land. Destroy this principle and privilege that has been granted the chief executive of the nation to put men on the bench for life, largely because of the fact that they are endorsed by the great legal combinations.

There is only one way we can make a vigorous and successful protest and that is by combining. We will do it in time. Let us have a few more cases like the Danbury Hatters Case, the miners sued for \$750,000, and the officials of the American Federation of Labor threatened with jail, and we will wake up and make our protest the only place it can be successfully made, at the ballot box.

Delegate Hayes (F. J.)—Mr. Chairman, this is one of the most important questions the American Federation of Labor has to deal with. The very future of this great labor movement is at stake in this great issue. If the employers of labor have the right to take away the property of the workmen for standing out for better conditions of employment and higher wages, then the future of this great humanitarian movement is threatened. This is essentially a great political question, and the remedy is to found in political action. The courts of this country have usurped the power time and again of the executive and legislative branches of our government. The power of the courts should be curbed by Congress. The Supreme Court of nine men should not have the power and the authority, and would not in a real democracy, to set aside the wishes of ninety million people, to set aside the wishes of both houses of Congress. And yet they have that power. We are far behind Great Britain and Germany in so far as social legislation is concerned, in so far as protecting our rights is concerned, and I say to you, the working class of America should rise and should hold protest meetings all over this country calling the attention of the workers to these wrongs.

The United Mine Workers of America has been sued, and the officers of it, for \$750,000, and the strike that was inaugurated in the mining regions of West Virginia was not inaugurated by the offi-

cials, but the oppression became so severe down there the miners themselves came out on strike. After they came out we naturally supported them and enrolled them in our organization. And now because they are part of our organization we are held responsible and they are trying to take away from us the little property we have—I don't think it is very much; I know I haven't any—in the courts of this country; and if they can do it in the Danbury Hatters' Case they can do it in the United Mine Workers' case and in every other case, and they will destroy by this method the militant character of the American labor movement. Men will be afraid to go out on strike, men will be afraid to place on the unfair list the product of scab labor, and our movement here in America will be destroyed by the courts of the land.

It is largely a question of interpretation of the law. The trusts have not been seriously disturbed under the operation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law. On the contrary, they have increased their capitalization from three billions about eight years ago to thirty-five billion dollars today. The Sherman Anti-Trust law has not affected the increase of the trusts in the least, and the Supreme Court, true to its class character, wrote into that law the word "reasonable." They said that reasonable trusts could not be disturbed, and if there is any more reasonable organization in the world, any organization that has higher principles than the American labor movement, I have yet to see it. If it is reasonable for a few of these industries to combine, and the Supreme Court has so decided, ought it not to be reasonable for this great labor movement that has for its purpose the uplift of men and women of toil, making life sweeter and better and brighter for the men who produce the wealth of the world, to exist? If there is any more reasonable set of men in the world than are to be found in this American Federation of Labor, I do not know where they are.

If you remember these questions, my friends, on election day and go to the ballot box and vote to send men from your own ranks to make your laws, men who have lived your lives, men who know your needs and aspirations, those men and those influences that control our

courts to-day will not be in evidence. Such was the history of the trade union movement in Great Britain. The Taft-Vale decision levying on the funds of the British trades unionists aroused those men and they went to the ballot box and sent men from their ranks to Parliament. Then this evil disappeared. I say to you men to-day that some action should be taken towards calling protest meetings in every town where there is a branch of the American Federation of Labor. Let us decide here to-day upon some constructive policy. Let us not merely talk, but let us make a protest that will be heard from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to the Gulf. Let us show the plutocrats of this nation that we are aroused and that in the name of humanity we demand justice for the men and women who toil.

Delegate Kemper—Mr. Chairman and Delegates to this convention: I want to say first that we are with the Hatters in this fight just as we were at the inception thereof. We are also in favor of the American Federation of Labor and the entire American labor movement doing all in its power to eliminate from the Sherman anti-trust act that part which applies to organized labor, knowing it is a menace. We are also in favor of electing our own legislators instead of sending our lobbyists and pleaders to the different legislative bodies begging them to enact some legislation which will be of benefit to the laboring class. We believe that if we had men from our own ranks in these legislative bodies the other would be superfluous.

The Hatters case has demonstrated to us the necessity of a closer affiliation of all the workers of this country, not only in the economic but also in the political field. We have been flimflammed long enough by the different parties who have been in power from time to time making promises but fulfilling none of them. It is time for us here to decide upon some line of policy whereby we can obtain better results than we have achieved up to the present time. I personally feel that if anything of that kind had been done heretofore we would not be confronted here with a case of this nature. To think it is possible in this advanced stage of our civilization that men and

women and families could be deprived of their private property because of the fact that they had refused to buy a certain article! If we buy that article they skin us, and if we don't buy that article they take what we have got away from us! This is the condition confronting us at the present time. And why? Because we ourselves have been so blind to our own interests all this time.

What good does it do us to go into a campaign and fight for either one of the parties that up to this time have been predominant? Not one iota of good. It does not do us any good, it is immaterial whether a Democratic or a Republican governor or president, or a Democratic or a Republican legislature, a Democratic congress or Republican congress legislates against us or send their trusted henchmen and police against us whenever we arise to protest against oppression or any condition we deem intolerable.

I will go further in this and say we are also in favor of electing the judiciary. We do not believe the judiciary should be appointed by somebody who has simply the power, and that judiciary afterwards misconstrue the laws that have been made, in some instances on the face of them appearing as though they were in our favor, and afterwards so applied as to be absolutely against us. We know that all these things cannot be brought by mere resolutions nor can they be brought about by lobbying. In this instance we feel it is our duty here and now to pledge ourselves that we will in future see to it that men from our ranks, men representing our ideas, men knowing the needs of the workers will be put into the different Legislatures, into the Congress and Senate of the United States and into the judiciary.

We complain of the operation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law. And who is more responsible for that law than we the citizens of this country? We have made it possible; it is only through our own action it is made possible that such a law could be enacted in the first place, that amendments thereto could be introduced in the second place, and that judges are appointed who interpret it and interpret it according to the wishes of their masters, in the third place. It is only natural that each servant shall serve his master; and because of the fact that the Federal judges

and the different judges can be appointed by those in power makes it positive they will serve those who put them there. And that is what we are doing every day, and the longer we continue it the more reason will we have to complain, and I hope that at this convention some steps will be taken to alter this mode of procedure, or at least that some measure be taken by which organized labor will exercise its franchise in the right direction.

If we went out on election day as we do on Labor Day and marched in one united phalanx to the polls, and deposited our votes, not for any one of the old political parties, for they have not at any time shown a desire to aid us, but would march there in a solid phalanx, cast our votes for candidates pledged to do that which we deem to our interests, then we would achieve the results we are looking for. But until that time we have no complaint to make and we have no kick coming. Until such time as we are ready and willing and courageous enough to get out in the open and declare ourselves and vote as we strike, we should sit idly by and let them do as they choose.

Delegate Gillespie (G. W.)—After hearing the discussion of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, after having studied the labor conditions of our country and knowing that we within ourselves are responsible for our conditions, being sovereign citizens, having the right of franchise, having the right to exercise the franchise, and by exercising the franchise having put in power men antagonistic to our labor movement, men who have the greed for gold, men who try to see who can accumulate the most of this world's goods—when we consider these conditions and then protest against the laws made by men put in power by our votes, it is no less than the echo of our franchise rebounding against our own citizenship and the privileges we should exercise through our own franchise.

When we looked over the Federationist in October we saw advertised in that journal a few of the political parties, and one in particular which has been swept into power, that would make this agitation here unnecessary. It was advocated that if this great party went into power they would give us the legislation we needed. If that is the case why should we agitate throwing the Sherman Anti-Trust

Law into the limbo of the past, for with a Democratic Congress and Senate would it not be possible for Mr. Woodrow Wilson as President of the United States to give us the legislation necessary even without any agitation or any lobbying committee paid by the wage slaves and maintained in the city of Washington?

Vice-President O'Connell in the chair.

Vice-President Hayes—I have noticed that previous speakers here to-day advocate political action. I have heard the ballot box mentioned frequently, and I want to express my approval of all those gentlemen who urge action at the ballot box. It is a pleasure to notice that all who have spoken endorsed the policy decided upon by the American Federation of Labor, for I take it that these speakers in their remarks about political action and voting, favor the policy of the American Federation of Labor. I assume this, because this is a convention of trade unionists; we were elected as trade unionists and it is the money of trade union treasuries that sent us here to legislate in support of trade union principles, trade union policies and trade union protection.

At the time the decision was handed down by the United States Supreme Court declaring that the Hatters' Union was subject to prosecution under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-trust Law, the American Federation of Labor enunciated with particular emphasis its political policy, which if persisted in will lead to the amendment of the Sherman Anti-trust Law and also lift from the shoulders of organized labor the burden of other laws that discriminate against labor unions. This policy is that we should place in the state legislatures and in the Congress of the United States men of character, courage and ability, from our own ranks, and whenever the opportunity presents itself, to support men who are in close touch with the needs and desires of the working people and who are free from the domination of wealth. I believe in the political policy of the American Federation of Labor for the welfare of the working men and no other political policy. We have not gone "begging" to the law makers. The American Federation of Labor can show more practical results from its efforts to secure favorable legislation, than those who would disclose and disparage our policy. The

American Federation of Labor has past achievements to build upon and from practical experience it can point the way, so what is all this talk about ballot boxes and voting—what is meant? The policy of the American Federation of Labor? That is what we are here to promote. When you talk in this remote way about political action and standing together, etc., state what you mean, state what political party you want us to support. If it is the one with which some of the previous speakers are identified, I won't support it. Trade unionism has proven to me that it is capable of doing things, and those who preach against it, or try to beguile men away from it, have never shown me anything but the talk intended to lead men away from it. If there is any one here anxious to advance the interests of a political party, he should go to the convention of that party and not try to divert the labor movement toward any political party. I have read criticism since I have been here about trade unionists and trade union officials; if I were one of those who expressed or inspired such statements I would leave town in the middle of the night. I respect and will uphold every man who works for the trade union movement. I can not forget what a trade union has done for me, or what it has helped me to do for others.

We have heard here of partisan politics and ballot boxes. I tell you it is not partisan politics, whether Republican, Democratic, Socialist or Prohibitionist, but it is the heart and brain of men which are at fault. Politics will not change human nature and no opposition against each other here will change it. What is required is sincere action along the line which our best judgment tells us is the most effective.

This is the place to join in an effort to have trade unionism expand and grow, not for division. This is not the place for division; it is the place to talk cohesion. No matter what our politics are, we should not preach them here. Here we should be trade unionists and nothing else. I am glad that the trade unionists here are not men of weak faith, we are not men of weak heart; we have fought oppressive capital and it can not be said that trade unions have been the losers. You have got to wait for the years to come to complete the history of

what trade unions have done. Some of you who have grown impatient, blame our methods, when those who only give weak or indirect support to trade unionism are most at fault. Let us stand together, line up. The American Federation of Labor has proclaimed, urged and pleaded that wage workers go to the ballot box and vote for real men, men who have been brought up in the school of hard work and know by experience what labor suffers.

I do not believe in class legislation. We talk about the other parties putting corrupt judges on the bench. Suppose we had power to put judges of our own choice on the bench; suppose we had all the power. It would only array all the other people against us and would there not be the same conflict of interests. A broader education is what mankind needs. If bad judges are put on the bench or bad laws are made, it is because the clear light of justice and humanity has not penetrated sufficiently into the brains and hearts of men.

Delegate Walker (J. H.)—I want to reply to a statement that was a criticism of a statement made by myself. This means setting myself right although it has a bearing in the way of argument.

Chairman O'Connell—Do you intend to enter into the discussion?

Delegate Walker—Not a discussion of the case, but to put myself right on a matter I spoke on and that President Gompers made a criticism of. It is a question with reference to the organizations in the American Federation of Labor agreeing to protect the old men and those that are being made the figureheads in the settlement of this dispute. President Gompers said that a statement of that kind did more real injury to the present status of the case than anything that could be done. I do not agree with him on the proposition. I feel it will have the opposite effect. According to the information given us this morning thirty-six of these old men have died and two have gone insane. The chances are that the action of this court hanging over their heads has been the main influence that has murdered those old men and driven two of them insane; and it may be that the same influence will have the same effect on a considerable number of others before this case is settled. Until this question is settled in such a way that the

workers will know they are not going to be subject to that kind of condition, it will act as a deterrent, not only of those within the organization attempting to protect themselves and make progress, but on those outside the organization from coming in. I believe that, and I believe this movement should not countenance any kind of proposition that will mean that influence hanging over those old men, all the members of this organization and those outside who ought to be in.

I believe further, if the statement of President Gompers is true that if it were known that this organization was going to stand behind and protect those men, then every employer would seek the same sort of action with regard to our organizations and mulct them in damages in the same way; it would have just the opposite effect to that conveyed by his statement; it would mean if every man knew this whole labor movement was behind him he would not hesitate to act in securing his rights, making progress or protecting himself. It means, too, that if they want to attack every organization within the Federation in that way there is nothing they could do that would stir up the entire people of our nation to eliminate and wipe out the condition of affairs that makes it possible now, and strip every court of every anarchist that is sitting on the bench at the present time and put real men in their places.

Chairman O'Connell—The chair decides that Delegate Walker cleverly avoided the question of personal privilege.

Delegate Walker—Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Treasurer Lennon—This seems to be an opportunity to talk upon almost anything you desire. I am afraid there may be at least one delegate inclined to go home with the idea that there is some obstacle confronting the labor movement that if not overcome in his particular way will absolutely annihilate the labor movement. My friends, when the militant labor movement of the world began those who participated met on a high hill where their pickets could see in every direction in order that they should not be assaulted and killed upon the spot. When Spartacus made his fight in Rome no doubt there were many who believed that if the things for which they were contending were not secured freedom would be lost to the hu-

man race. But we moved on with the militant labor movement of the world in spite of these things, and we meet here to-day and can as trades unionists express our views on the questions that are of interest to mankind. I have been in the labor movement forty-three years. Oh, yes, many times have I seen things confronting me and the organization of which I was a member, and confronting the other trades unionists of the country, that it seemed to me we must get out of the way in some particular manner; but they did get out of the way after a while, and very often not in my way either.

Now as to this question. Trade unions are going to win this fight, don't you forget it. I know, as does President Gompers, that it was not the intention of the majority of the members of Congress when the Sherman Anti-Trust Law was enacted—it was not the intention of Congress in the main, at any rate—to include within the scope of that law the labor organizations and the labor movement. And we are by this means and by the evolutionary process of the trades union movement and by its educational processes convincing the people by the thousands and the tens of thousands that our view upon this case is correct.

And, my friends, do not be discouraged. The men of the days gone by, the men who first laid the foundations of the labor movement, overcame difficulties so much greater than this that any trades unionists of to-day should be ashamed to even have the idea in his mind that we are not intelligent enough, not militant enough, not insistent enough, not opportunists sufficient to solve this question as we should in the interests of the workers of our great nation.

Delegate Conroy—It occurs to me that the point in this discussion where the truth is about to be told has been reached. We have sat here for several hours listening to the advice and the counsel of men of great experience, men learned in the labor movement, with some hope that a trade union solution of this most obnoxious question would be reached. But, just as has always happened in my few years in the labor movement, some man, when a trade union effort is being made, will say and do that which goes out to the world as a division on the part of labor rather than a united action.

I do not see why any man here should fail to tell the truth. Delegate Hayes made my argument for me. When men we know who have been officials of international organizations for years, men with great responsibilities upon them will enter into a question of such great moment as this, and when approaching the vital point of their arguments drift off into a political discussion without leaving in our minds an impression of just how they want the question solved, I think it is with the intent to deceive and mislead. I know many of the men who have spoken in this manner and I know they represent a political cause in the labor movement of America that never has and never will, in my estimation, join hands with the real labor movement in solving such an important question as this one is.

I don't believe it is out of order for delegates in this convention, after having come hundreds of miles, sent by their constituents to act and legislate honestly in their interests, to tell the truth. Where in this country has the Socialist Party ever joined hands with the labor movement to put labor men in legislative positions?

Delegate Walker (J. H.)—I rise to a point of order.

Vice-President O'Connell—State it.

Delegate Walker—Under the laws governing the American Federation of Labor partisan politics are not to be considered, and an attack on a political party is just as much a violation of that law as an argument being presented in its favor. I raise a point of order on that ground.

Vice-President O'Connell—The point of order is well taken. We will not discuss any political party.

Delegate Conroy—I beg the pardon of the chair and hope that any gentleman taking the floor in the future will be similarly treated.

Delegate Walker—I do not ask any favors of the chair nor of the delegate either.

Vice-President O'Connell—The chair will not grant any favors.

Delegate Conroy—This is not a pleasant duty for me and I am not going to get personal; but the principle represented by some of the delegates is not as I have been taught in regard to trade union principles, and I do not believe they present it to us with any good intention.

If the members of the Hatters' Union, some of whom will probably have to lose their homes, are deserving of our support here is the place to give it to them; and when we take the floor in an endeavor apparently to devise ways and means of supporting them, let us do it out in the open, and if the ballot box is the place—and I am of the opinion that it is—let the trade unionists of the country handle that ballot box proposition. For myself I would have the Executive Council with the leading men of a certain political party get into conference with the end in view of having the organized labor movement go to the ballot box and put labor men in positions. When that time would come the old division would cease.

I believe the constituencies of these men are not at all in accord with the thoughts expressed on this floor. If we are to do business let us do it right. The time has come when the American labor movement must put men in legislative halls, the time has come when legislative action is necessary in our interests. But who are we going to put there? How are we going to do it? The political party that enters the halls of labor unions nightly and the American Federation of Labor yearly? No, they cannot. If a member of that party were to vote for the most honest labor union man in this country he would be immediately expelled from his party. Then where is the sincerity of this advice given us here this afternoon?

I cannot make a motion just now, Mr. Chairman, but I as one delegate believe if the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with the leading men of a certain political party were forced together by this convention we would smack the nigger out of the wood pile and probably get something for the trades unionists of the country.

Delegate Cannon—Mr. Chairman, I am going to try to bring this discussion back to the Danbury Hatters and the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, from which two esteemed members of the Executive Council so skillfully shifted it. Now, Mr. Chairman. I am going to find some fault with the political policy of the American Federation of Labor in connection with this convention. I am going to point out, if I can, wherein that policy might be bettered, and in so doing I realize that I will champion what in this hall seems to be

an unpopular cause and lay myself open to be an unpopular delegate and perhaps a subject for the steam roller. But with all that I deem it my duty upon this occasion to give my views on the subject before us.

Now, in the first place, in the Danbury Hatters' case we are confronted with a condition. It is not a theory. As has been pointed out to you, over thirty of our members against whom these cases are brought are now in a graveyard, some are in an insane asylum, and many of them who are over seventy years of age will no doubt be dead before the case is finally ended. The part of the American Federation of Labor policy against which I propose to bring argument is that in dealing with these conditions instead of dealing with the movement responsible for these conditions, instead of dealing with the parties responsible it deals to a great extent with the individuals responsible; and in dealing with the individuals responsible for wrongs when you are successful in your contention you find you have merely removed an individual to let a like individual get back in his place and perpetuate the indignities against which you protest.

Society is divided. We have an employing class and we have a working class. The employing class has absolute, complete control of the government of this country, of the industries of this country, and, as Delegate Furuseth so ably and brilliantly pointed out this morning, the worker belongs to somebody—and I never was more disgusted in my life than I was a few minutes ago when you cheered because they did belong to somebody. Now according to the laws of the United States, not these laws upon the statute books, if it were the laws upon the statute books we had to deal with we would find some way of counteracting them, it is the law in the mind of the judge that causes the difficulty. A man this morning moved to shut off debate because the Democratic party was coming in. Why, three of the judges are Democrats and they are three of the worst we have to contend with in the Supreme Court.

While I do not agree with Delegate Furuseth down the line I am going to concede that he made the most brilliant and able argument on this question. He pointed out to you that the worker is a chattel

just as is a horse or a mule. The employer who is using your labor does so as his property right, belonging to him to do with almost as he pleases. When the Dred Scott decision was rendered, before the Civil War, it was that the slave had no right the master was bound to respect; and when the Danbury Hatters' decision was written it was that the wage slave had no right the master was bound to respect. And some of those who discussed this question, instead of trying to find a way out, got up and attempted to ridicule the only political party that stands absolutely, solely and wholly for the interests of the working class in the United States.

In England, where they are so backward, England about which we laugh in derision and think how green they are, they had a like experience, as was pointed out by Delegate McDonald, and Delegate McDonald wants to do as they did in England when they sent fifty-eight labor representatives into Parliament, and not only had the Taff-Vale decision repealed, but they put the members they sent into Parliament under pay. And then some of you are insulted at such a suggestion! I wonder why? You ask who to send to Congress to represent you. You ask who you would send to the Supreme Court to render decisions. I will tell you who to send. Send the most able men you have in your labor movement, keep them tied up with the recall and the moment they do anything against your interests pull them out of there.

If this was an army facing another army, and this army selected some of the most able leaders of the other army to lead this army you would be doing exactly what you are doing with the industrial and political situation with which you are confronted.

Now, Mr. Chairman, we have reached the stage in the development of society where we cannot lay the wrongs committed upon individuals. We have passed that stage. Very few of us seem to realize this; but the individuals are not responsible for the crimes they commit, and in this category of crimes I am going to include most of the decisions of the Supreme Court and many of the lower court. It is the complex society in which we live that is responsible for these things; they are not individual wrong doings, they are social wrong doings; they are not the

wrong doings of any particular person, they are the wrong doings of the class of which that person chances to be a representative.

Now there is none of you going to contend, I hope—I will give the delegation credit for having better sense—that this great working class people of the United States are responsible for the moves that were needed to bring about the election of any of the recent Presidents we have had in the United States. The campaigns of these Presidents were financed by the great corporations of the country, and when judges were to be appointed they did not consult the President of the American Federation of Labor or the presidents of any of the international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; they consulted Harriman. Rockefeller, Morgan and other men and judges to their liking were selected to fill the positions. There is but one way you can command the respect of your opponents and that is by fighting, and fighting like hell. You cannot get their respect by allying yourself with them, by dividing your forces and giving half of your strength to that arm of the capitalist party called the Democratic Party and the other half of that arm called the Republican Party, you will have to get a working class party and the stronger it is the better you will be off in the end.

Delegate Furuseth—Will the speaker answer a question?

Delegate Cannon—Certainly.

Delegate Furuseth—Suppose you could get a law that would add this dividing line, that there is property as such and life and its attributes as such, do you think you would have a remedy against the present situation?

Delegate Cannon—In the Danbury hatters' case?

Delegate Furuseth—Yes, or in any similar case.

Delegate Cannon—I believe if we would send fifty members of the American Federation of Labor down to the next Congress they would forget all about the Danbury Hatters' case, they would drop it like a red hot coal. We must show them our strength. They may do as President Gompers suggested, bring the fight upon one union after another. This brings to my mind another policy of the A. F. of L. I will not approve, and one which if adopted will not cause me to

hold my head high; I will hold it down. If this convention does not go on record as standing irrevocably behind the Hatters I think they will be disgracing themselves. Those men in carrying on the struggle to try to better their condition have been chosen as the victims. Nobody contends they have committed any crime; nobody will stand up and say they violated any of our laws. No, it is the old struggle between the employer and the employee; the Danbury Hatters were selected as the victims, and if the employers succeed in that case they will go down the line, whether you stand behind them or not, and if you give up the support of those men we might as well surrender our charter and try some other method.

The Sherman anti-trust law was passed in 1890. Within three months after its passage, perhaps within one month, I read an editorial in the Philadelphia Record which stated that if after a complete application of the Sherman anti-trust law it would be discovered that it applied only to the labor unions of the country it would be quite a joke—and you fellows are the butt of the joke! The Standard Oil Company under the Sherman anti-trust law was fined \$29,000,000 and released from paying the fine. The Tobacco Trust was dissolved, and within a few months after the dissolution of that trust its stock was worth \$350 a share, about twice as much as it was worth when the dissolution took place. When the Standard Oil Company was dissolved its stock was about \$650 a share. At the writing of this article in September this year it was worth \$1,000 a share. Now that is a "reasonable" application of the Sherman anti-trust law. When the Danbury Hatters' case was taken up under the Sherman anti-trust law the Hatters were fined, not only the amount of money for which they were sued, but three times that amount, which with the expenses of the attorneys and the expenses of the trial amounted to more than \$240,000. That is an unreasonable application of the Sherman anti-trust law.

Yes, labor is the joke, the biggest joke, and the attitude of a great many is that they want to continue the joke instead of trying to get out of the hole the other fellow has put them in. If the workers of this country get together and organize their union more thoroughly and more



firmly, and then at the same time organize the workers' political party and begin to go to this government you will find a changed attitude on the part of the court towards labor, organized and unorganized. At the present time you cannot go into a court possibly in the United States, and especially a federal court, and get something for labor. Labor loses all the time. At the present time the attitude of the people of the United States toward the court is one of reverence; but if they only studied the history and the works of these courts they would soon find out there was nothing in them deserving of their reverence. If they would get the history of the Supreme Court spoken of by Duncan McDonald, read it, and then let every local union put canvassers in the field and educate the people, the people would soon understand the real meaning of the United States Supreme Court. And unless people understand that court and its ramifications that court will continue to put labor under foot.

Sometimes when you bring up technicalities from which they cannot get away you will win in these courts, but only to have the case started all over again. We have the case of the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor pending, God knows how many years, and we have been spending thousands of dollars defending it. The Danbury Hatters case has been pending for ten years and tens of thousands of dollars have been spent. That is one of the policies those courts have in view in this persecution—I refuse to call it prosecution—and the only remedy is a united front to the enemy every place we can meet them; not only to go on strike, but to go to the ballot box—and if you give me my preference I would say to the Socialist party—but I am big enough and broad enough to meet with you and try to find out what is the best way we can accomplish our purpose.

Delegate McCauley—I feel somewhat timid about rising to speak, because so far as I am aware I am the first woman delegate to speak on the floor. I have listened attentively to the various addresses on the subject before the convention and have been very much interested. I have regretted to hear the American Federation of Labor criticised for the policy advocated during the last

campaign, which advised all trades unions to stand by our own friends and to defeat our enemies. I was inspired by that word from the American Federation of Labor to such an extent that, as President of my local, the Commercial Telegraphers of Buffalo, I had the temerity to go among other labor organizations of that city and appeal to them to support the candidate running for Congress from the Forty-fourth District who was a member of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union, Hon. Charles Bennett Smith, who served in Congress the last two years. He was running for the same position this year, and I found not only sympathy among the trades unionists of other organizations there, but when the polls were opened on the 5th day of November, the trades unionists stood behind the trade union candidates and elected Congressman Smith and sent him back to Washington for two years more.

I would like to say to the trade unionists of all organizations that if they would be as active as the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America during a political campaign and elect trades unionists to the state legislatures and to Congress they would be doing good work. The Commercial Telegraphers' Union has three representatives in what is called the labor group of fifteen in Congress. James McDermott of Illinois, William J. Carey of Wisconsin and Charles Bennett Smith of Buffalo. I don't think you can find fault with the action taken on any bill affecting labor in Congress of any of these three gentlemen. I desire to say again that I wish all trades unionists would stand for and by and back of trades unionists and put them into positions, even to the presidency, where they can be of assistance to us. Then we can expect remedies for these evils of which we have heard so much.

I regret to say that in the campaign to which I have referred when I appealed to members of a so-called labor party to stand back of the members of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union I found no sympathy whatever, and I question it if our candidate received one vote from any member of that party, however well meaning they may have been. When they had candidates of their party our telegraphers voted for them, and I advised them to do so regardless of party, saying

If a man was a trades unionist he deserved our support and we gave it to him.

Delegate Curran—I think attention ought to be called to the fact that visitors and guests should take no part in the proceedings; that at least they should not cheer some of the speakers and hiss others from the gallery. They have been admitted here and they are to take no part whatever for or against any proposition; they are here merely as listeners.

Chairman O'Connell—The visitors, while perfectly welcome to be with us, are requested to take no part whatever in the debate.

President Gompers—Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: I may be all wrong in thinking that when advice is given, founded upon palpable truth, unquestionable truth, it ought to have some influence upon the minds of the delegates to this convention. If our attorneys, retained by the authority of the American Federation of Labor to defend the Hatters in the suit brought against them—and not only for the Hatters, but in defense of the principles for which our movement is contending—I say if our attorneys ask the officers and other representatives of the American Federation of Labor to testify to the fact that the Federation has not pledged itself to pay the award which a jury may give to Loewe, if the argument of the attorneys for the plaintiff will not only show that this great combination—using their term—was engaged in the boycott against Loewe & Co., but further that this great combination had pledged, and would pledge, the payment of any award which a jury might give, if that is the position which is sought to be presented to the jury from each side of this controversy, it does seem to me we ought to profit by the experience and govern our course accordingly.

I will not have any man place me in the position of lacking in sympathy or lacking in practical aid, not only with the Hatters, but with any man or set of men engaged in the struggle for their rights and for human liberty. In so far as I am personally concerned and affected, I will go as far as any man can and to the limit of any means I may have and can scrape together; but the question of this Federation going on record pledging to the Hatters the payment of the award

would not only be dangerous to the Hatters' interest in the case still pending upon appeal, but I repeat that it would be inviting litigation by other employers of labor and other associations, the National Association of Manufacturers and the so-called American Anti-Boycott Society. So much for that.

A Delegate—I think Delegate Cannon—in beginning his remarks upon the subject said that two vice-presidents of the American Federation of Labor and delegates to this convention skillfully avoided discussion on the real merits of this subject under consideration. Now I ask you to contemplate just for a moment what contribution he made toward the solution of the question now before us. And, after all, that is the question. I take a great deal of satisfaction in having recommended to the Executive Council and the adoption by the Executive Council of the recommendation to this convention that this day be given over to a discussion of this one question.

Delegate Frey of the International Molders' Union called attention to the fact that in the Roman Assembly, Cato, in season and out of season, called attention to the one specific thing which endangered the existence of Rome. And he sought to make, and did make, the application here to this question of presenting in every assemblage of labor a slogan, a watchword—the Sherman Anti-Trust law must be repealed or amended. With deliberation and with the purpose that this subject should be discussed by this convention was that recommendation made for this discussion to-day.

I was at Washington when the subject of the Anti-Trust law was being discussed, and it was my pleasure and opportunity to have made the acquaintance of a number of Senators who had previously been members of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, Senator George of Mississippi, Senator Blair of New Hampshire, the chairman of the committee, and several others, and it was through my acquaintance with these Senators that I had the opportunity of appearing before several of the committees having the legislation in charge. And it was through the effort of Senator George, who introduced in the Senate, when that bill was under consideration, an amendment that in substance and in direct language exempted from the operations of

the bill then about to be enacted the organizations of the working people and the organizations of farmers; and thereafter a discussion arose and Senator Hoar and Senator George and Senator Edmunds, each of them, upon the floor of the Senate declared that with the adoption of that amendment it would seem that all the reform elements ought to be satisfied. And after the adoption of that amendment by a unanimous, or almost unanimous, vote the bill was resubmitted to the Judiciary Committee, of which Mr. Edmunds was chairman. The bill came back remodeled and that amendment adopted by the Senate was omitted.

I apprehended at the time the danger of such an omission, because I, too, knew something of the history of the struggles of the human family. I knew that the first effort to take away the liberties of the people and entrench privilege still greater, the first attack upon the rights and the liberties of the people, was to destroy their right of association, their right of assemblage, their right of free speech. And I recognized in the Sherman Anti-Trust law the beginning of an effort to take away from the toilers of our country the right of association.

The labor movement was young and almost incoherent in its expression. It had little influence upon the law-making power, and despite my protest it was enacted; but the assurance was also given to me that there was nothing in the law as enacted that would give the courts the right to interpret it so as to apply to the voluntary organizations of the working people. You can imagine that I had little confidence in that assurance when you know, or those of you who have cared to keep informed know, that in 1901 we succeeded in having adopted an amendment to the Littlefield bill strengthening the Sherman Anti-Trust law, an amendment adopted in the House of Representatives with only nine dissenting votes, affirmatively declaring that the Anti-Trust law as it existed and the amendment which was offered did not include the organizations of the working people nor the organizations of farmers that dealt in their own products.

Now when the bill was thus amended by the House of Representatives, the leaders in the party in power had no further interest in the measure. But it

was the amendment proposed by the minority and it passed the house with but nine dissenting votes. There has not been a congress that has held a session from that time until this but that we have been pressing home the demand of organized labor for the guarantee of the right of free association.

When the case was brought against the Hatters the attention of the American Federation of Labor was called to it specifically. During the proceedings upon the appeals to the Circuit Court and to the Supreme Court of the United States your attention was called to it again and again. When the jury awarded the damages to Loewe in the first case your attention was called to it again. The organization's representatives were called into special conference in Washington so that the situation might be presented to them. And while every one knew the case had gone against the Hatters, yet there were very few who ever knew or cared to discuss the question. I have spoken upon this question to a number of the officers of international unions and some of them have said to me, "I doubt that the interpretation given the law has that far-reaching effect you seem to believe." Others have said to me realizing it, "You are right, but I am afraid to tell the men of organized labor of the danger in which they are placed."

How many of the official journals and labor papers have discussed the very essence of this law as now interpreted by the courts? How many have endeavored to arouse their membership to a realization of the dangers by which they are surrounded? It is true some did it, and very ably, too, but others have skimmed over it and sympathized with the Hatters; but as to the taking of action to bring the body of workers of the country and of the continent to a realization of the great wrong, there were not very many who did it.

You remember that when that decision was rendered I undertook to present the question in its essence and in its effect to the working people. An article appeared in the American Federationist for March, 1908. This decision was rendered on February 3,

1908, and in the March issue I published an article under the caption, "Labor Organizations Must Not Be Outlawed—The Supreme Court Decision in the Hatters' Case," in which the matter was fully dealt with and in which the entire essence of the contention was presented, and it was shortly after that when the conference was called. It was held on March 19, 1908, and the conference prepared labor's protest to Congress. Now I want to read the caption of an editorial appearing in the issue of the March, 1910, *Federationist*, merely the caption, "The Hatters' Case. The Sherman Law. Amend It or End It," in which again the history of the legislation which I have tried hurriedly to describe was gone over and the meaning of the decision of the Supreme Court shown.

We are asked, "Why not organize a party or vote with the working men's party?" Apart from the general discussion of that subject, let me say as the question applies to this matter under discussion, so far as I am concerned I am impatient and will not wait with my protest until a party of working men has been entrusted with power. With us this is a vital question and in all your discussions and declarations, even of the party for which you directly claim or indirectly refer, where in one instance was there a declaration of that party to aid the organized labor movement to secure the repeal of this provision of the law as it applies to the trade union movement?

I am exceedingly pleased to have heard this one unanimous chord in the utterances upon the floor of this convention upon the subject, and that is: Let us present a united front! Let us present a united front! Arouse public opinion! Bring pressure to bear! Hold public protest meetings! Well, your late conversion to that which was proposed by the Executive Council more than six years ago and formulated in the conference in Washington over four years ago is pleasant music to hear. The protest conference and the Executive Council asked the labor movement of the country in every locality to hold mass meetings in protest against this interpretation of this decision and demand either the repeal of the law or that our unions, our humanitarian organizations, be exempt from the opera-

tion of the law. Where were you at those protest meetings, you who cry unity now? Where were you? At our meetings? No, on the opposite side or in another hall.

Delegate Cannon—I arise to a point of privilege. Our organization is on record, and the card of every member shows a twenty-five cent assessment levied for the Hatters. We didn't give them hot air.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.)—I stopped in New York City two weeks four years ago and discussed this matter. Possibly you or others can explain where you were.

President Gompers—I wonder whether the point of privilege raised by Delegate Cannon and the interruption of Delegate Hayes had any application to anything I said.

Delegate Hayes—You wanted to know where we were.

President Gompers—Yes, I know. You were elsewhere.

Delegate Hayes—I was in New York City four years ago, Mr. Chairman. That is the question you put to me, and you repeated some of the statements in regard to mass meetings. I spoke in New York City, sometimes at three or four meetings a night, and always took up the Hatters' case and pointed out to the trades unionists of New York the dangers contained in the interpretation of the law.

President Gompers—And in opposition to the policy as formulated by the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Hayes—Do you want me to reply to that?

President Gompers—Not now. I have not interrupted any delegate. You are on the opposite side of every policy enunciated by the American Federation of Labor, just as last Sunday you were in opposition to it.

I repeat that I am very glad to hear these expressions for unity. It is good that they come; but I promise you one thing, so far as I am concerned, either as President of the American Federation of Labor or as an individual union man or as a citizen, you may go off in your political parties just as far as you please without any word of interference or of objection interposed by me; but I have said to you time and again that when you run counter to the principles and the policies of the American trade union

movement as enunciated by the American Federation of Labor, you will at least find me fighting, fighting and fighting you, even unto hell, as Delegate Cannon said.

I do not preach unity in this convention to disprove my statement elsewhere. The thing for which I shall declare in this convention I will do anywhere and everywhere. I hold that it is the duty of the working people of this country to concentrate all their energies, without regard to any other fact, on this one point, to maintain, to secure the rights of our organizations to live.

Now I have said you may have other thoughts, you may have other theories. When men are engaged in the struggle for life they defend themselves and take such action as shall secure that life, without regard to any other theory or any other point to be gained; and I hold it to be the duty of every man who is a union man to subordinate every other thing to save the life of the organized labor movement of our country and our time.

I have heard it said that we go begging and pleading. Well, if any man would go to the committees of Congress and hear the statements made by the legislative committees, by the representatives of international unions, by the representative of the American Federation of Labor, by myself, he would find there is no pleading and there is no begging; it is the assertion, man fashion, of the rights to which the toilers are entitled and upon which they insist. Indeed, Walter Drew, the attorney of the Erectors' Association, one of the bitterest antagonists of organized labor, said last July before a meeting of the Judiciary Committee that he never heard Mr. Gompers make an address or argue before any committee of Congress unless it was accompanied with a threat. And when the opportunity was offered me I admitted that I did threaten, and propose to continue to threaten, the members of Congress with the assertion that if I could help to secure the defeat of men who opposed the legislation labor demanded, I would not only repeat, but emphasize and endeavor to carry that threat into effect. That statement is in print.

I ought to say to you the Sherman Anti-Trust Law has been invoked in the

strike of the men along shore in New Orleans, and a number of them were indicted, although I think for political reasons the indictment was not pressed. In Jacksonville only a year or so ago eighteen union men were indicted under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. They were prosecuted and found guilty, but sentence was suspended. In Kentucky a number of farmers who endeavored to control their own product were indicted, tried, found guilty and sentenced to serve terms of imprisonment. Under that law the sweat shop manufacturers of shirt waists in Philadelphia brought suit against the ladies' garment workers' unions and some good women of means who had the heart to help the workers in their struggle. A suit is pending now, upon which we are taking an appeal, instituted by C. W. Post against the American Federation of Labor and the Buck Stove and Range Company combined as defendants for \$750,000. A suit has been brought against the United Mine Workers of America under it.

Now, what have we done? What have we tried to do? We have tried to arouse public opinion. Four years ago the American Federation of Labor in a conference at Washington decided to enter that campaign and make the question now under discussion the issue of that campaign. And it was made, it was made. You talk about labor men in Congress! Why, don't you know that if John Mitchell had given his consent he would have received the nomination for Vice-President of the United States? But you who speak of unity, you who speak of creating this public conscience, arousing it to the duty of aiding and securing for labor the right of life, would you have voted for John Mitchell for Vice-President?

A Delegate—No.

President Gompers—Of course you wouldn't. Why, when organized labor of Illinois was seriously thinking of nominating John Mitchell for Governor of that state one of the members of his union, an active member of the party for which you are proclaiming, when he advocated that course, only saved himself from expulsion from that party by resigning. And so all through.

You say we have made no progress. Do

you know as a matter of fact that the fight which organized labor made just before and during the campaign of 1908 against Mr. Taft, upon these very contentions, he was defeated in 1912? The other political parties—I will say three, if you please, or four, a few more or less do not make much difference—but the Democratic party and the Republican party and the Progressive party in their platforms included the declaration of the American Federation of Labor; and Mr. Taft for his party ignored the subject and so accentuated it that it aroused the people of the United States as perhaps they were never aroused before; and it is not written in the history of the United States that ever a man who was a candidate for re-election to the Presidency of the United States was so utterly and humiliatingly defeated as Mr. Taft. Twelve million voters, counting the Democratic party, the Progressive party—and say the Socialist party—twelve million votes were cast on November 5th last in favor of the candidates standing upon the platforms containing that demand made by the American Federation of Labor.

And now you have no right, no moral right to say that we have made no progress. Before you make the statement that no progress has been made you should read or re-read the report submitted to you by the Executive Council and by me as to the legislation enacted. Now if you read it and can prove that the statements made by us as to the laws that have been enacted are not true, then you may say we have made no progress. But if you read them and you cannot controvert the statements that progress has been made, that the laws have been enacted to which we have referred, and the progress in legislation still pending, I say that you are not justified in stigmatising our movement and our policy as failures. If you contend—and I hope that you and I and all of us will contend, and continue to contend—that that which we have secured is ours, we shall demand additional legislation, we shall demand additional laws, more laws, more rights, more for the men and women who toil and more opportunities for the children. But in that fight and in that demand don't let us libel ourselves, our intelligence and our movement by declaring

that which we have done is a complete failure.

I desire to impress this upon your minds: No matter how much we may differ upon anything else, to me it is a source of splendid satisfaction that we have to-day attracted the attention of all our delegates to the fact that there is this law which must be amended or ended. If we have done that, if we have secured and riveted the attention of the American labor movement, if we have riveted the attention of the people again to the danger which confronts us, we have done a splendid day's work. Don't for a moment imagine I am fearful there is any power on earth which can dissolve or destroy our movement. No power except ourselves can do that. Our greatest danger is from within, not from without.

If the labor movement depended for its success upon the kindness of others, the patting upon the back, the sympathy of others, we would have gone long ago. The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church, and it is as true in its application to the labor movement as it has been to any other movement on the face of the globe. Try to crush us out by opposition, by hostility, by relentless antagonism and we will stick like a rock, we will stick and fight back. Our only danger is, as I say, from our own shortcomings, our own bickerings, our own divisions. If this movement of America was as united in action as it is in spirit, depend upon it we would have less difficulty in securing the rights for which we are contending.

The bills now before Congress, two of them, passed the House of Representatives. I don't know what the Senate will do, but if it is at all amenable, if it is at all responsive to the protest entered by the people of the United States on November 5th, it will yield and pass these laws. But if it does not it may be true there may be a division in the party coming into power—as was stated by one delegate—and we hope that it will spring from—what? From the desire for our legislation. If that party should divide we cannot get that legislation. I hope at least until our legislation has been enacted it will remain united and give us the opportunity to test it if it will keep its pledges. Thus far it has not had the

opportunity. I am not a member of that political party. I owe allegiance to no political party; I owe allegiance to the trade union movement, and I am going to give it without stint, without hindrance and without limitation.

Now just this one word. I am a trades unionist. I am a trades unionist that yields the field of activity in the interest of labor to no other organization. I am a trades unionist that regards no organization on earth as paramount to the trade union movement. And in that fact, and in that faith, and in that cause, the cause of common humanity and justice I will go on, and go on, and go on until I either drop off my perch or dry up and blow away.

Delegate Cannon—Will you yield to a question, Mr. Chairman?

President Gompers—Certainly.

Delegate Cannon—In the telling of his activities or the activities of the organization, the chairman said he was impatient—speaking of the particular case under discussion—that he wanted to get results and he could not wait until the workers would get united at least politically. That is about the sense of his statement. And then in the very next sentence he tells about his activity before the committees of the House of Representatives and the United States Senate in his efforts to get the Sherman Anti-Trust Law amended. And by his own statement his activity in that particular case is dated back just twenty-two years. How can he reconcile his impatience to get immediate action now with the dilatory results that have been obtained in trying to amend that Sherman Anti-Trust Law?

President Gompers—It is a most interesting and illuminating question, when I endeavored to make clear to this convention the fact that so many of our own fellow trade unionists were lax in their understanding or their knowledge or their activity in trying to secure the remedy we were seeking. It is only within the past few years our fellow working men began to understand it, and I am sure that, entirely disregarding what I may have said on the subject, I think there are quite a number of delegates attending this convention who got some little new light on the question at issue.

Impatient? Yes, I am always impatient. I always want the very best results in the least possible time, and when I get it I am still impatient for more, and more, and more in the interest of labor.

Delegate Walker (J. H.)—I would like to have the statement I make go in the record just at the close of President Gompers' statement so those reading it can understand their relation to each other. While my name was not mentioned it is plain I was the person meant when President Gompers stated that I resigned rather than be expelled from the party. I would like to have the floor now so that both statements can go into the records together.

Chairman O'Connell—If there are no objections, you will have the floor to make that statement.

Delegate Walker—Being a member of that party, to leave the statement as made by President Gompers would leave the party and myself in a false light without the explanation. The reason the sentiment expressed by a number of the members of that party was responsible for my resigning rather than precipitating trouble at that time within the party was just as much because of the extremists in our own labor movement here as it was because of the extremists in that party. Had this movement prior to that time, and I introduced a resolution myself in the Norfolk convention, and the convention has not acted upon it up to the present time—had our movement shown a tolerant spirit and a willingness to meet anything like half way with the members of that party who were members of this movement it would not have been necessary for me to resign; and I am satisfied the chances are Mitchell would have been Governor of our state at that time and I would be a member of that party yet. As a result of the extreme opposition, not for any reasons expressed as to the actual merits of the position of that party, or in opposition to it, but simply because a member of our organization happened to be a member of that party, because of the attacks made upon him, and then a feeling was created in that party of resentment and they acted in the same way. As a result of that feeling it was impossible for a man to assume a middle ground at all; he had to take the attacks, not only of the extremists in the party, but the more bitter and sustained

attacks of the extremists in our own movement. That was responsible for that condition being created. I feel convinced if the Norfolk convention treated the matter with reason, had they gone about it in such a way as to show they were willing to meet on the common middle ground we would have forty or fifty members in Congress and the Danbury Hatters case would be absolutely impossible of rising at this time.

Chairman O'Connell—The chair rules that Delegate Walker is imposing upon his generosity.

Delegate Scharrenberg—There are a number of men who desire to speak and I am one of them. Delegate Walker has spoken twice and I suggest that he allow some one else an opportunity to speak.

Delegate Wheeler—Mr. Chairman, I yield to no man in this convention or anywhere else in devotion to the cause of organized labor. For twenty-five years and more I have carried the card of the Carpenters and Joiners, and, God helping me, I will carry a union card with me to my grave if permitted to do so. I say to you this: That within my memory—and I am still a young man—or within the distinct memory of the older men of this convention, organized labor in this and in the other countries has made more progress and brought better conditions to the working class than they have achieved in any 500 years before the advent of the modern trade union movement. I stand on that as a Socialist; and I am not going to say a word against this movement for which I once walked the streets for thirteen months hungry and in want. And as president of the carpenters' union, the largest in this country at this time, for three years and a half employed by a great corporation, and my work was secure, but when I went out and took political action, and when as a member of the Charter Commission a few months ago I inserted sections in the city charter of Los Angeles, I was politely told next morning by my employers my services were not required. As a trade unionist, pure and simple, they did not fear me much, but as a trades unionist taking action they trembled.

You heard the president speak of the mass meetings to secure the repeal or amendment of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, and asked if it was in our platform. Yes, it is, and it has been there for twenty

or thirty years. We stand ready when we assume the reins of government to repeal every law under which the labor movement is attacked.

I do not like to have my record and my standing as a member of the trades union movement attacked. If I go farther than they do I try to show to them a better way than striking against conditions and then go and vote for the conditions against which we are striking. We do not believe that is the proper thing. I have been engaged for twenty years in the fight in the storm center of unionism in America, Los Angeles. Possibly some of you have heard something about it. I have carried in my pocket, beside the card showing my dues paid, a card showing \$16.50 assessment—paid to my own craft? No, to the iron workers, the machinists and other organizations that were on strike. When the great parade marched down the streets of Los Angeles, twenty thousand men and women, carrying at the head of their procession the stars and stripes and the red flag, and when they went to the great auditorium, with 22,000 people present, they vowed a vow that from that time on, those workers and toilers who had been beaten and buffeted about by the system of capitalism, that from that day on they would go the straight and narrow way that leadeth to industrial salvation. They struck at the ballot box, and when the anti-picket law was enforced and the injunction was used against us and 400 of our men were behind prison bars for fighting for unionism and they began to fine them and they could no longer go there, what happened? And I want to answer that brother over there—I will tell him what happened to the trade union movement of that city. I went to the headquarters. They said they could no longer picket. I said, "I will get a way for you to picket." I got papers signed and sealed and went to the foundries and the machine shops and there we did our picketing. The chief of police with three hurry-up wagons and 35 men came down there where a man was on a soap box. They said: "You are violating the law." We said: "No, it is a political meeting, a meeting of the Socialist party, a regularly ordained party." And again brothers, I want to say for three long months we did the picketing for the unions when the unions themselves would not do it.

They got out an injunction, they passed the anti-picket law. There is a man



sitting in this room, not a delegate, whose house was invaded in his absence. His wife, a frail little woman, and a little girl of three years old were there. The police went there before the break of day and demanded admittance. They took her to the police station and sweated her for three long hours. It was these things that were heaped upon organized labor of Los Angeles until they could stand it no longer. An organizer of the American Federation of Labor came and advised us, saying that legal methods were without avail and the courts were against us and the militia and the police against us and the movement, that we take political action. This organizer of the American Federation of Labor said, "You fellows have got to take political action. It is the only thing left for you," and we took political action. And what was the result? When I was put up as a candidate for Mayor I came within a few hundreds of being elected. In San Francisco a union carpenter was elected Mayor. Then we went down the line and put up a labor ticket, and in spite of all the things that were brought against us we found when the votes were counted that 55,000 men and women in that city voted the straight ticket. And what happened? To-day when the government of the city of Los Angeles has in view some undertaking of importance they come to us and ask us how we stand upon these propositions.

I did not intend to make a political speech, but I say to the brother over there that our movement in California has gone on record that wherever and whenever the trades union movement or the laboring class are engaged in any conflict or contest, a strike, a boycott or a lockout, the Socialist movement says to its members, "It is your place to back up organized labor in all its fights, there is where we have been, there is where we are, and there is where we are going to be, and you cannot drive us out either."

Vice President Gompers in the chair.

Vice President Duncan—As there is no formal motion before the house, and as this discussion has taken such a wide course, I move that the general discussion now cease and the subject matter be referred to the committee for considera-

tion and further report to this convention. (Seconded.)

Delegate Barnes (J. M.)—I desire to offer as a substitute or an amendment the following:

WHEREAS, The United Hatters of America have been in litigation for a period of more than nine years; and

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of the United States ruled that the Hatters in the Danbury case were liable under the provisions of the Sherman anti-trust law; and

WHEREAS, In two trials awards were granted to the prosecution for sums neighboring a quarter of million dollars; and

WHEREAS, A number of the members of the Hatters Union for years and now have their savings accounts and homes attacked; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation recognizes this to be an assault on the whole labor movement; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation assume all obligations or penalties involved in this litigation; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council provide and promulgate such plan as it may deem wise to meet the (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Barnes (J. M.) offered a preamble and set of resolutions as a substitute or an amendment to the resolution offered by Vice-President Duncan.

President Gompers ruled that a motion to refer was not subject to a substitute; that the matter offered by Delegate Barnes was not germane to the question proposed by Vice-President Duncan; that the time for the introduction of resolutions had passed except by unanimous consent.

Delegate Barnes asked if when the committee presented its report an amendment could be offered. The chairman answered in the affirmative.

The motion offered by Vice-President Duncan was carried.

Vice-President Hayes asked that Resolution No. 10, originally referred to the Committee on Boycotts, be referred to the Committee on Labels. (Seconded and carried.)

At 5.30 the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9.30 a. m., Wednesday, November 20th, 1912.

## Seventh Day—Wednesday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Wednesday, November 20th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Noschang, Fischer, Klapetzky, Kline, Thomas, Conway (H. J.), Tracy (T. F.), Strom, Yount, Conway (Jas.), Larger, D'Andrea, Farrell, Miller, Bailey, Bryan (W.), Healey (D.), Lamb (B. F.), Lowe, Allen, Price, Daly (T. M.), Leary, Weber (Jos.), Miller (O.), Carey (D. A.), Hannah, Sheret, Tracey (W. J.), Leonard, Murphy, Whitehead, Gallagher (T. J.), Huddleston, Jette, Golden, Carlin, Corley, Vanderveld, Swick, Thorp, Tracy (M.), Privett, Burns, Elyea, Dcherty, Evans, Bryan (F. O.), James, Stokes, Wood, Bates, Spencer, O'Rourke, Lampa, McAndrews, Lebowitz, Johnson (J. E.), Beckman.

Delegate Furuseth announced that a meeting of the Committee on President's Report would have to be held before any further report could be made by that committee to the convention.

Vice President Valentine stated that copies of the report of the General Committee on Industrial Education were in the hall and requested the delegates to supply themselves with copies.

Secretary Morrison read a communication from Mr. Brand Whitlock, Mayor of Toledo, inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold its 1913 convention in that city.

A letter was read from John A. O'Dwyer, Secretary of the Convention Bureau of the Toledo Commercial Club, inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in that city.

Secretary Morrison read Resolution No. 116, introduced by the United Mine Workers' delegates, which had been reported on unfavorably by the Committee on Education during a previous session. He also read the report of the committee in which was reaffirmed the autonomy declaration of the Scranton convention, including the declaration of the Scranton convention, and also read the minority report of the committee.

President Gompers stated that the mi-

nority report of the committee had been offered as a substitute for the majority report, and that discussion would be on that subject.

Delegate Scharrenberg spoke in favor of the adoption of the majority report and opposed the minority report offered by Delegate Walker.

Delegate Berry (G. L.)—In the second day's proceedings, on the fifth page is Resolution No. 13, introduced by the Printing Pressmen's Union, having to do with the federation of crafts in industries. I would like to know just why that resolution was not included in this matter and referred to the Committee on Education. It was referred to the Adjustment Committee. I want to find out if I can substitute this proposition or rather amend the committee's report with this proposition.

Delegate Berry read Resolution No. 13, and after a short discussion moved to amend the committee's report, not touching upon the minority report, by adding Resolution No. 13.

President Gompers—While Delegate Berry is in order, yet that resolution has been referred to the Committee on Adjustment and no doubt has received the consideration of that committee. They will make a report upon it to this convention. The adoption of that resolution at some other time during the convention would have equal application to its being introduced now.

Delegate Berry stated he would be satisfied to discuss the question when it came up under the report of the Committee on Adjustment.

Vice President Valentine discussed the question briefly, stating the majority of the committee felt that as far as they could go was the declaration of the Scranton convention.

Delegate Sullivan (J. L.) spoke in favor of the majority report and opposed the minority report.

Delegate Kugler spoke in favor of the

minority report offered by Delegate Walker.

Delegate Hayes (F. J.) spoke in favor of the minority report.

Treasurer Lennon spoke in favor of the report of the majority of the committee.

Delegate Walker (J. H.) spoke at length in favor of the minority report. Vice-President Mitchell also spoke in favor of the minority report.

Delegate Gallagher (A. J.) moved that debate close. (Seconded but not carried.)

Delegate Egan spoke in favor of the majority report and opposed the minority report. Delegate Hayes (D. A.) also spoke in favor of the majority report and opposed the minority report.

Delegate Kuruseth opposed the minority report and spoke at length upon condi-

tions on the Pacific Coast as they affected the seamen's organization.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.) spoke in favor of the minority report.

Delegate McCullough (T. W.) spoke at length in favor of the majority report and opposed the minority report.

Delegate Dyche spoke at length in favor of the majority report and opposed the minority report.

Delegate McDonald (D.) opposed the majority report and spoke in favor of the minority report.

Delegate Comerford spoke in favor of the majority report and opposed the minority report.

At 12:30 the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2 p. m.

## Seventh Day—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 p. m., Wednesday, November 20th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Klapetzky, Kline (J. W.), O'Shea (Dan.), Ford, Moser, Huber, Bailey, Bryan (W. E.), Healey (D.), Coakley, Lowe, Allen, Price, Daly (T. M.), Hannah, Whitehead, Gallagher (T. J.), Huddleston, Suarez, Golden, Curtis, Vanderveld, Swick, Tracy (M. F.), Burns, Elyea, Doherty, Bryan (F. O.), Stokes, Bates, Spencer, Bohm, Waldron, Lebowitz, Beckman.

Delegate White (J. P.) discussed at length the question that was pending at the time of adjournment, the minority report of the committee, and discussed Resolution No. 116, which he stated was presented by the United Mine Workers' delegation acting under instructions of their last international convention.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.) opposed the minority report and spoke at length in favor of the majority report of the committee.

Vice President Duncan in the chair.

Delegate Cannon discussed the question at length, spoke strongly in favor of the minority report and opposed the majority report.

Delegate Coughlin opposed the minority report.

President Gompers spoke in favor of the

majority report of the committee and spoke at length of the progress that had been made in the American Federation of Labor in the last thirty years. He referred briefly to organizations that had preceded it and to the cause of their downfall. He read portions of the report of the Executive Council, and called attention especially to their statements on the question of industrial organization.

Delegate Carey (J. T.) spoke at length in favor of the majority report.

Vice President Perham spoke in favor of the majority report of the committee, and referred briefly to the form of organizations of the railway employees connected with the A. F. of L. and their progress and development.

Delegate O'Connor (T. V.) moved the previous question. The motion was seconded and carried.

Delegate McDonald (D.)—I desire a roll call on this.

Vice President Duncan—Is there a sufficient number calling for the roll to warrant its being called?

A sufficient number of delegates indicated their desire to have the roll called.

Secretary Morrison, before calling the roll, read the following report:

## MAJORITY REPORT.

"The committee reported as follows: That we non-concur in Resolution No. 116, and that we reaffirm the autonomy declaration of the Scranton convention, which is as follows:

"Scranton, Pa., December 14, 1901.

"To the Officers and Delegates to the Twenty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

"Greeting—The undersigned, your special committee appointed to consider the question of the autonomy of the trade unions, beg leave to say that it is our judgment the future success, permanency, and safety of the American Federation of Labor, as well as the trade unions themselves, depend upon the recognition and application of the principle of autonomy, consistent with the varying phases and transitions in industry.

"We realize that it is impossible to define the exact line of demarcation where one trade or form of labor ends and another begins, and that no hard and fast rule can be devised by which all our trade unions can be governed or can govern themselves.

"We emphasize the impossibility of the establishment of hard and fast lines; but if history and experience in the labor movement count for aught we urge upon our fellow workmen that toleration and forbearance which are proverbial of our movement; for, without the recognition and application of these qualities any decision we may formulate will be futile. We, therefore, recommend as follows:

"1. As the magnificent growth of the American Federation of Labor is conceded by all students of economic thought to be the result of organization on trade lines, and believing it neither necessary nor expedient to make any radical departure from this fundamental principle, we declare that, as a general proposition the interests of the workers will be best conserved by adhering as closely to that doctrine as the recent great changes in methods of production and employment make practicable. However, owing to the isolation of some few industries from thickly populated centers where the overwhelming number follow one branch thereof, and owing to the fact that in some industries comparatively few workers are engaged over whom separate organizations claim jurisdiction, we believe that jurisdiction in such industries by the paramount organization would yield the best results to the workers therein, at least until the development of organization of each branch has reached a stage wherein these may be placed, without material injury to all parties in interest, in affiliation with their national trade unions. Nothing contained in this declaration is intended or shall be construed to mean a reversal of any decision rendered by former Executive Councils or previous conventions on questions of jurisdiction.

"2. We hold that the interests of the trade union movement will be promoted by closely allied and sub-divided crafts giving consideration to amalgamation, and to the organization of District and National Trade Councils to which should be referred questions in dispute, and which should be adjusted within allied crafts' lines.

"3. The American Federation of Labor being a voluntary association, cannot direct and should not adopt methods antagonistic to or in conflict with established trade union laws, and in order to carry the above recommendations into effect, and in full recognition of its logical position, the American Federation of Labor pledges its officers to aid and assist in the adjustment of such craft encroachments as disputants may be willing to submit to its arbitration."

## MINORITY REPORT.

"That where practical one organization should have jurisdiction over an industry, and where in the judgment of a majority of the men actually involved it is not practical, then the committee recommends that they organize and federate in a department and work together in such manner as to protect, as far as possible, the interests of all connecting branches."

President Gompers—The vote will be upon the minority report offered by Delegate Walker—Those in favor of the minority report will vote aye and those opposed will vote no.

Secretary Morrison proceeded with the roll call, which resulted as follows:

**Ayes**—Myrup, Koch, Goldstone, Proebstle, Kemper, Ward, Kugler, Sullivan (J.), Wheeler, Crozier, Barnes, Zuckerman, Cursi, O'Neal, Williams (John), Johnston, Van Lear, Buckley, White (John), Mitchell, Hayes (F. J.), Walker, Lewis, McDonald, Green (Wm.), Williams (J. C.), Scanlan, Young, Cannon, Skemp, Tazelaar, Rodriguez, Arnold, Berry, Halpine, Hart, Wilson (Harry), Sultor, Ryan (M. F.), Weeks, Adames, Paquin, Brown, (J. G.), Brals, Biggs, Robinson, Hayes (M. S.), Holt, Moyer, Smith (Jos.), Behrens, Donoghue, Coates, Corcoran, Brockhausen, Shrivner, White (R. H.), Gillispie (G. W.), Hays (C. A.), Diehl, Weber (F. J.), Philippi, Keane (J. J.), Niven, Morris (J. F.), Simpson, English, Lawler, Weiss, representing 5,929 votes.

**Nays**—Mullaney, Noschang, Fischer, Klapetzky, Anderson, Kline, Kramer, Glover, Franklin, McGuire, Garvey (T. J.), Pring, Strelle, Tobin (J. F.), Balne, Anderson (Mary), Howes, Harrington, Butterworth, O'Shea, Thoman, McClory, Huber, Duffy (Frank), Swartz, Featherston, Kelly (W. J.), Hemsell, Gengenback, Goellnitz, Shilf, Gompers, Tracy (T. F.), Fitzgerald (W. H.), Mueller, Conway, McCauley, Scoby, Doyle, Meyer, McNulty, Glynn, Yount, Ford, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Moser, Dolan, Healy, Brennan, Friel, Rowe, Clarke, Green (C. F.),

Conroy, Rickert, Larger, Daley, Altman, Schwarz, Rosenberg, Dyche, Pierce, Rosenberg (Meyer), Hayes (D. A.), Heritage, Marx, Ring, Nestor, Duncan, Garvey (James), Archie, Lawlor (Martin), Shalvoy, Green (M. F.), D'Alessandro, D'Andrea, Etchison, Marshall, Kenehan, Fiore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Miller (George), Pattberg, McSorley, Taggart, Bailey, Coakley, O'Connor, Chlopek, Neesham, Harrison, Lamb, Wharton, Lowe, Powers, Allen, Call, Daly (T. M.), Leary, Rumsey, O'Sullivan, Crane, Hynes, Walsh, Valentine, Frey, Curran, Lanigan, Weber (J. N.), Miller (Owen), Carey (D. A.), Winkler, Hedrick, Wright, Carey (J. T.), Willson (James), Gernon, Sheret, Woll, McGivern, Cook, McDermott, Clark (W. D.), Alpine, Tracey (Wm. J.), Leonard, Murphy, Nelson, Menge, Malin, Dacey, Perham, Brown (W. T.), Miller (J. F.), Gallagher (T. J.), Commons, Furuseth, Hanson, Hylen, Shay, Suarez, Lemke, Freel, Sumner (C. A.), Short, Jette, McKay, Grimshaw, Heberling, Welch, Connor, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Neer, Gillespie (J. M.), Morris (J. J.), Golden, Starr, Williams (T. J.), Evans, Shilling, Lynch, Morrison, Stevenson, McCullough, Hanley, Cooke, All, Birnes, Gallagher (A. J.), Keane (J. A.), Holder, Corley, Sumner (Stephen), Pfleger, O'Brien, Shaughnessey, Donnelly, Ryan (P. J.), Walls, McGrath, Shamp, Vanderveld, Prinz, Egan, Young, Preble, Hoefgen, Creamer, Fitzgerald (T. D.), Cone, Sullivan (James H.), Tharp, McCarthy, Collins, Coughlin, Morton, Mullen, Smith (Frank), Garman, Sause Cavanagh, Landers, Sontheimer, Privett, Kane, Smith (J. T.), Butler, Fahey, Welch (M. R.), Holland, Hunter, Evans, Norman, Draper, Bryan, McGrath, Brower, Bonner, Hirschberg, Koveleski, James, Lapham, Scharrenberg, Henley, Wood, Bates, Spencer, Snellings, Youhan, Wildberger, Voll, Duffy (Kathryn), Lampa, McAndrews, Cunningham, Woodhouse, Sinclair, Mulkern, Johnson, Beckman, Gold, representing 10,934 votes.

**Not voting**—Labraico, Bryan (W. E.), Healey (Dennis), Price (Walter V.), Hannah, Whitehead, Mahon, Taber, Huddleston, Carolan, Curtis, Swick, Lennon, McGinley, Tracy (M. F.), Burns, Elyea, Campbell, Chance, Doherty, Hannon, Stokes, Fello, Purcell, O'Rourke, Morris (E. C.), Bohm, Waldron, Lebowitz, Dunne, Seddon, Smillie, Bruce, representing 444 votes.

**President Gompers**—The minority report is lost and the majority report is before the convention.

The motion to adopt the majority report of the committee was carried by viva voce vote.

**President Gompers** stated that arrangements had been made for the use of the hall by another organization during the evening, and that a request had been made for an adjournment at 5 o'clock.

Delegate Woll requested unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution.

No objection being offered the following resolution was submitted by Delegate Woll:

Resolution No. 131—By Delegates Matthew Woll, International Union of Photo Engravers; James J. Freel, International Union of Stereotypers and Electrotypers; James M. Lynch, International Typographical Union; George L. Berry, International Printing Pressmen; Edward C. Strelle, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

**WHEREAS**, We learn with deepest regret of the illness of a life long trade unionist and fellow worker, Robert Glocking, president of the Bookbinders International Union, and who has devoted his whole life to the interest of the trade union movement and his fellow workers, as well as in the interest of all humanity; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we, the delegates to the 32nd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, convey to him and his family our heartfelt sympathy, and express our wishes for his early recovery; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of this convention, and also a copy be transmitted to him.

The resolution was adopted by unanimous vote.

At 5 o'clock the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 9.30 a. m., Thursday, November 21st., 1912.

## Eighth Day—Thursday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Thursday, November 21st, 1912, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Noschang, Klapetsky, Kline (J. W.), Conway (H. J.), Conway (Jas. B.), Larger, Bryan (W. E.), Healey (Dennis), Lowe, Allen (C. C.), Price, Crane, Hannah, Murphy (P.), Whitehead, Huddleston, Welch (M. R.), Carolan, Vanderveld, Swick, Burns (E. S.), Elyea, Doherty, Stokes, Bates, Spencer, O'Rourke, Lawler, Lampa, Waldron, Lebowitz, Johnson (J. E.), Beckman, Gold.

### Supplemental Report of Committee on Credentials.

Delegate McDonald, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

November 20, 1912.

To the officers and delegates of the Thirty-Second Annual Convention of the A. F. of L.:

Your Committee on Credentials desires to report that request has been received from the delegates of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers to seat F. C. Gengenbach, one of the regular delegates of the organization, who has just arrived, in place of G. E. Strom, who was temporarily seated in his absence. We recommend that this request be complied with and that F. G. Gengenbach be seated in place of G. E. Strom. Also John J. Keegan, representing the Evansville, Ind., Trades Assembly, one vote.

Respectfully submitted,

E. J. MARX,  
W. A. NEER,  
DUNCAN McDONALD,

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

Treasurer Lennon in the chair.

### Report of Committee on President's Report.

Delegate Furuseth, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Members of the Thirty-Second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

We, your Committee on President's Report to which has been referred sundry matters in that report, and in the report of the Executive Council, and several resolutions, beg to report upon the various subjects under their respective sub-head titles. Where the two reports deal with the same closely related matters, we

have deemed it best to deal with them jointly.

On that portion of the President's report under the caption "Carl Legien's Visit," and that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "International Secretariat," the committee reported as follows:

We endorse what the President says with reference to the importance of interchange of delegates and endorse the recommendations made by him relative to the possible meeting next year of the International Secretariat; and if it be held in 1913, we endorse the recommendation that the Executive Council be authorized to select a representative to attend that meeting and to extend an invitation to the International Secretariat to hold its meeting in 1915 in the city of San Francisco, California.

We call attention to the way in which the copies of the report of the International Secretariat may be obtained and endorse the suggestion that they be procured and studied by the officers and members of labor organizations of this country.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted, the vote being unanimous.

Under that portion of the President's report under the caption "Arbitration, Mediation and Conciliation," the committee reported as follows:

### Arbitration, Mediation and Conciliation.

We commend the action taken by President Gompers in using his influence to prevent the extension of the Erdman Act at a time when its extension might have meant disaster to large numbers of workers who were seeking to negotiate adjustments of their wage scales by direct conferences with their employers.

We endorse the position taken by him upon this subject. We particularly desire to call attention to his language when he says: "We want peace in industry, but we want peace with honor, progress, and freedom." We are opposed to the introduction into our laws of any form of compulsory arbitration whether the power to enforce the award of the arbitrators is specifically provided in the law, or through the means of an organized and directed public opinion. We welcome arbitration as a means of industrial peace when the parties to the proposed arbitration are given the opportunity of establishing a proper basis upon which the arbitration shall proceed before it is entered into. No other method can protect the rights and liberties of the parties at interest.

Compulsory arbitration, in order to be effective, must be binding upon both parties to the controversy. That condition would mean that if an award was

made unfair to an employer, he would be compelled to operate his plant even though at a loss, which would mean confiscation or the taking of property without proper compensation therefor. It would also mean that the workmen would be compelled to work under the terms of the award whether they were satisfactory to them or not which would mean slavery. It would be unjust to the workmen because of the fact that in every arbitration entered into there is a clean cut dividing line between profit and loss readily and easily established by records which will protect the employer against any award injurious to him, while no such distinct dividing line protects the workmen.

The standard of living is a flexible proposition which may be easily raised or lowered and the workman still live. Having no distinct protecting line in his standard of living, he would be more liable to have an unjust award imposed upon him than would the employer.

No one can conceive of any compulsory arbitration being so constructed that it would compel the employer to operate at a loss, thereby taking from him his previous accumulations. But it is conceivable that a workman would be required to work upon a lower standard of living than he had previously worked under, or which he would be willing to accept.

It may, from time to time, occur that large numbers of the people not directly interested in an industrial conflict may be embarrassed because of such a struggle taking place, but it is better that they should suffer the embarrassment incident to such a conflict than that the workers as a whole should have their right to end a civil contract to labor and their right to work, or not to work, as their judgment may dictate, impaired by legislation of this character.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted, the vote being unanimous.

On that portion of the President's Report under the caption "American Federation of Labor Political Campaign—Its Results," and on that portion of the Executive Council's Report under the caption "Labor's Political Campaign, 1912," the committee reported as follows:

These portions of the reports constitute a review of the political program and progress under the direction of the American Federation of Labor.

We commend them to the consideration of the members of all affiliated bodies and others interested in the work that the American Federation of Labor is doing in this direction. We recommend that the work be continued.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Brockhausen stated that he had a protest to present against the campaign of 1912; that the protest came from the city of Racine, Wisconsin, and ob-

jected to a circular sent out mentioning the Progressive and Democratic party platforms as they dealt with labor and omitting all mention of the Socialist platform.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.) spoke at some length in opposition to the position taken by the Executive Council in its report.

Delegate Furuseth spoke in defense of the report of the committee.

Delegate Gallagher (A. J.) spoke at length on the subject, referring to the success attained in San Francisco when organized labor went into politics and elected a mayor and other members of the city administration, and advocated a national labor party.

Treasurer Lennon in the chair.

Delegate Cannon discussed the question and opposed the report of the committee and the position taken by the Executive Council and the President in their reports.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Bryan and Delegate D'Alessandro.

President Gompers discussed the question at length, explained the policy of the American Federation of Labor in regard to political campaigns, and defended the position taken by the Executive Council in its report.

Delegate Rodriguez spoke at length in opposition to the policy advocated by the Executive Council and by the President in his report.

Delegate Walker (J. H.) discussed the question, and in replying to the statements of President Gompers stated the position of his own organization, the United Mine Workers, in regard to the industrial form of organization, the initiative and referendum and recall.

Delegate Scharrenberg spoke in favor of the report of the committee.

Delegate Gallagher (A. J.) offered the following amendment to the report of the committee:

"I move that the committee's report be amended and that the following words be inserted: 'That the Executive Council of the Federation be instructed to consider the advisability of the formation of a strictly speaking national union labor party which shall be in strict accord with the policies and aims and legislative demands of the American Federation of Labor.'"

The amendment was seconded by Delegate McGuire (M. J.).

Delegate Furuseth opposed the amendment.

Delegate Rowe arose to a point of order and stated that the amendment was in violation of Section 8, Article III, of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

Chairman Lennon—The chair believes the point of order is well taken and that the amendment is not in order.

Delegate Gallagher—I appeal from the decision of the chair.

President Gompers in the chair.

The chairman stated that the delegate who appealed from the decision of the chair and the chairman from whose decision the appeal was taken would make statements.

Delegate Gallagher and Treasurer Lennon made statements of their respective positions.

The decision of the chair was sustained by a vote of 161 to 31.

Delegate Furuseth—I move the previous question on this part of the committee's report. (Seconded and carried.)

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by a vote of 166 in the affirmative to 43 in the negative.

President Gompers stated that 11 o'clock was the hour appointed for the report of the Committee on Adjustment as a special order of business, and the report of the Committee on President's Report was deferred.

#### **Report of Committee on Adjustment.**

Delegate Golden, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 5.—By Theatrical Tailors and Dressers Union No. 12,719:

WHEREAS, Theatrical companies are playing on the road in different cities of the United States of America and Canada in which members of local 12,719 are employed; and

WHEREAS, In all theaters in these cities in which Hebrew companies are playing men are employed on the stage as stage hands, electricians, etc., who are members of the Theatrical Stage Employees International Alliance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor request the Theatrical Stage Employees International Alliance to demand that every Hebrew company playing in the cities of the United States and Canada have a costume dresser who is a member in good standing of the Theatrical Tailors and Dressers Union No. 12,719.

The committee recommended that the matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with instructions to confer with the Theatrical Stage Employees' International Alliance for the purpose of bringing about a satisfactory understanding between the two organizations.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 13.—By Delegate George L. Berry, of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union:

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the Executive Council of this Federation be instructed to arrange conferences between the representatives of the various international unions where there is more than one international membership employed in any given industry, and that every effort by the Executive Council be extended to bring about a federation of such unions to the end that joint action may be assured in all disputes between organized labor and the employing classes.

The committee reported as follows: Your committee reports that the principle contained in this resolution is covered by Section 2 of the Autonomy Declaration of the Scranton convention. We, therefore, recommend that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, with instructions to do whatever it properly can to establish co-operation among the organizations of kindred trades.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 14.—By Delegation of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, In the lock-out instituted against the members of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union by William Randolph Hearst, in the City of Chicago, and joined later by all members of the Publishers' Association of that city, and

WHEREAS, It became necessary for the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union to bear the expense of financing the controversy for other organizations that joined in sympathy; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Board of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union requested financial assistance from the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and an endorsement of their position, and same having been given through the authorization of the issuance of an appeal to organized labor and its sympathizers for financial assistance; therefore, be it



**RESOLVED,** That this resolution of thanks submitted by the representatives of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union to organized labor and its sympathizers throughout the North American continent, be adopted.

The committee recommended that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to appoint representatives from the Council to proceed to Chicago at the earliest date possible, for the purpose of endeavoring to effect an adjustment of the controversy now existing between the printing trades unions and the newspaper publishers of that city.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Berry (G. L.)—What is the position of the committee on the thanks we have offered? Is the proposition accepted by the committee, or is the purpose of the committee to have the Executive Council recommend that we have a right to thank the movement for the contributions made or not?

Vice-President Mitchell, Chairman of the Committee—There is no question about the right of the Pressmen's Union to thank the organization of labor for

their contribution. We assume that that is done by the introduction of the resolution and that the endorsement of your vote of thanks is not necessary. The report of the committee is simply a practical declaration that the American Federation of Labor through its representatives shall proceed to the city of Chicago and endeavor to bring about an adjustment of the questions that are in dispute.

Delegate Berry discussed the question and gave an extended history of the events leading up to the trouble between the Chicago newspaper publishers and the members of the Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union.

Delegate Lynch (J. M.) discussed the question at some length and stated the position taken by the International Typographical Union in regard to the question.

At 12.30, the discussion on Resolution 14 and the report of the committee not being completed, the chairman stated that the discussion would be resumed upon the convening of the afternoon session.

At 12.30 the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 2 p. m.

## **Eighth Day—Thursday Afternoon Session**

The convention was called to order at 2 p. m., Thursday, November 21st, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees** — Noschang, Klapetzky, Kline, Baine, McClory, Hemsell, Strom, Barnes (J. M.), Conway (H. J.), Yount, Feeney, Healy, Larger, Ring, D'Andrea, Etchison, McSorley, Healey (Dennis), Lowe, Allen (C. C.), Price, O'Sullivan (M.), Frey, Cook (P.), Welch, Murphy (P.), Whitehead, Gallagher (T. J.), Huddleston, Swick, Tharp, Smith, Burns, Elyca, Doherty, Bryan, Stokes, Lapham, Niven, Bates, Spencer, Lawler, Waldron, Labowitz.

Delegate Short, President of the Building Trades Department, made a brief statement of the efforts he had made to adjust matters between the organization in the printing trades and the newspaper publishers of Chicago. He stated that he had not ceased his efforts to bring about such an adjustment, and requested that discussion on the question be limited as

much as possible in the convention.

Delegate Freel (J. J.) discussed the question at length and favored the adoption of the report of the committee. He referred to the Chicago situation as it affected his organization through the action of one of the stereotypers' local unions in that city.

Delegate Woll discussed the question and deplored the fact that the troubles in the printing trades were brought into the convention. He stated that internal difficulties could better be adjusted in their own organizations than by bringing them before the Federation convention. He favored the report offered by the committee.

Delegate Gallagher (A. J.) discussed the question at length, and moved that the report of the Adjustment Committee be amended by inserting the following

words: "That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorse the efforts of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union to preserve their organization in the cities of Chicago, San Francisco and other places, and if the efforts to be made at adjustment by the Executive Council fail, then they are instructed to use the whole power of the Federation to compel a recognition by the American Newspaper Publishers' Association of the rights of said international union." (Seconded.)

Delegate Furuseth requested to know what Delegate Gallagher meant by the words "whole power."

Delegate Gallagher—I mean this: That if when the Executive Council proceeds to Chicago and finds the American Newspaper Publishers will not adjust this fairly, then they shall call on Mr. Lynch, they shall call on Mr. Freel and Mr. Woll and everybody else to tell the publishers, "Either you shall adjust this or something is going to happen in Chicago and other places."

Vice-President Mitchell—As chairman of the committee I desire to direct the attention of the convention to the language of the resolution and the report of the committee. This resolution and no word in it even suggests an endorsement of the strike of the Chicago pressmen; no suggestion is contained in it and that the strike be repudiated. This resolution recites the fact that a strike has been inaugurated in Chicago and concludes with the resolution that the thanks of the pressmen be conveyed through this convention to organized labor for financial assistance rendered to them. And we are told that financial assistance amounted to something over \$3,000 out of \$300,000 expended by the printing pressmen in conducting this strike. What help would it be to the pressmen if the committee had brought in a report asking you to thank your members when you go home for the money they contributed to the pressmen, to thank the two million organized workers of America for contributing \$3,000? The committee felt it was its duty to recommend to this convention that practical assistance be rendered the printing pressmen and direct a committee of members of the Executive Council to proceed to Chicago at the earliest possible moment to endeavor to bring about an ad-

justment of the dispute. Could the committee do any more than that in view of the language employed in the resolution? If it was sought to get an endorsement of the pressmen's strike, why did not the resolution ask for that endorsement and direct the Federation to use all its power to secure a recognition of their claims on the Chicago publishers? It does not do that; it asks you to convey to your members the thanks of the Pressmen's Union for financial assistance rendered during the strike.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.) opposed the amendment offered by Delegate Gallagher and spoke in defense of the report of the committee. He referred at length to the position taken by the International Typographical Union in regard to contracts and agreements with employers.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.) spoke in favor of the report of the committee and referred briefly to the connection of a local union now a member of the teamsters' organization with the dispute between the publishers and organizations of the printing trades in Chicago.

A motion was made and seconded that debate close.

Delegate Berry asked the privilege of replying to statements made by Delegate Lynch and other speakers.

President Gompers stated the convention would have to decide whether debate should cease or not.

The motion to close debate was lost.

Delegate Morton (J.) and Delegate Nelson discussed the question and replied briefly to statements that had been made concerning the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Delegate Rodriguez spoke in favor of the amendment and upheld the position of the stereotypers and printing pressmen in the Chicago difficulty.

Delegate McCullough (T. W.) spoke in favor of the report of the committee and opposed the amendment. He defended the action of the International Typographical Union throughout the difficulty.

Delegate Berry again discussed the question and defended the action of the Printing Pressmen in every detail.

Delegate Lynch again discussed the question, referred to matters leading up to the dispute in Chicago and the action taken by the International Typographical

Union since the dispute occurred. He defended the action taken by that organization in every particular.

President Gompers begged the indulgence of the convention while he made a brief statement, and said in part: Delegate Gallagher called attention to the fact that the Executive Council did not report any action in regard to the question in controversy. When I went to Chicago on my way to the Pacific Coast the strike was on—or the lock-out, I am not going to enter into the controversial side of that matter—I sought the representatives of all the organizations in interest and had conferences with the men engaged in the controversy, the men who were out, and later with the representatives of the Typographical Union. I then telegraphed the officers of all international unions asking them to meet me for the purpose of discussing this matter. The presidents of the organizations were considerable distances from Chicago, but I received responses from all of them, and though they were not personally in attendance each one had a representative.

The conference was held and, together with the President of the Cigar Makers' International Union, Mr. Perkins, and with the President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, Mr. Fitzpatrick, I sought to obtain an interview with the Newspaper Publishers Association of Chicago. The conference lasted more than two hours. I ought to add that it was the unanimous desire that I should seek the conference. The conference was held and my associates and myself, who believed that it would not last more than a few minutes, were very greatly astonished, and they paid me some compliment on the manner in which the discussion on my part was conducted, but it resulted simply in that discussion. The newspaper publishers declared that though they were glad to meet me and my associates they did not believe they could meet, at that time at any rate, with the representatives of the men and boys who had been and were then engaged in that conflict.

Upon my return east, and discussing the matter with the Executive Council by correspondence, the application of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union for an endorsement of an appeal for financial aid was granted. You will recall in the report of the Executive

Council and in the report which I had the honor to submit as President, probably in the preface, it is stated that only a few of the many important matters with which the Council and myself had had to deal could be reported to the convention. If the Executive Council or your President would undertake to report all the controversies, great and small, important and comparatively unimportant, with which we are compelled to deal and do deal throughout the year, you would have reports that would cover thousands of pages. The history of the American Federation of Labor and the work during the year it is impossible to report comprehensively. And so far as the Executive Council had to do it was simply a question of endorsing the appeal to be made by the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union for financial aid, and such an endorsement had been given, not only to one international union, but to dozens of them. That is the reason why, or among the reasons why, there is no report made upon that very interesting incident in the struggles of the past year. There is no wrong or intention of wrong nor evasion, simply that, insofar as the Executive Council is concerned, it had nothing to report of a constructive character to this convention.

Secretary Morrison read the report of the committee and the amendment offered by Delegate Gallagher.

A viva voce vote was taken and the chairman stated that it seemed to be lost. A division was asked for, and a count of the vote showed that 61 were cast in the affirmative and 144 in the negative. The amendment was declared lost.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

President Gompers stated that he wished to present to the convention Vice-President O'Connell, who desired to make a statement to the delegates.

Vice-President O'Connell stated that he had a very pleasing duty to perform on behalf of the delegates. He spoke briefly of the custom of exchanging delegates between the American labor movement and the British Trades Union Congress, and referred to the pleasure it gave the delegates to entertain during the convention members of the British trade union movement.

At the close of his address, Vice-President O'Connell presented to Fraternal Delegate Robert Smillie a handsome gold watch, and to Fraternal Delegate J. A. Seddon a diamond scarf pin. A diamond scarf pin was also presented to Fraternal Delegate John W. Bruce, of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Each of the three fraternal delegates made a speech in which he expressed his appreciation of the courtesies extended during his stay and of the kindness of the delegates in presenting the gift.

President Gompers made a brief address in which he stated that the emblem of the American Federation of Labor given to each delegate was a gift of the Federation, but the other gifts presented by Vice-President O'Connell were given by the delegates as their personal expression of admiration and confidence and respect and good will toward the fraternal delegates.

At 5.45 p. m. the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 9.30 a. m., Friday, November 22d.

## Ninth Day—Friday Morning Session

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Friday, November 22nd, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Kline, Kramer, Anderson (Mary), Strom, Tracy (T. F.), Conway, Yount, Feeney, D'Andrea, Bryan, Healey, Lowe, Allen, Lewis, Miller (O.), Hannah, Murphy (P.), Whitehead, Gallagher (T. J.), Huddleston, Welch (M. R.), Preble, Schrivner, Coughlin, Smith (Frank), Sause, Burns (Ed. S.), Elyea, Doherty (P. J.), Hunter (J. P.), Stokes, Spencer, Lawler, Lampa, Waldron, Lebowitz, Johnson (J. E.)

Secretary Morrison read an invitation to the American Federation of Labor, from Frank L. Mulholland, President, and John D. Biggers, Secretary, Toledo Commercial Club, to hold its next convention in that city.

An invitation from the Secretary of the Labor Temple, Seattle, was also read, in which the American Federation of Labor was invited to hold its next convention in Seattle.

### Report of Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Golden, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 17—By Delegates Kline, Kramer and Glover, of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths:

WHEREAS, The St. Louis Convention of the American Federation of Labor acting upon the report of the Committee on Adjustment in reference to Resolution 22-81, and which subject matter was referred to the Executive Council and the said Executive Council directed President Gompers and Secretary Morrison to act for them in the matter; and

WHEREAS, The deputized officers of the Executive Council succeeded in bringing the International officers of the several organizations mentioned in the resolutions together; and

WHEREAS, The result of this meeting was that an agreement between all parties concerned was signed on the 19th day of April, 1911, for the purpose of organizing the carriage, wagon and automobile industry, according to the several clauses specified in said agreement; and

WHEREAS, The agreement entered into has been willfully and grossly violated by the Carriage and Wagon Workers International Union, which is guilty of disrupting unions formerly existing under a charter issued by the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers; and

WHEREAS, The Carriage and Wagon Workers International Union has repeatedly issued shop cards to firms whose plants were not unionized or connected with the Carriage and Wagon Workers Union except probably by one branch of the wagon and automobile industry, namely the woodworker or painter, thus permitting the blacksmith and blacksmith helper to remain at work and outside of any legitimate labor union; and

WHEREAS, The Carriage and Wagon Workers International Union have taken persons into their ranks for less than one-third the amount specified in Rule 4 of the agreement; and

WHEREAS, The Carriage and Wagon Workers International Union are not using their best efforts in trying to organize the carriage, wagon and automobile industry, but try to get members already in our organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the International Brotherhood of Blacksmith and Helpers protest against the methods adopted by the Carriage and Wagon Workers, which is in direct violation of the agreement entered into; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we, the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers, cease to recognize the further existence of said agreement entered into with the Carriage and Wagon Workers International Union, April 19, 1911, and purpose to organize the carriage, wagon and automobile industry regardless, but will deal justly with organizations that recognize the value of an agreement and respect jurisdictional lines.

The committee reported as follows:

The foregoing resolution involves the integrity of an agreement entered into and signed by the representatives of three international unions; namely, the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union, the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers, and the Upholsterers' International Union of North America. Your Committee recommend that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to arrange a conference between representatives of the three organizations, parties to the agreement, for the purpose of securing unity of action, and failing to secure such unity of action through a working agreement, the Executive Council be directed to define the jurisdiction of each of the three organizations involved in this dispute.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Glover—Does this mean if the recommendation is adopted it will go back again to the Executive Council?

Vice-President Mitchell, Chairman of the Committee—It goes back to the Executive Council to try to arrange a conference among the organizations in interest, and if they fail to secure an agreement between the organizations in interest the Executive Council shall then settle the question in controversy so far as it can settle it.

Delegate Glover discussed the question at length, and asked that the matter be settled in the convention, not referred again to the Executive Council.

Chairman Mitchell stated that the resolution presented by Delegate Glover, if adopted, would make no change in the existing situation, that the resolution did not ask the convention to endorse the claims made by the blacksmiths.

Delegate Crozier spoke in favor of the report of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

**Resolution No. 22—By John Hanley, Upholsterers' International Union of North America:**

**WHEREAS**, The Carpet Mechanics' Union of San Francisco, Cal., is affiliated with the Building Trades Council of San Francisco, Cal.; and

**WHEREAS**, The Carpet Mechanics' Union referred to is a dual union and not affiliated with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America, whose jurisdiction covers the carpet layers, cutters, measurers and estimators; and

**WHEREAS**, Resolutions have been introduced at several conventions of the A. F. of L. by the representative of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America requesting that the Carpet Mechanics of San Francisco affiliate with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America or to be denied affiliation with central bodies affiliated with the A. F. of L.; and

**WHEREAS**, No action has been taken by the Building Trades Council of San Francisco indicating the compliance with the action requested by the Convention of the A. F. of L. in the case of the union referred to; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to appoint a representative who shall, in conjunction with the representative of the Upholsterers' International Union, confer with the Carpet Mechanics of San Francisco, Cal., for the purpose of inducing them to affiliate with the Upholsterers' International Union; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, Should the Carpet Mechanics of San Francisco fail to apply for a charter to the Upholsterers' International Union before February 1, 1913, the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall instruct one of their organizers to organize a union of carpet mechanics of San Francisco, under the jurisdiction of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

The committee recommended that "February 1" be stricken out and "April 1" be inserted, and that with the amendment the resolution be concurred in.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Hanley stated that a similar resolution had been offered at previous conventions, but action could not be obtained from the State Building Trades Council of California, which controlled the building trades in the city of San Francisco. He stated that he would like to have the date remain unchanged.

Delegate Scharrenberg spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

**Resolution No. 23—By Delegates W. D. Huber, Frank Duffy, Fred C. Wheeler, A. M. Swartz, D. F. Featherston, William J. Kelly, W. E. Hemseil, of the U. B. of C. and J. of A.:**

**WHEREAS**, The United Trades and Labor Council of Buffalo, N. Y., has illegally and in violation of the laws of the A. F. of L. seated in said central body a dual union of millwrights unaffiliated with the U. B. of C. and J. of A.; also two local branches of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, a dual organization of electrical workers, and representatives of the Amalgamated Wood Workers; and

**WHEREAS**, The matter relative to this rump organization of millwrights has occupied the attention of several conventions of A. F. of L. and representatives have been deputized to investigate charges made by U. B. and said central body has always denied to said representatives that this rump organization was represented in the central body, further that these investigations were positively one sided, the complainants never being considered in the investigations; and since the reaffiliation of the U. B. in Central and B. T. Dept., we find delegates from these dual organizations seated in both bodies, and upon objections of U. B. delegates to the seating of dual and unaffiliated organizations, the representatives of said central body openly defied the A. F. of L. to discipline them; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this 32d Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. do at once order the United Trades and Labor Council of Buffalo, N. Y., to unseat the dual,

and all local unions whose national or internationals are not affiliated with the A. F. of L.; and, be it further

**RESOLVED:** That failure upon the part of the U. T. and L. C. of Buffalo, N. Y., to comply with the action of this 32d Annual Convention, within thirty days from adjournment, that the charter of the United Trades and Labor Council shall stand revoked, without further action, and immediate action taken to reorganize a central body of bona fide trades affiliated with the A. F. of L.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with instructions to institute an immediate investigation, and if it is ascertained that dual or seceding unions are affiliated with the United Trades and Labor Council of Buffalo, said organization be instructed to comply with the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, and should it fail to do so the Executive Council is instructed to enforce the provisions of Section 1, Article XI.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 25—By Delegates A. W. Wharton, William H. Johnston, Thomas Van Lear, P. W. Buckley, B. H. Lamb of the I. A. of M.; William P. Hannon of the Sacramento, Cal., Federated Trades and Labor Assembly; Edward V. Wood of the Syracuse (N. Y.) Central Trades and Labor Assembly; J. W. Holder of the Florida State Federation of Labor; R. L. Corley of the Georgia State Federation of Labor; J. J. Keane of the Trades and Labor Assembly, Savannah, Ga.:**

**WHEREAS,** It has been very forcibly brought to the attention of a number of delegates attending the 32d Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. that Section 11 of Article IX has not been complied with by the President and Executive Council inasmuch as they granted a charter to the American Flint Glass Workers Union on October 21, 1912, notwithstanding that the issuance of this charter was protested by the International Association of Machinists, said protest being based upon the fundamental law of the A. F. of L., which guarantees protection to affiliated organizations in the maintenance of jurisdiction as per their charter rights; and

**WHEREAS,** The charter granted to the American Flint Glass Workers Union concedes this organization jurisdiction over all mould makers; and

**WHEREAS,** Mould making is a class of work, the entire product of which is of metal construction, requiring the use of machinery and tools and a well-equipped machine shop; and

**WHEREAS,** The American Flint Glass Workers Union is composed of men engaged in the making of glassware, which

is a separate and distinct operation in connection with the completion of the article manufactured, the comparison being as between a pattern maker and a moulder; and,

**WHEREAS,** The granting of a charter to any organization claiming jurisdiction over work which would be a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions is in direct violation of law; and

**WHEREAS,** Such action not only fails to bring about the solution of the question at issue, but establishes a more serious state of affairs; and

**WHEREAS,** This organization that has now been granted a charter withdrew from the A. F. of L. some ten years since because of differences arising and their unwillingness to abide by the laws of the A. F. of L. and no assurance that they would not do so again; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** By this convention that the President and Executive Council are hereby instructed to revoke immediately the charter illegally granted by them to the American Flint Glass Workers Union on October 21, 1912, and thus protect the affiliated unions in their charter rights and maintain the integrity of our laws.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee reports that a request was conveyed to the Committee by a representative of the International Association of Machinists asking for the withdrawal of this resolution, stating that the following agreement had been entered into between the parties at interest:

"That representatives of the International Association of Machinists, the Glass Bottle Blowers of the United States and Canada, and the American Flint Glass Workers' Union meet at the American Federation of Labor headquarters within 90 days for the express purpose of reaching an amicable adjustment of the jurisdiction over the workmen making molds for molding glass wares, as now claimed by the American Flint Glass Workers' Union.

"T. W. ROWE,

"WM. H. JOHNSTON."

Your committee reports that a request request for the withdrawal of the resolution be granted and the agreement endorsed.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Johnston—In agreeing to withdraw the resolution we are actuated with a desire to save the time of this convention and to avoid creating any bitterness or injecting any bitterness into the question considered. We hope by getting the representatives of the organization interested together we may be able to adjust our differences without involving this convention.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate Thomas J. Curtis of Tunnel and Subway Constructors International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, It is an indisputable fact, that the work performed by the members of the International Union of Compressed Air Workers is identical in every particular with that of the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors, including similarity of tools; and

WHEREAS, We, the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors, believe that the best interests of the workers in both of these vocations can be best conserved by the joining and amalgamating of the two organizations into one compact and solid organization; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Compressed Air Workers have expressed a desire to so join and amalgamate with the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 32d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled at Rochester, N. Y., November, 1912, direct the Executive Council to adopt at once such measures and plans as will bring about this desired result in the interest of the members of both organizations, thereby concentrating the power and effort in that industry and calling.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee was advised that these organizations had agreed to amalgamate, and therefore it recommends that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor arrange a conference between representatives of the two organizations for the purpose of consummating the amalgamation of the International Union of Compressed Air Workers, and the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Golden, Secretary of the Committee: Resolutions Nos. 45, 46, 47 and 89, all bearing on the one controversy in the matter of the White Rats Actors International Union, have been considered together.

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate James P. Holland of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, The Central Federated Union during the past ten years have interested themselves in matters pertaining to the welfare of the organized actors of this country, and during that time have had many committees act upon legislation affecting the actors as a class, and during that time have been actively interested through especial committees appointed for the purpose of bringing about harmony and concerted action between

the two theatrical organizations, the Actors International Union, who were affiliated with the American labor movement and the outside association, known as the White Rats of America; and

WHEREAS, During that time the American Federation of Labor, through the Executive Council, have asked the Central Federated Union to assist in bringing about an understanding between the two mentioned organizations, and therefore, consider that they are vitally interested in the welfare and success of the eventually amalgamated association, known as the White Rats Actors' Union, to which President Gompers requested a committee of the Central Federated Union to appear at the first conference held for the purpose of bringing about harmony between the two contending organizations, therefore the Central Federated Union, from a close knowledge of the internal affairs attesting that new amalgamated organization, believe that action must be taken at this convention to preserve the identity of that organization within the labor movement for the following reasons:

First. There is a considerable defection of members who are dropping out of the organization on account of general dissatisfaction with the present aim and purposes of that order, and an absolute feeling of general discontent.

Second. That every principle and condition of the so-called agreement of amalgamation has been violated, not alone in spirit but in each and every vital section.

Third. That from an investigation, we believe that the organization as constituted at present is not a union in any sense of the word; that it assumes powers through its governing board to legislate without consideration to the general welfare of its members; furthermore, assuming, through its board of directors to wholly control its funds and investments without any consultation at any time with its general membership; and furthermore controlling a vital and important part of its membership the female branch, who have no say in any way, or no representation at any time, or no information at any time, of the conduct of their affairs, financial and otherwise; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor shall, in obedience to the decision of the Executive Council, at its meeting held in Atlantic City, which says, "Cognizance of any violation of the terms of the amalgamation agreement, which will show a division in the ranks of the White Rats Actors Union will be given by the American Federation of Labor;" therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the complaint and charges, as herein contained, shall be properly investigated by this convention, and a proper and equitable decision rendered that will tend to protect the actors and actresses of this country, who really desire a protective organization conducted on trades union lines, and given that protection guaranteed by the law, constitu-



tion and usages of the trades union movement, as recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate James P. Holland of the Central Federated Union of N. Y.:

WHEREAS, The Hebrew Variety Actors Union, an organization of actors affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for over ten years, through its chartered membership as a subsidiary local of the Actors International Union and for the past two years a component part of the White Rats Actors Union, an amalgamated association of the Actors International Union and the former White Rats of America, an independent actors organization until such amalgamation was effected during November, 1910; and

WHEREAS, During the affiliation of the Hebrew Variety Actors Union with the American Federation of Labor it has continuously held its membership and representation in the Central Federated Union of New York City, an American Federation of Labor central labor union and has at all times obeyed any and all mandates of the organized labor movement as submitted to them through their direct affiliation; and

WHEREAS, The Hebrew Variety Actors Union did sanction and agree to the amalgamation of the Actors International Union and the White Rats of America upon their positive promise that their standing and rights as individual members of the trades union movement should not in any way suffer any change by the combination of these two theatrical associations; that they should be members in full benefit and entitled to all the rights, benefits and privileges as enjoyed by them during their affiliation and membership to the Actors International Union, in the new amalgamated organization with no interference as to their jurisdiction and local autonomy rights; and

WHEREAS, Since such amalgamation has been effected the Hebrew Variety Actors Union has been denied every chartered right granted to them by their original affiliation with the Actors International Union, they having been denied the right of any representation in the governing body of the chartered union, thereby forcing a condition of taxation without representation; their denial of their right of vote upon any question affecting the order as a whole, the denial of any right to vote at any general election for officials to control the affairs of the general order, the absolute elimination of their standing as members of the order entitled to all the rights, benefits and privileges as members thereof, their designation as only a branch of the general order with the sole right to pay an increased per capita tax in advance; and

WHEREAS, The governing board of the White Rats Actors' Union have attempted to interfere with their union conditions fought for and maintained at considerable expense during many years

of activity and have aligned members of the order in opposition to one another in an effort to reduce wages and general satisfactory working conditions surrounding their employment, and the only answer to repeated complaints against the action of the Board of Directors has been threats of expulsion from the trades union movement of this country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Rochester, N. Y., shall take cognizance of this complaint and charges of violation of agreement upon amalgamation between the Actors International Union and the White Rats of America, following the official decision of the Executive Council at the quarterly meeting held at Atlantic City during August, 1912, which says:

"Cognizance will be given any violation of the articles of agreement upon amalgamation, which would show any division in the ranks of the White Rats Actors' Union;" and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the present charter of affiliation of the White Rats Actors' Union be investigated, and it calls for a form of national organization enjoyed by all other affiliated national unions and it is being wilfully perverted to a single union form of organization without any local representation or rights, and former local representation and rights denied without legal authority by either the terms of amalgamation or warrant from the general membership and a report upon their complaints and charges to be submitted to the convention with a recommendation thereon.

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Joseph Morton of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There is seated in the Chicago Federation of Labor an organization known as the White Rats Actors' Union of America, incorporated, which organization is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor as a national union; and

WHEREAS, During an investigation of this organization by the Central Federated Union of New York City, a communication was submitted by the said White Rats Actors' Union of America, incorporated, from President Samuel Gompers, disqualifying the representation of this organization in any central labor union, by stating that the White Rats Actors' Union of America, incorporated, did not locally exist and therefore, he specifically states "that which does not exist cannot be represented"; and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor did institute a thorough investigation of this organization upon complaint of a committee of resident members of the aforesaid organization, who made claim, that the form, conduct and law of the said White Rats Actors' Union of America, incorporated, did not in any way conform to the law, constitution and usages of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor upon the conclusion of an investigation of the claims as submitted, and upon Sunday, July 21, 1912, submit its report and findings of the Grievance Committee, which was unanimously adopted, which findings are as follows:

From evidence presented your committee find that the White Rats Actors' Union of America is a "membership corporation" operating under the state laws of New York.

We also find connected therewith as subsidiary corporations:

The Associated Actresses of America,  
The White Rats Publishing Company,  
The White Rats Realty Company,  
The Associated Actors Company (theater proprietors).

The Keystone Amusement Company (theater proprietors).

And the Lancaster Amusement Company, who are part and parcel of the order.

As to the Associated Actresses, we find they pay initiation fees and dues, yet have no voice or vote on affairs affecting them, or an accounting of their money.

We find that there is no local union form of organization within this "membership corporation," with the exception of German and Hebrew locals, who have local autonomy.

We also find that branches are established in various cities of the country, with a representative in charge chosen by the New York officials.

When meetings are held, no measures of importance can be adopted without the approval of the Board of Directors in New York City. All discussion on local autonomy is strictly prohibited and members have been summarily expelled for advocating same.

We find that where charges are preferred against any member of the order, the member so charged is compelled to appear (either in person or by representative member), in the city of New York, to stand trial, at their own expense—irrespective of their residence—and if found guilty there is no recourse except through the courts.

We find that legislation for or against local conditions must be referred to the New York officials of the order for final action thereon.

The complainants in support of the local union form of government stated that there were upwards of 2,000 resident actors in Chicago and vicinity who book in and out of this city. Similar conditions exist in other large cities of the country.

They further contended that the best interests of the organization would be protected in having local autonomy.

The defense claimed that the actors were "here to-day and gone to-morrow" and maintained that to be successful they must travel from city to city, giving this as one of the main reasons why local autonomy could not be established in the order.

From the evidence presented, your committee believe that the future best interests of the White Rats Actors' Unions of

America can best be served by the establishment of local autonomy and other changes necessary to conform with the fundamental laws of the A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, President Gompers has officially notified protesting members of the White Rats Actors' Union of America, incorporated, in Chicago, that "all letters and documents would be turned over to the coming convention at Rochester, N. Y.," and

WHEREAS, Signed charges are submitted in connection with these resolutions, certifying to the violation of the terms of agreement of amalgamation between the White Rats of America and the Actors International Union, which charges are signed by members of the aforesaid White Rats Actors' Union of America, incorporated; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this annual convention of the American Federation of America, held in the city of Rochester, N. Y., does hereby instruct its President to select an impartial committee of three, who shall make complete and thorough investigation of the charges and findings as set forth in these resolutions, they shall submit their findings to this convention with the proper recommendation thereon.

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate James P. Holland of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, The White Rats Actors' Union of America withdrew from the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity; and

WHEREAS, Said body withdrew after the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity had appointed a committee to investigate the said organization upon its invitation; and

WHEREAS, For the sake of harmony which does not exist in Greater New York in the Actors' Union, and which harmony is necessary in the interest of the actors and the general labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That for the purpose of bringing about such harmony and creating the required solidarity, this Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor appoints and instructs an impartial committee of three representatives to arrange a thorough investigation of the White Rats Actors' Union of America.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee understands that the American Federation of Labor has no authority to investigate or to interfere with the administration of the internal affairs of an affiliated international union, unless it be alleged that the rights and interests of another affiliated union are being encroached upon. No such claim is made in this case; however, it is alleged in the various resolutions now under consideration that the White Rats Actors' Union has failed to keep inviolate the terms of an agreement entered into at the time this organization was formed

through the amalgamation of the White Rats of America and the Actors' International Union, to which the American Federation of Labor was a party. Because of this your committee recommends that the whole subject matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with instructions to investigate the charge that the terms of amalgamation have been violated, and if they find that the terms of amalgamation have been violated, they take such action as may be necessary to secure compliance with the terms of the agreement under which the charter of the White Rats Actors' Union was issued.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 58—By Delegate Henry Prinz, New York State Federation of Labor:**

WHEREAS, The Hat and Cap Leather Sweat Band Cutters Union, No. 11,307, of New York, on account of its isolation as a federal union from all affiliated unions connected with their craft, are unable to displace non-union sweat bands from union made hats; and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. has declared for one organization for each trade, which we heartily endorse and which would greatly benefit this union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. use its influence to the effect that the Hat and Cap Leather Sweat Band Cutters Union become part of the United Hatters of North America, or the Hat Trimmers Union, as a subordinate body in order to secure relief that is absolutely necessary for the maintenance and existence of their organization.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that this matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with instructions to assist the members of Local 11,307 in securing proper affiliation, or such protection as is possible to conserve the best interests of its members.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 74—By Delegate Butterworth of the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance:**

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor rendered a decision in the jurisdiction dispute between The International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, and the International Union of Steam Engineers, wherein the control of electrically operated machines replacing hand

labor in brickyards was awarded to the engineers; and

WHEREAS, The International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers Alliance has filed a protest with the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. contending that the Erick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers had not agreed to any form of arbitration; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be, and is, hereby instructed to reopen and thoroughly investigate the dispute between the two unions.

#### **Brick Makers—Steam Engineers.**

In conformity with instructions given by you at our last convention, as per Resolution No. 132, a conference of the representatives of the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance and the International Union of Steam Engineers was arranged. Vice-President Alpine representing the Executive Council. No agreement was reached upon the disputed points of jurisdiction and it was referred to the Executive Council. We thereupon sustained the Steam Engineers in their contention for jurisdiction over men operating electric machines in brick yards.

On Resolution No. 74 and that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Brick Makers—Steam Engineers," the committee reported as follows:

Your committee finds that through a misunderstanding the representatives of the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance were not present when the subject matter was considered by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the decision of the Executive Council being predicated upon an agreement which authorized it to decide the jurisdiction of the respective organizations involved in this dispute should the organizations in question fail to reach an agreement themselves. However, in view of the claims made before your committee by the representatives of the International Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to reopen this case.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Hannahan—I would like to ask Delegate Butterworth to tell the convention whether he is in a position to assure the convention that his organization

will abide by the decision of the Executive Council after this case is reopened.

**Delegate Butterworth**—The protest of the international organization I represent is based on the fact that the matter was not properly before the Council, and I cannot say what action will be taken by my organization.

**Delegate Hannahar** discussed the question and stated that the delegates of the International Union of Steam Engineers were not objecting to the recommendation of the committee, but would approve of it if Delegate Butterworth would give the assurance that his organization would abide by the decision of the Executive Council if the case were reopened.

**Vice-President Mitchell**, Chairman of the Committee—For the committee I beg to say there were presented to the committee copies of agreements entered into between the brickmakers' organization and the manufacturers containing a clause providing that if a dispute arose as to jurisdiction over these electrical engineers the matter was to be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the decision of the Council was to be accepted by the representatives of the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Union. We are advised that the same clause was inserted in an agreement with the Steam Engineers, so that each side in this case had prepared to submit the dispute to the Executive Council and to accept its decision. The committee was influenced to recommend the reopening of this case purely upon the grounds that Mr. Butterworth for his organization stated that they had not been represented when the matter was decided and that they had not been notified to be present. There is a good deal of confusion about the matter, but the records of the Executive Council indicate that when the decision was made the Council had in mind the fact that the question might arise again and they so couched the language of their decision as to provide for the contingency that has arisen.

**Delegate Hannahan**—The last convention of the Brickmakers withdrew the power of their international officers to adjust or handle this case and placed it entirely within the hands of their local joint board in the city of Chicago.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

**Resolution No. 81**—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, M. J. McGuire, George W. Pring and Thomas J. Garvey of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America:

WHEREAS, On November 12, 1910, in the city of Indianapolis, Indiana, the duly authorized representatives of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers and the International Association of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America in conference agreed upon all work and disputes except the question of smoke stacks and breacings; and

WHEREAS, All work not mutually agreed upon was referred to Mr. Jas. Duncan, First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, as Arbitrator, whose decision should be final and binding upon both parties at interest; and

WHEREAS, The decision of Vice-President Duncan was ratified by the St. Louis Convention of the American Federation of Labor, thereby settling all differences between the two organizations and constituting a bona fide agreement; and

WHEREAS, The representatives of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers have repeatedly refused to sign the agreement entered into in good faith and have and are now doing work that was conceded to the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and have refused to comply with the terms of the agreement; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By this the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the agreement entered into between the representatives of the two organizations at interest, including the award of Vice-President Duncan, be and is hereby declared as binding upon both organizations; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the departments of the American Federation of Labor be requested to notify all local councils under their respective jurisdictions of the validity of the agreement as covering jurisdiction of the two organizations.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee reports that J. A. Franklin, M. J. McGuire, George W. Pring, and Thomas J. Garvey representing the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America, and James E. McClory, Frank E. Thoman, and Daniel J. O'Shea, representing the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, appeared before your committee and agreed that the subject matter of this resolution should be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with authority to decide.

Was an agreement entered into between the representatives of the above

named organizations defining the jurisdiction of each?

And if so the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have full authority to decide the terms of the agreement and the application of same.

All of the above representatives pledged their organizations to accept as final and to comply with the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in the disputed question herein named.

The committee recommends the adoption of the agreement.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate Stephen C. Summer of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The strike of the brick-makers, steam shovel and dredgemen and stationary firemen against the Purington Paving Brick Company of Galesburg, Ill., is still on; and

WHEREAS, This struggle has now been carried on for two and one-half years and the Purington Company still refuses to recognize the justice of the demands of the unions involved, which are the right of organization and union conditions; and

WHEREAS, This fight has received official recognition and support from the Illinois State Federation and of the city central bodies of the state, with benefit to the organizations involved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pledge support and assistance to the striking brickmakers, steam shovel and dredgemen, and stationary firemen in an effort to bring about an adjustment of the pending difficulty.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 100—By Delegates Martin E. Goclnitz, Frank Shilf, G. E. Strom, of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers:

WHEREAS, The Hodcarriers & Building Laborers International Union have asked for an extension of jurisdiction over street, sewer and tunnel laborers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this jurisdiction shall not apply to laborers under the jurisdiction of organizations already chartered by the A. F. of L., and that it shall in no way interfere with the jurisdiction of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers as granted to them by the A. F. of L. and as reaffirmed and interpreted at the convention of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. held at Tampa, Florida, 1929.

#### **Building Trades Department—Hod Carriers—Cement Workers.**

The International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers Union appealed to your Executive Council from the decision of the Tampa Convention of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L., jurisdiction over laborers doing the mixing of concrete having been thereby conceded to the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers. After all parties in interest had been afforded a full opportunity of presenting their respective claims of jurisdiction, our best judgment was that the appeal of the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers should be sustained.

On Resolution No. 109 and that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Building Trades Department—Hod Carriers—Cement Workers," the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in this resolution, and it further recommends the endorsement of the action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in extending the jurisdiction of the International Hod Carriers' and Building Laborers' Union so as to include cement laborers employed in the construction of sewers and tunnels; it also recommends endorsement of the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in sustaining the appeal of the International Hod Carriers' and Building Laborers' Union from the decision of the Tampa convention of the Building Trades Department, which had conceded to the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers jurisdiction over laborers doing the mixing of concrete.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Short, President of the Building Trades Department: I would like to move as an amendment to this motion that the subject be referred to the convention of the Building Trades Department. In making that amendment it is my belief that this convention has the right to override the decisions of the Building Trades Department in convention; but I do not think it is fair to the building trades men, when they decide a question in convention, for the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to override that decision.

I think this should be referred to the coming convention of the Building Trades Department. I believe I can speak for the building trades men when I say I believe they will be absolutely fair in this matter. The Tampa convention referred to occurred three years ago. It will be useless for the Building Trades Department to decide any dispute if in two, three or four years the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor can reverse that decision.

The amendment offered by Delegate Short was seconded.

Delegate Furuseth—That involves a very serious question as I see the meaning of it. The motion is to refer from this convention to the Building Trades Convention, and the reasons given are that it is no use for the Building Trades Convention to deal with these questions if the convention of the American Federation of Labor shall undertake to reopen or review.

Delegate Short—I stated it was useless for the Building Trades conventions to decide matters if they were going to be reversed by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.

Delegate Furuseth—As I understand the proposition you have here a question of which is the body in authority, which is the body that has a right to review and to act. It seems to me that if the contention of the President of the Building Trades Department is accepted here the logical result is the Building Trades Department and its Executive Council becomes the superior body.

Delegate D'Alessandro discussed the question at length and contended for the jurisdiction asked in the resolution. He referred to the wage scales of members of the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers Union in various parts of the country and to the conditions existing in the various trades where laborers were employed. He opposed the amendment.

Delegate Goellnitz discussed the question at length and spoke in favor of the amendment.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Feeney.

The amendment offered by Delegate Short was withdrawn.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 96—By Delegate T. J. Dolan of the International Union of Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, through their affiliations with the I. L. A. and the I. U. S. E., have been the recognized union of the shovel and dredgemen of this country for years, by all union men, also by the railroad companies and the large contractors of the country, also by the United States government and foreign governments; and

WHEREAS, Excellent wages and conditions are now being enjoyed by all members of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen through their present affiliations; and

WHEREAS, By continuing these affiliations, jurisdictional disputes (the present great curse of the labor movement) are being avoided; and

WHEREAS, The shovel and dredgemen are now working under labor contracts made in connection with the I. L. A. and the I. U. S. E. that run in some cases yet for eighteen months, and any change of present arrangements of affiliation with the A. F. of L. would only lead to breaking of contracts, or bring on a large, bitter jurisdiction fight, which the officers of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen are, and have been for years anxious to avoid, and

WHEREAS, A number of seceders from the I. B. S. S. & D. have organized a so-called union of steam shovel and dredgemen (by name the Associated Union of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen), and have lately discovered that they cannot work on any union jobs in this country, unless they carry a paid-up card in the I. B. S. S. & D.; and

WHEREAS, These seceders have applied to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. for a charter; and

WHEREAS, The granting of such a charter would only bring on a bitter jurisdictional fight and disrupt the fine conditions that now exist through the present affiliations of the shovel and dredgemen with the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, Most of the good men in this dual organization are being kept in this so-called union by promises of certain individuals that the A. F. of L. would grant them a charter; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. in Convention assembled, do hereby call upon all shovel and dredgemen in the country to affiliate at once with the I. B. of S. S. and D.; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of all organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. are hereby instructed to withdraw any and all support (if now given) the seceding organization of S. S. & D.

Resolution No. 113—By Mining Department, American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There are in existence two organizations of steam shovel men, one known as the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, not in it-

self an international organization, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, but a subsidiary organization to the International Union of Steam Engineers, and one organization known as the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen; and

WHEREAS, A resolution was adopted by the Atlanta convention directing the Executive Council to call conferences of representatives of the different organizations interested for the purpose of uniting in one organization all the men in these crafts in accordance with the laws of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Associated Union of Steam Shovel Men has co-operated with the Executive Council in its efforts to amalgamate the two organizations to its fullest extent; and

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen does not seem desirous of amalgamation on terms fair to all, as is evidenced by the report of the Executive Council; and

WHEREAS, The said Associated Union has repeatedly made efforts to become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, It is imperative to this department that a bona fide international organization of steam shovel men affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be chartered immediately; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor, recognizing the necessity of and the right to affiliation with the American Federation of Labor of an international union of steam shovel men does hereby insist that the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the immediate issuance of a charter to an international union of steam shovel men.

On Resolution No. 96, Resolution No. 113 and that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Amalgamation Steam-Shovelmen's Organizations," the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the entire subject matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with instructions to arrange a conference of representatives of all parties at interest for the purpose of securing an amalgamation of the two organizations, the members of which are now employed as steam shovel and dredge men. Should the Executive Council fail in its efforts to consummate an agreement amalgamating the two organizations, your committee recommends that the Executive Council outline a plan setting forth conditions upon which it believes amalgamation should be effected, and if either or both parties in interest fail or refuse to agree to the terms of amalgamation proposed by the Executive Council, then in

that event the Executive Council shall report the result of its efforts to the next convention, together with such recommendations as may seem necessary to bring about unity of action among the men employed as steam shovel and dredge men.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Dolan (T. J.) stated that he agreed with the recommendation of the committee. He stated that since the affiliation of the International Brotherhood of Steam-Shovel and Dredge Men with the Steam Engineers' Union they had gained the eight-hour day for their men in all the cities where they are working and \$150 a month wages. He referred to the fact that the members of his organization on the lakes were affiliated with the Longshoremen and that their wages and conditions had been improved by that affiliation.

Delegate Gallagher (A. J.) discussed the question and stated that he desired to see the two organizations of steam-shovel and dredge men amalgamated. He stated further that he would like to see the committee recommend that if one organization refused the terms decided upon by the Executive Council in the proposed conference the other side would be recognized and given a charter.

Delegate Moyer—I rise to move that Mr. Wilde, who is here representing the union of steam shovel men not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be given the floor to speak for the organization he represents.

No objection being offered, Mr. Wilde was given the privilege of the floor and stated the position of the organization he represented, the Associated Union of Steam Shovel Men. He stated they were anxious to come into the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of working with other organizations for the welfare of the movement in general. He discussed briefly the question of one international being able to issue a charter to another international union, and asked if an international organization had power to issue a charter to an organization composed of members over whom they had no jurisdiction; that the steam engineers are an entirely distinct craft from the steam shovel men. He stated that the organization he represented did

not claim jurisdiction over the dredgemen; that the longshoremen's organization and the tugmen's organization were capable of keeping up the wages of those men and they were in the organization where they properly belonged.

Delegate Moyer stated he was not opposed to the report of the committee as far as it went, that he was absolutely in accord with it and desired to see the entire matter go before the Executive Council if authority were given the Executive Council to settle the matter before the next convention of the American Federation of Labor. He stated that he favored power being placed in the hands of the Executive Council by the convention, not to report back to the next convention, but to outline fair and just terms of amalgamation of the two organizations of steam shovelmen, but that both should be given to understand by the convention that if they failed to agree to the decision of the Executive Council the one refusing to agree to such terms would be refused recognition and the organization willing to agree would be granted the charter. At the close of his discussion Delegate Moyer offered the following amendment:

That the entire matter be left in the hands of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with power and with the instructions that either of the factions refusing to comply with the fair and just terms of amalgamation proposed by the Council the other faction shall be given a charter and jurisdiction over the men in that industry. (Seconded.)

President Gompers—The hour of adjournment is at hand and there will be no time for discussion of this amendment, if there is to be a discussion on it. If there are no objections that discussion will be taken up this afternoon upon reconvening. Before adjournment the chair asks if there will be any objection to the introduction of a resolution for the purpose of urging Congress to establish a museum and exhibition similar to the one that was mentioned by General Bryant who delivered the illustrated lecture to us.

No objection being offered, the following resolution was introduced:.

**Resolution No. 132—By Delegate Gompers of the Cigar Makers' International Union:**

**WHEREAS, One of the pressing problems confronting the great army of toilers of our country is the proper and efficient safe-guarding of their comfort, health and safety; and**

**WHEREAS, The safety devices and other methods of promoting the safety, health, and comfort of workers are ineffective and insufficient and the ready knowledge obtainable on the subject is of such meagre proportion to the importance of the problem; therefore, be it**

**RESOLVED, That the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor urge Congress to establish a Museum of Safety, wherein working devices may be on exhibition that will illustrate in a comprehensive manner the most approved methods of safe-guarding machinery, eliminating dusts, noxious fumes, and excessive heat, and furnish information calculated to promote the health, safety, and comfort of all toilers. A museum of this character should afford a means of establishing standards and offering an opportunity for factory departments of the several states to obtain information and assistance that will tend toward the accomplishment of more uniform enactments and effective enforcement of laws for the conservation of the life and health of the working people of America.**

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Secretary Morrison stated that several matters acted on by the convention of the Union Label Trades Department had been referred by that convention to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, and presented the following to the convention:

Rochester, N. Y., Nov. 18, 1912.

To the Officers and Delegates to the 32nd Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Greetings:

I beg leave to submit to you for your consideration and action sundry matters that were acted upon by the Convention of the Union Label Trades Department, held in this city, Nov. 7th, 8th and 9th, which I was directed to refer to this convention.

During the year the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor referred to this department the subject matter as contained in Resolution No. 141, introduced at the Atlanta convention, relative to a universal label or a universal design. This matter received the attention of the department, and upon recommendation of President Tobin a special committee of seven on universal label and universal design was appointed to consider this whole subject matter. The committee gave careful consideration to



this subject, and the conclusion arrived at by them is contained in the following report, which was directed to be reported at this convention.

To the Fifth Convention of the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor:

Ladies and Gentlemen—Your special committee, appointed on the recommendation of the President of this Department to consider the question of a universal label or a universal design for combination with present labels, has had several sessions, and has gone into the subject committed to it as extensively and thoroughly as was possible with the data at hand, and the limited time at the disposal of the committee; and it is the unanimous conclusion of the committee that it will not be possible to present to this convention as comprehensive and thorough-going a report as the importance of the subject demands and the requirements of the question make advisable. Your committee recommends, therefore, that it be continued with the following instructions:

That prior to the assembling of the sixth convention of this Department, the committee make exhaustive and painstaking investigation of the universal label proposition and the universal design proposition; that officers of international unions having labels, shop cards or buttons be requested to furnish the committee their views on the universal label, or universal design, especially as applied to the product of their trade, and that these views be accompanied by opinions from their attorneys as to the legality and practicability of the universal label or design in that particular trade; that the committee be authorized to gather such other information and data as in the opinion of the committee will be valuable in connection with the consideration of the general subject; that the committee be also authorized to procure a legal opinion from an attorney of national reputation as to label registration and issuance; that the committee be authorized to meet at least one month prior to the assembling of the sixth convention and at that time consider all of the data and information that has been collected, compile its report, have this report printed and placed in the hands of the delegates to the sixth convention prior to the assembling of that convention.

Your committee is of the opinion that carrying out the program as outlined herein, together with such other measures as may in the meantime be suggested to the committee, or initiated or approved by the committee, the important question of the universal label, or universal design, will be before the sixth convention with a comprehensive report and accompanying data that will enable the convention to arrive at a conclusion that will be generally acceptable to the label trades and that will be of value to the international organizations affiliated with this label department and the trade union movement generally.

The secretary of this department is a member of the special committee, and therefore the machinery of the department will be at the disposal of the committee in the performance of the mission referred to it.

All of which is fraternally submitted.

JAMES M. LYNCH,  
THOMAS F. TRACY,  
COLLIS LOVELY,  
B. A. LARGER,  
MARTIN LAWLER,  
A. J. KUGLER,  
JOHN GOLDEN.

The following resolution was introduced by Delegate Flynn of the Metal Polishers. The committee to whom this resolution was referred recommended that the same be submitted to this Convention for their consideration and action.

#### **The Report of the Committee on Resolutions.**

Resolution No. 7 by Delegate Flynn of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers:

WHEREAS, It has come to the attention of the organized trades employed in the Whitehead Hoag Co., of Newark, N. J., that the said firm is on the unfair list of the American Federation of Labor, and advertised as such in trade and labor journals throughout this country; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That we, the Label Trades in Convention assembled, settle this question once and for all as to whether this firm is fair or unfair to organized labor.

It was also voted that the following report of the Committee on Label Propaganda be transmitted to this Convention:

#### **The Report of the Committee on Label Propaganda.**

To the Fifth Convention of the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor:

Ladies and Gentlemen—To your Committee on Label Propaganda has been assigned the task of making suggestions that will advance a movement that for years has existed in association with the general trade union movement of the North American continent. Perhaps no field of trade union endeavor has been more consistently and industriously tillled in the hope that a new idea or a new method may be given life than has the field of union label propaganda. Every union that advertises its label has been anxious to make that label so well known and so persistently sought after that the results to the particular trade the label represents will more than justify the label's existence. Trained advertising men have been enlisted in this publicity crusade. For a committee of this convention, therefore, to suggest anything

that is distinctly new is almost without human probability or reasonable expectation. It has been asserted so often that it has become a platitude, but nevertheless a platitude worth reasserting, that if each individual member of the trade unions would expend his purchasing power in support of the union label, this instrument for the advancement of fair conditions, this sign of fair dealing and a decent wage, would be in such universal favor that it would be the most potent instrument for the advancement of the trade union cause. If this proposition is founded on the basis of truth, then it seems to your committee that the problem is to find the method that will interest the individual organized toiler, and to impress upon him that in order to be consistent in his trade union fealty and membership he must not only demand decent conditions of employment for himself, but he must insist on decent conditions of employment for his fellow worker in other industries. It has been sought to compel the trade unionist to purchase union labeled products; it has been sought to coerce him in this direction by fines and other penalties, and this coercion has not accomplished the result. In the opinion of your committee the appeal must be made to his trade-union consciousness. He must be reached with argument, with example and with precept, and at every opportunity the lesson must be impressed on his consciousness and the idea inculcated into his trade-union understanding that one of the best methods of asserting his trade-unionism and of exemplifying his consistency, a method always at hand, lies in the purchase of union-labeled products. In this crusade, founded as it is on a single idea, the organizers and business representatives of the American Federation of Labor, the various international unions, the central bodies and the local unions can and should be apostles of a persistent creed. If they could be induced to embody in their addresses to gatherings of trade-unionists a section devoted to the label, and the obligation of the trade-unionist to support the label, there would be gradually aroused that trade-union consciousness to which we refer, and which is a most desirable and necessary quantity in label advancement. It must be remembered, however, that these trade-union representatives are serving a particular cause, and are employees of a class of trade-unionists and expected to advance the interests of that class and craft. Frequently, and in fact, generally, they are so absorbed in the performance of their direct mission that the label feature of the movement escapes attention and memory. Is it not possible to find some instrument that will always serve as a reminder to these trade-union employees of the desirability of label propaganda as a part of their general work?

In order to carry out this feature of the general crusade it is recommended that the Secretary of this Department be in-

structed to secure a serviceable pocket or memorandum book for distribution among the various organizers mentioned above, and that there shall be bound in with this book an attractively printed section embodying the ideas herein set forth as to label propaganda, and containing the request to the organizer that a section of each address that he may make to trade unionists and sympathizers and friends shall contain a reference to the label and its utility as an instrument for the advancement of the trade-union cause.

In his report, the Secretary refers to space that has been so kindly placed at the disposal of this Department by the various journals published by international unions, and it is suggested that perhaps additional space might be accorded in which to make a brief but emphatic appeal to the label-consciousness of the trade-union member. It is assumed that the labor press will also publish these brief label messages if the request comes to them direct from the Secretary of this Department. It will not be necessary to advertise any particular label in this way, and it may be that better results will come from the short label messages that explain the object and mission of the insignia of fair dealing and decent conditions, rather than an advertisement for many labels that will result in confusion to an audience that is not familiar with our label gallery.

Every member of a trade union carries with him constantly a working card. Is it not possible to induce the various international unions to print on these cards the single line: "It is your duty to purchase union-labeled articles"?

Other methods and other instruments may be found which will also carry this brief and pointed message, and its iteration and reiteration cannot fail to leave upon the mind of the trade-unionist that trade-union consciousness to which we refer in this report—a consciousness which will, when he is expending his money, prompt him to distribute it through those channels which will be of benefit of his fellow trade unionists.

If the individual member of the trade unions can be interested in label propaganda to the extent that we so briefly outline in this report, and if he can be induced whenever possible to spend his wages, earned under a union scale, for label articles, then he will become a disciple in the label cause, and he will interest friends and sympathizers who are not directly associated with the trade unions through active membership.

So far as the international unions with labels, shop cards and buttons are concerned, those affiliated with this department and bearing its financial burden and contributing to the success of its mission, are performing their part in the dissemination of the label creed. The unaffiliated unions are in the position of the individual member of the trade union who does not purchase union-labeled products. Indeed, such an international union, possessing a label of its own, and expecting

for that label the support and patronage of the organized toilers, yet declining to be of assistance in propagating the general label idea, is more culpable than is this individual trade-unionist, for it knows the right thing to do, and in failing to affiliate with this Label Department declines to do that right thing. We urge, therefore, upon all international unions that are not at present in affiliation with the Union Label Trades Department that affiliation be made effective as soon as possible. In order that the label trades department may advance this phase of the movement, your committee recommends that during the next year an agent of this department visit each convention of the non-affiliated unions and urge upon these conventions the necessity and desirability of affiliation. Your committee believes that this agent should be selected as soon as possible, and that it should be a part of his duty to visit these conventions and after explaining his mission to a convention, to remain on the ground until that particular convention has taken favorable or unfavorable action on the proposition for affiliation. At the present time officers of international unions are delegated to visit the conventions of non-affiliated organizations. These officers are busy men and of necessity they can not devote any more time to the mission that they consent to undertake than is necessary for the presentation of the suggestion of affiliation. On the other hand, if an agent is selected and made responsible for the proper prosecution of this work, we will have a complete report on each convention visited, and where affiliation is not decided upon, we will have the reason for that unfavorable action. This agent will also be of great utility in delivering label lectures between conventions and in otherwise advancing and propagating the work of this department.

It was also voted that the attention of this convention be called to the non-affiliated organizations to this department who issue union labels, store or shop cards or buttons.

At the close of the fiscal year there is an affiliation to this department of thirty-eight (38) national or international unions, with an aggregate membership of three hundred and seventy thousand (370,000). Since the close of the convention to this department two (2) organizations have notified their intentions to affiliate. According to the report of the secretary of the American Federation of Labor there are some sixty-seven organizations that are entitled to affiliate with this department, and whose label, store or shop card or button has been endorsed by the American Federation of Labor, and appears upon the Union Label Bulletin as

printed and distributed. This leaves practically twenty-seven (27) organizations who are not in affiliation with this department.

It should be remembered that affiliation with us is voluntary, and while it is not the aim or the desire of this department arbitrarily to compel an organization to affiliate, we feel it is the duty of each of these organizations to join with us and assist in the work that we are doing for the promotion of the sale of union label products, and the patronizing of such establishments as display a union store or shop card, and the individual member of an organization who wears his current monthly button. As to the progress made particularly in the output of articles bearing the union label, splendid gains have been made during the past year, and the increase in the number of union labels issued by our affiliated organizations was reported by this department to President Gompers, and is embodied in his report.

We cannot advance any stronger argument for the complete affiliation of all organizations than the one which is contained in the report of the Committee on Label Propaganda, and which is a part of this report.

Feeling as we do that the Union Label Trades Department is no longer an experiment, that it has established its value and worth, and that the work in which we are engaged has been and is productive of good results, we appeal to the officers of the international unions not yet in affiliation, to do so at their earliest opportunity, and we also ask assistance of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to bring about this much desired result.

Respectfully submitted by order of the Convention of the Union Label Trades Department.

Yours fraternally,  
THOMAS F. TRACY,  
Secretary-Treasurer.

The matter referred to the convention from the Union Label Trades Department was referred to the Committee on Labels.

At 12.30 the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2 p. m.

## Ninth Day—Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 p. m., Friday, November 22d, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees** — Noschang, Klapetzky, Kline, Kramer, O'Shea (D. J.), Strom, Shiff, Conway (H. J.), Yount, Ford (Chas. P.), Larger, Rosenberg (A.), Archie, D'Andrea, Bryan (W. E.), Healey (D.), Coakley, Lowe, Allen, Walker, Lewis, Miller (O.), Wright (T.), Clark (Wm. D.), Murphy (P.), Whitehead, Gallagher (T. J.), Huddleston, Golden, Gallagher (A. J.), Donnelly, Preble, Sullivan (J. H.), McCarthy (F. H.), McGinley, Landers, Kane, Burns (E. S.), Elyea, Weber (F. J.), Doherty, Hunter, Norman, Draper, Bryan (F. O.), Stokes, Spencer, Lawler, Sinclair, Waldron, Lebowitz, Johnson, Beckman.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

"Chicago, Ill., Nov. 20, 1912.

"Hon. Samuel Gompers, Rochester, N. Y.:

"Dear Mr. Gompers—At its thirty-second annual session held in New Orleans the 7, 8, 9, 11 and 12th of this month, the Farmers National Congress, having in mind certain provisions in the Postoffice Appropriation Bill enacted into law August 24 last, unanimously adopted a resolution stating that it regarded with disfavor and apprehension any abridgment of the freedom of the press and demanding that the making of laws and rulings abridging the freedom of the press be discontinued.

"Of course, the Farmers National Congress is well aware that freedom is not license and it was the first national organization to adopt a resolution calling on all papers to stop the publication of fraudulent or immoral ads.

"It has reached the conclusion—such conclusion is inevitable—if events are carefully considered—that there is a movement gradually, subtly, but none the less effectually, to abridge the freedom of the press.

"As you know, periodicals have been harried during recent years and those classes of periodicals that have been most vigilant to expose public corruption have been most subjected to harassing rules and regulations.

"A little has been done here, a little there, until the total effect has become threatening and now all classes of periodicals have been affected. It is certainly time to call a halt.

"Certainly no organization should be more alert to maintain the freedom of the press than the American Federation of Labor. Considering what it represents, it may be asked if any other organization should be as alert? A free press is the best safe-guard of our liberties and institutions. It is the greatest foe of corruption and disloyalty. The Farmers

National Congress is not composed of publishers, but of practicing farmers. At its recent annual session 36 states were represented by delegates appointed by the governors of these states on the nomination of the agricultural organizations of the states.

"We respectfully suggest that the American Federation of Labor adopt a resolution along the lines of the one adopted by our organization, calling a halt on the making of laws and regulations further to abridge the freedom of the press and also asking for the repeal of laws already enacted when needlessly and unwarrantably interfering with the business of the publishers of periodicals.

"Respectfully yours,

"FARMERS NATIONAL CONGRESS.  
"JOHN M. STAHL, Legislative Agent,  
Farmers National Congress, U. S. A."

The matter contained in the communication was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

"New York, November 21, 1912.

"American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall, Rochester, New York:

"Delegates—Accept the heartiest congratulations of the nine thousand furriers who struck and won. Long live unionism.

"FURRIERS UNION."

President Gompers stated that the discussion on the resolutions in connection with the Steam Shovel and Dredge Men's organizations would be resumed.

Delegate Comerford spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee and opposed the amendment offered by Delegate Moyer. He stated that in former years the members of the International Union of Steam Engineers had difficulties with the Brotherhood of Steam-Shovel Men and Dredge Men, that the hoisting engineers in various cities had members operating steam shovels, and various disputes occurred between them and the steam shovel men, but after a conference of the two organizations matters were satisfactorily adjusted and the steam shovelmen became part of the International Union of Steam Engineers.

Delegate O'Gonnor (T. V.) stated that he was heartily in accord with the report of the committee. He stated that dredge men had been affiliated with the long-shoremen's organization for the past twelve years and they intended to retain them in that affiliation. He stated that

he had faith in the Executive Council's ability to bring about a peaceful adjustment of the matter, but that he would insist upon representatives of the longshoremens being present at any meeting where matters concerning steam shovel and dredgemen were under consideration.

Delegate Cannon—I want to know if international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have power to charter international unions. I want to know the power of the international in this respect.

President Gompers—The chair is not in a position to answer that definitely. The fact is that the International Longshoremen's Association, whether by charter or other process, has taken as a part of that association other branches of industry being organized entities. I understand the International Union of Steam Engineers have issued a local charter to the steam shovel men as a local body.

Delegate Furuseth—I move as an amendment to the amendment that the arrangement shall be accomplished by June 1st or by the last of June. I understand the amendment goes to this extent, that any one not willing to accept the arrangements made by the Executive Council thereby loses, that it will have no further consideration paid to it, and those willing to accept will have a charter issued to them. I, therefore, offer as an amendment to the amendment that the arrangement shall be accomplished by June 1st or by the last of June. (Seconded.)

The amendment offered by Delegate Furuseth was accepted by Delegate Moyer as part of his amendment.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.)—If the amendment is adopted it will mean the revocation of the charter of the organization refusing to comply with the decision of the Executive Council. Will it not be necessary to have a roll call vote on that because it involves the revocation of a charter?

President Gompers—That is what it will require.

Delegate Gallagher—Has the International Association of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men a charter issued from this American Federation of Labor?

President Gompers—They belong to the Longshoremen. They are affiliated through their affiliation with the Longshoremen.

Delegate Gallagher—Then in passing on this the convention will not be revoking a charter?

President Gompers—That is true. The chair stands corrected.

Vice-President Duncan—In accordance with the amendment offered by Delegate Moyer, when conferences are held and one side objects to the conditions laid down the other side is to get a charter; it would mean that if the steam shovel and dredgemen and engineers now represented in this convention through the Engineers and through the Longshoremen agreed to the condition, the action of the convention would mean that the steam-shovel men in the Engineers Union and the dredgemen in the Longshoremen's Union would be taken out of both of those organizations and given a charter. If, on the other hand, they objected and the other side accepted the conditions the other side would get a charter and perforce by the passage of this amendment the Longshoremen and the Engineers would both have to renounce jurisdiction over and give up the organizations chartered by them, and if they refused to do so it would mean that the charters held by the engineers and the longshoremen, if you vote to pass the amendment, would have to be revoked. I think you will do a great deal better if you will pass the committee's report and go on with it without the apparent compulsory features the amendment throws into the committee's report.

Delegate O'Connor (T. V.)—The amendment to the amendment calls for the revocation of a charter on June 1, 1913. What charter?

Vice-President Duncan—In the event of this expected settlement not being effected to the satisfaction of the engineers and steam-shovel men and dredgemen the organizations in which they hold membership would have to lose their charters. There is no other way they are connected with the American Federation of Labor than through the charters of the Longshoremen and Engineers, and if their charters must be revoked it would mean either one of two things, the charters of those organizations would have to be revoked or the engineers and longshoremen would have to expel from their organizations the steam shovel men and dredgemen.

Delegate Furuseth withdrew the amendment to the amendment.

Delegate Moyer stated his amendment did not contemplate the revocation of any charter.

Delegate McNulty, in discussing the question, quoted the following statement from the chairman of the Committee on Adjustment in the Atlanta convention: "The committee wants this declaration to go out, that if a faction of a trade breaks away or the organization splits, the portion that goes out on the outside may know at the very start that there can be no recognition of two divisions of that organization in this Federation, nor can some faction of a craft not yet affiliated with the organization that is affiliated here, some independent portion of a trade on the outside, hold out with the hope that in the future it is possible for that portion of that craft to be chartered by the American Federation of Labor." Delegate McNulty asked, "In the event the recommendation of the committee prevails, or the amendment to the motion prevails, will that in any way mean that the declaration of the Atlanta convention will be set aside?"

President Gompers—Not in any event. The amendment offered by Delegate Moyer was lost by a vote of 141 in the negative to 48 in the affirmative.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 110—By Chas. H. Moyer and Edwin Perry of the Mining Department of the A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The machinists, boiler-makers, moulders, carpenters, Associated Steam Shovelmen and miners have been on strike against the Utah Copper and other mining companies in Bingham Canyon, Utah, since September 18th, 1912, for the enforcement of recognition of organized labor and the establishment of better wages and working conditions; and

WHEREAS, The aforesaid mining companies operate in connection with their mines and reduction plants a railway system known as the Bingham and Garfield Railway; and

WHEREAS, The said Bingham and Garfield R. R. is manned and operated by members of the railway brotherhoods; and

WHEREAS, The operation of this railway is greatly jeopardizing the interests of organized labor and rendering succor to the mine operators; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that we petition the railway brother-

hoods to call out their men on this road and join the allied unions in this industrial dispute; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the A. F. of L. notify the railway brotherhoods of this action and that the President and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. put forth all legitimate means to the end of securing compliance on the part of the railway brotherhoods with the above resolution and petition.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to do whatever it properly can to secure the co-operation of the railway brotherhoods, to the end that the dispute may be speedily and satisfactorily adjusted.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 120—By Delegates Timothy Healy, William J. Brennan, M. J. Freil of the International Brotherhood Stationary Firemen:

WHEREAS, The proceedings of the bi-annual convention of the International Union of Steam Engineers held at St. Paul, Minn., in September, 1912, shows that the aforesaid organization extended a claim for jurisdiction by change of title and also by amending Article XIX, Section 1, to read as follows:

A candidate for membership in a Local of the International Union of Steam Engineers must be a competent engineer or apprentice engineer. He shall possess a license in localities where such is required. When a candidate presents himself for membership and is out of employment, the local union shall be judge as to the wisdom of admitting him to membership; and

WHEREAS, From many localities complaints have been received from local unions of the I. B. of S. E. against the actions of the I. U. of S. E. for their infringements on the charter rights of the I. B. of S. E. as granted by the American Federation of Labor in violation of Section 2 of Article II and Section II of Article IX of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 32nd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the said action of the International Union of Steam Engineers was in direct violation of the constitution of the A. F. of L. and in conflict with the charter rights of the I. B. of S. E. as granted by the A. F. of L.; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Union of Steam Engineers be and is hereby instructed to refrain from admitting to membership firemen, oilers, water tenders, boiler washers and firemen's helpers under the guise of apprentices, or any other term which may be applied to them, while employed at any of the above.

The committee reported as follows: Section 2, Article IX of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor provides that:

"No affiliated international, national, or local union shall be permitted to change its title or name if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization without having first obtained the consent and approval of a convention of the American Federation of Labor."

While the representatives of the Steam Engineers have assured your committee that it is not their intention to admit to membership anyone coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen without first having complied with the provisions of Section 2, Article IX, as quoted above, yet it is not denied that the constitution of the International Union of Steam Engineers has been so amended as to make eligible to membership therein as apprentices men now coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.

In view of the plain provisions of the law, which requires that an organization must secure the consent of a convention of the American Federation of Labor before it shall have the right to extend its jurisdiction over the members of another affiliated organization, your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

Delegate Shamp—I move the adoption of the report of the committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Comerford discussed the question and stated that the International Union of Steam Engineers had no intention of violating the laws of the American Federation of Labor, and said in explaining the reason for the change in the title of the organization: "About a year and a half ago an expelled member of our organization in New Jersey formed an organization of a handful of men and with the assistance of the Manufacturers' Association incorporated in that state with the title 'International Union of Steam Engineers.' Recently the attorney representing this corporation served notice on our local unions that they must cease using the title 'International Union of Steam Engineers' as it was the property of this New Jersey corporation. We tried to get our name registered but found that because we had used this title so

long we were denied that right. As a result, in our recent convention held in St. Paul, the title of our organization was changed to 'International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers,' we have again applied for registration and hope by this method to get some protection and not be again compelled by some corporation to change our title."

Delegate Comerford stated further that the organization he represented had no intention of doing what the resolution sought to restrain them from doing, but they intended to ask the American Federation of Labor for jurisdiction over their apprentices when the proper time arrived; that as soon as they could get their title registered they intended to ask the American Federation of Labor to give them jurisdiction over their helpers, just as every skilled craft represented in the convention had jurisdiction over its helpers.

Delegate Furuseth asked Delegate Comerford if the steam engineers claimed jurisdiction over the marine engineers. Delegate Comerford answered in the affirmative, and stated that they had some locals composed entirely of marine engineers.

Delegate Morton (J. W.) spoke in defense of the resolution and the report of the committee. He stated that after the recent convention of the steam engineers, in which they had changed their constitution to provide for taking in apprentices, members of that organization had sought to induce members of the firemen's organization to join the steam engineers.

Delegate McNulty stated he desired to go on record as protesting against the change in the title of the steam engineers' organization in a way that would conflict with the jurisdiction of the electrical workers, and stated that he would expect to be heard before the Executive Council when the question came up.

Delegate Ryan opposed the resolution introduced by the firemen's delegation and favored the position taken by the engineers.

Vice-President Mitchell, Chairman of the Committee, in speaking for the committee, said in part: "The committee reported favorably the resolution and reported at the same time the assurance given by the engineers that it was not their intention to infringe upon the juris-

dition of the firemen until they have complied with the law; but the law says that before they extend their jurisdiction or change their title so as to trespass upon the jurisdiction of another affiliated organization they must secure the consent of a convention of the American Federation of Labor. It seems to me the committee could make no report other than the one they have made in view of the plain provisions of the law."

On motion of Delegate Woll debate on the question was closed.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 121—By Delegate James P. Holland of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, The International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers was organized in June, 1888, for the express purpose of affording a complete system of self government for the men employed at the several branches of the trade of steam fitting; and

WHEREAS, The history of trade unionism has demonstrated that each trade through its membership is best qualified to enact laws and provide and promulgate rules and regulations tending towards the betterment of the trade in an organization confined exclusively to men of the same trade, viz., "One organization—One Craft;" and

WHEREAS, Steam fitting has been recognized for many years as a trade and so admitted by the general labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. has repeatedly, through its convention and officers, in no uncertain manner declared against compulsory arbitration as contrary to the spirit and purpose of the American sense of justice and fair play; with view therefore of offering a plan looking toward the solution of this difficulty along fair and just lines that permit the rank and file of the men engaged at the various branches of steam fitting to decide for themselves as to their future form of organization, the following proposition is submitted; be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. now in session in Rochester, N. Y., that the President of the American Federation of Labor be, and is hereby instructed to issue a call for a convention to all men engaged at the various branches of the steam fitting trade irrespective of their affiliation, and request them to meet during May, 1913, at some centrally located city to be selected by the President of the A. F. of L., to determine for themselves their future form of organization.

On Resolution No. 121 and on that portion of the Executive Council's report under the caption "Steam Fitters—Plumb-

ers—Building Trades Department," the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution and reports that it has considered carefully the efforts made by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to carry out and make effective the instructions of the Atlanta convention, which declared that both for harmony and practicability the pipe fitting trade should be represented in the American Federation of Labor, also in the Building Trades Department, by one general association of the pipe fitting industry, namely the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada.

Your committee has examined the plan outlined by the Executive Council under which it was proposed to amalgamate the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada and the International Association of Steam, Hot Water, and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers, as a result of which we are convinced that the interests of all those engaged in the pipe fitting industry would have been conserved and promoted through amalgamation on the terms proposed.

We regret that the representatives of the International Association, by rejecting the terms of amalgamation proposed by the Executive Council and accepted by the United Association, declined to avail themselves of the opportunity of establishing unity in the pipe fitting industry.

Your committee has heard at great length and has given serious consideration to the arguments of all those appearing before it in connection with this matter. It is the judgment of your committee that the interests of all steam fitters demand that there shall be but one organization in the pipe fitting industry—the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada, and in order that the exclusive jurisdiction of this organization over all men employed in the pipe fitting industry may be speedily and permanently established, your committee recommends that in harmony with the action of the Atlanta convention on this



subject and the subsequent action of the Executive Council in connection therewith, the charter of affiliation of the International Association of Steam, Hot Water, and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers of America be revoked, in accordance with the provisions of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee further recommends:

(1). That all beneficial members of the International Association of Steam, Hot Water, and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers of America in good standing at the time they transfer their membership, shall be placed in full beneficial standing on the books of the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada, as provided for in the general constitution and laws of the United Association governing payment of benefits and donations;

(2). That all members of the International Association thus becoming members of the United Association shall be entitled to all rights and privileges accorded other members of the United Association;

(3). That all apprentices at present in good standing in the International Association shall, upon becoming members of the United Association, be credited with full length of time served and shall be entitled to all benefits and privileges of the United Association, as provided for in the constitution of that association;

(4). That in all cities or districts in which two or more locals of the United Association are located, a joint council shall be formed;

(5). That separate charters shall be granted local unions composed of steam fitters or steam fitters' helpers where a sufficient number of applicants for such charter exist, in accordance with the laws of the United Association;

(6). That steam fitters, members of the United Association, shall be entitled to and shall have complete control over all steam fitting work, and that the United Association shall do all in its power to promote the interests of the steam fitters and the welfare of all those engaged in the pipe fitting industry.

Delegate Woll—I move concurrence in the report of the committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Holland discussed the question at length speaking in opposition to the report of the committee. He stated that steam-fitting had been recognized in New York for years as a separate trade, and urged that members of that craft be allowed to maintain their own organization.

Delegate Gallagher moved that debate on the pending question cease at 4.30 and that a vote be taken at that time. (Seconded.)

Vice-President Duncan moved as an amendment to the motion that the previous question be ordered immediately after a speaker on the other side had replied to Delegate Holland. (Seconded.)

Delegate Rowe—I move as a substitute that the time between now and 4.30 be divided equally between one speaker in favor of the motion and one speaker opposed to the motion.

The amendment offered by Vice-President Duncan was carried.

Vice-President Alpine spoke in favor of the report of the committee.

At 4.30 President Gompers stated that the discussion would cease, in accordance with the terms of the motion previously adopted, and that a roll call would be had on the motion to adopt the report of the committee.

**Roll Call on Report of Adjustment Committee on Resolution No. 121 and on the Portion of the Executive Council's Report under the Caption, "Steam Fitters—Plumbers—Building Trades Department."**

**Ayes**—Myrup, Koch, Goldstone, Noschang, Fischer, Klapetsky, Anderson (Ed.), Franklin, McGuire, Garvey, Pring, Strelle, Tobin (J. F.), Baine, Anderson (M.), Howes, Harrington, Froebste, Kemper, Ward, Kugler, Sullivan (John), Butterworth, O'Shea, Thoman, McClory, Huber, Duffy (Frank), Wheeler Swartz, Featherston, Kelly (W. J.), Hemsell, Crozier, Gengenback, Goelintz, Shiff, Gompers, Tracy (T. F.), Fitzgerald, Mueller, Conway, Zuckerman, McCauley, Meyer, McNulty, Glynn, Yount, Ford, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Moser, Dolan, Healy (T.), Brennan, Friel, Rowe, Green (C. F.), Rickert, Larger, Daley (Margaret), Altman, Schwarz, Rosenberg (A.), Dyche, Cursi, Pierce, Rosenberg (M.), Hayes (D. A.), Heritage, Marx, Ring, Nestor, Duncan, Garvey (James), Archie, Lawlor, Shalvoy, Green (M. F.), D'Alessandro, D'Andrea, Etchison, Marshall, Kenenah, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Miller (Geo.), Pattberg, O'Neal, O'Connor, Johnston, Lamb, Van Lear, Wharton, Buckley, Lowe, Powers, Allen, Call, Daly (T. M.), Leary (Geo.),

Rumsey, O'Sullivan, Crane, Hynes, Walsh, White (J. P.), Mitchell, Hayes (F. J.), Walker, Lewis, McDonald, Green (Wm.), Williams (J. C.), Scanlon, Cannon, Valentine, Frey, Curran, Lanigan, Weber (J. N.), Miller (Owen), Carey (D. A.), Winkler, Painters' Delegation (457 votes), Carey (J. T.), Wilson (James), Gernon, Sheret, Woll, Clark (W. D.), Alpine, Tracy (W. J.), Leonard, Murphy, Menge, Whitehead, Berry, Halpine, Hart, Wilson (Harry), Malin, Sultor, Dacey, Perham, Brown (W. T.), Miller (J. F.), Gallagher (T. J.), Ryan (M. F.), Weeks, Adames, Paquin, Mahon, Commons, Taber, Brown (J. G.), Freel, Sumner (C. A.), Short, Jette, McKay, Grimshaw, Heberling, Welch (M. R.), Connors, Brais, Biggs, Robinson, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Neer, Gillespie (J. M.), Morris (J. J.), Golden, Starr, Williams (T. J.), Evans, Shilling, Lynch, Morrison, Stevenson, Hayes (M. S.), McCullough, Cooke, Ali, Birnes, Holt, Gallagher (A. J.) Holder, Corley, Sumner, Pfeiffer, O'Brien, Ryan (P. J.), Walls, Smith (J.), Behrens, Donoghue, Shamp, Prinz, Egan, Young, Hoefgen, Creamer, Brockhausen, Schrivner, Fitzgerald (T. D.), Cone, Sullivan (J. H.) Tharp, Lennon, McCarthy, Collins, Mullen, Smith, (Frank), Garman, Sause, Tracy (M. F.), Cavanagh, Sontheimer, Gillespie (G. W.), Hays (C. A.), Privett, Kane, Smith (J. T.), Butler, Campbell, Weber (F. J.), Fahey, Evans (E. E.), Norman, Bryan, Hirschberg, Koveleski, Phillipi, James, Lapham, Scharrenberg, Henley, Niven, Simpson, Snellings, English, Youhon, Voll, Duffy, McAndrews, Cunningham, Woodhouse, Mulkern, Weiss, representing 15,766 votes.

**Nays**—Labralco, Kline, Kramer, Glover, Barnes, Clarke (W. P.), Williams (John), McSorley, Taggart, Coakley, Chlopek, Neesham, Harrison, Young, Painters Delegation (228 votes), McGivern, Cook, McDermott, Furuseth, Hanson, Hylen, Shay, Suarez, Lemke, Carolan, Curtis, Hanley, Shaughnessey, Coates, Corcoran, White (R. H.), Coughlin, Diehl, Chance, Holland, McGrath, Bonner, Hannon, Wildberger, O'Rourke, Bohm, Beckman, representing 1,322 votes.

**Not voting**—Mullaney, Scoby, Doyle, Conroy, Bailey, Bryan, Healey (Dennis), Price, Hannah, Nelson, Huddleston, Moyer, Keane (J. A.), Donnelly, McGrath, Vanderveld, Preble, Swick, Morton, McGinley, Keegan, Landers, Burns, Elyea, Doherty, Welch (M. R.) Hunter, Draper, Brower, Stokes, Keane (J. J.), Fello, Morris (J. F.), Wood, Purcell, Bates, Spencer, Morris (E. C.), Lawler (C. V.), Lampa, Sinclair, Waldron, Lebowitz, Dunne, Johnson, Gold, Seddon, Smillie, Bruce, representing 230 votes.

President Gompers—More than two-thirds of the votes having been cast for the adoption of the committee's report, revoking the charter of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters, the motion has been adopted and the charter of the organization stands revoked.

A question was asked from the floor if the adoption of the report of the committee meant that the decision rendered by the Executive Council would go into effect immediately?

President Gompers—That is the understanding.

The question was asked: What action will the Executive Council take in the event the members of the Enterprise Association of the city of New York should apply for work with employers with whom they have an agreement that does not expire until 1916 and we should deposit U. A. cards with those people and they say, "We do not recognize that card, we had an agreement with the Enterprise Association." If we should say the American Federation of Labor has wiped out the international organization they may say, "That wipes out your agreement," and our wages at the present time are \$5.50 only under the international agreement, and they say to us, "You can go to work but you must go to work for \$3.50 or \$4.00 a day," what provision has this Executive Council made to protect the Enterprise Association against the power of the employers of New York?

President Gompers—The only answer the chair can give is this: That doubtless the Enterprise Association, if it becomes chartered as a local union under the United Association, the chair doubts very much that the continuous existence of the organization would change either the relation, the contract, the wages, the hours or the conditions, providing you remain organized and get into the United Association.

Later Vice-President Alpine made the following statement: May I be permitted to make a statement, prompted by the question asked by the gentleman on the other side of the house, and to which the chair made reply? It always has been and always will be the purpose of the United Association to maintain trade agreements where they have prevailed, and in the instance of the International Association of Steam Fitters, now that definite action has been taken, where such agreements are in existence, it will be the purpose and the full intent to have them remain intact, with the additional purpose of bettering such agreements in the future where it is possible to do so, and the betterment of conditions among the men who are employed in the pipe

fitting industry. I make that statement with the desire that it might be fully understood.

Vice-President Duncan—As many delegates have asked me since morning if there is any probability of a night session being held, I move that the rules be suspended and that we hold in session until 7 o'clock this evening; that the rules for to-morrow, which provide for adjournment at 1 o'clock, be suspended and that we remain in session until 12.30, reconvene at 2 o'clock and remain in continuous session until the business of the convention is completed and that the time for the election of officers be set for 3 o'clock. (Seconded.)

President Gompers—The motion will be voted on without the special order for the election.

The motion offered by Delegate Duncan was carried, as stated by President Gompers.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.)—I move that the election of officers be made a special order for 3 o'clock to-morrow afternoon. (Seconded and carried.)

The committee continued the report, as follows:

Resolution No. 129—By Delegate Andrew J. Gallagher of the California State Federation of Labor:

Fellow Delegates: I am instructed by the California State Federation of Labor to urge the earliest possible settlement of the controversy which has existed for the past four years within the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. We wish you to know that the 65,000 affiliated members of the California State Federation are not unappreciative of the apparent efforts heretofore put forth to end this unfortunate dispute; nor are we unmindful that you are as anxious as we to secure a unified harmonious trade union organization and federation, but wish to call your attention to the necessity of action through the power vested in you that will, if possible, expedite a settlement and conclusion of this long drawn out and seemingly useless international clash. Our central councils have been thrown into vehement and acrimonious debate, have almost been disrupted, and have had their charters not only threatened, but in one case at least revoked, all because of laws which this Federation has seen fit to provide as penalties for failure of central councils to do certain things or take certain actions. It may be remembered that this Federation being a voluntary organization has not provided the same penalties to be vested upon the national or international organization in affiliation, and it may be also remembered that the unions which compose the central council, which lost its charter, are

all component parts of the national or international organizations, and we submit that when these component parts decide that they do not wish to outlaw their brothers they appreciate the fundamental principles underlying the voluntary association of unions in this Federation. We ask relief from this burden of clash in councils, of division to the detriment of the good work which these councils and state bodies can and cheerfully do perform. We know the rights of the affiliated I. B. E. W., but we also wish to call attention to the fact that those who have seceded from the I. B. E. W. are also human, and are or at least were trade unionists. And while we know that you have done all that was given you the right to do to end this destructive internal war, and yet we feel that there are measures which might be adopted, if desired, to secure effective peace. You might place both organizations without our protection, no longer to disturb our nationals, internationals, state federations, city centrals and local unions, to return only when they come in peace and exhibiting toward each and all a true spirit of brotherhood. Or you might induce them to agree on a set of officers who would be acceptable to at least two-thirds of the workers in this avocation; or you might, if you wish to use the same methods that are visited in your wisdom on state bodies and city centrals, apply these compulsory measures to your affiliated National or International organizations, and if the doctrine of compulsion is to obtain, compel all parts of this Federation, that is, national and international to in turn compel their membership to refuse to work anywhere with any seceding or expelled members of any part of this Federation. We wish it understood we are loyal to the enunciated principles of this Americanization Federation, the highest of which is voluntary association, which might also be interpreted to mean voluntary disassociation. We are forced to expel unions, and to refuse them association, and we are anxious to be relieved of this wholly uncalled for burden, and no longer have visited on us the struggles between leaders for office or power, but we wish to go forward with the important and vital measures that are ours to further. We petition you to adopt measures as will speedily and effectively remove this dispute from the path of organized labor.

The committee reported on Resolution No. 129, that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Authority and Self-Imposed Discipline," and the following appeal of the Central Labor Council of Alameda, which does not appear in the proceedings of the convention:

"Wherefore Central Labor Council of Alameda County joins twenty-one directly chartered delegate bodies and local unions duly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in this prayer that the American Federation of Labor in Thirty-second Annual Convention assembled at Rochester, N. Y., order the proper execu-

diver officer of the A. F. of L. to return the charter of Alameda County Central Labor Council to the president thereof; and furthermore, Alameda County Central Labor Council joins the aforesaid labor bodies in this petition to the delegates to the A. F. of L. convention to be held at Rochester, N. Y., beginning November 11, A. D., 1912, to enact such amendments to the constitution of the A. F. of L. as will give such just and equitable relief in law to its chartered delegate bodies and as, in comport with the best interests of Alameda County Central Labor Council and its co-petitioners, will not trespass the autonomy of or be in controversy with laws of affiliated international or national unions or be contrary to the democratic institutions of the land.

"In witness whereof we hereunto attach our signatures and the seal of this Council this fourth day of November, 1912, at Oakland, Cal.

"R. E. KEYSER, President.  
"A. W. SEFTON, Secretary."

Your committee reports that the subject matter of this resolution and of this appeal, namely the controversy among the electrical workers, has been before the conventions of the American Federation of Labor for the past four years; it has been discussed at great length, the merits of the case have been fully considered, and at each convention it has been decided by an ever increasing majority of the delegates that the affiliated union—the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, duly chartered by the American Federation of Labor—is the only bona fide organization of electrical workers recognized by the American labor movement. We hold it to be the duty of all organizations and members thereof to accept in good faith the decisions of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor in all matters that have been committed to them for decision. If each organization is to reserve to itself the right to refuse acquiescence in the laws of the American Federation of Labor and to disregard its authority in matters which it has a constitutional right to decide, or which are by contending forces submitted to its arbitrament, then there can be no harmony, no concert of action, no unity of purpose, and no final determination of any question in controversy.

In order that the controversy among the electrical workers which fortunately is subsiding, owing to the acquisition of members on the part of the affiliated organization, may be speedily terminated,

your committee recommends that delegates to this convention residing in cities or districts in which there are members of the unaffiliated organization of electrical workers, appeal to all such workers to ally themselves with the bona fide organization of their trade, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee further recommends that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to communicate with all central labor bodies and state federations urging them to use every possible effort to bring all electrical workers into affiliation with the chartered International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Your committee recommends that the appeal of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County be not sustained.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Gallagher requested that the proposition contained in Resolution 129 be separated from the appeal of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County.

President Gompers stated that the appeal could be voted on separately.

Delegate Gallagher discussed the question at length, speaking in favor of the appeal made by the Central body.

Delegate Scharrenberg asked for a roll question, and stated that the appeal of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County had the endorsement of the California labor movement, and urged that it be sustained by the convention.

Vice-President Mitchell, chairman of the committee, discussed the question and explained the position taken by the committee in making the report.

Delegate Scharrenberg asked for a roll call on the appeal of the central body. A sufficient number of delegates did not support the request to warrant the calling of the roll.

The report of the committee recommending that the appeal of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County be not sustained was adopted.

The motion to concur in the remaining portion of the committee's report was carried.

Chairman Mitchell—That completes the report of the Committee on Adjustment.

The final report of the committee was signed,

JOHN MITCHELL, Chairman,  
JOHN GOLDEN, Secretary,  
MATHEW WOLL,  
T. W. MCCULLOUGH,  
FRANK H. MCCARTHY,  
E. LEWIS EVANS,  
EDWARD FLORE,  
W. H. FITZGERALD,  
ED. ANDERSON,  
VICTOR ALTMAN,  
GEORGE LEARY,  
HUGH SHALVOY,  
HUGH ROBINSON,  
W. E. BRYAN,  
WM. TABER.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENT'S REPORT.

Delegate Furuseth, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

On that portion of the report of President Gompers under the caption "The Extension of the Eight-Hour Law and the New Eight-Hour Law," the committee reported as follows:

##### The Extension of the Eight-Hour Law and the New Eight-Hour Law.

We are gratified to learn that after years of agitation and political effort the eight-hour law has been extended to apply to work done for the government by contractors and sub-contractors and that as a result of the passage of this measure and the insertion of clauses in the various supply bills having the eight-hour workday in view, has resulted in a number of corporations doing work for and furnishing supplies to the government establishing an eight-hour workday in their respective plants, and we recommend that the Executive Council be directed to continue its efforts to have clauses inserted in the supply bills covering, wherever possible, those classes of supplies not specifically included in the bills already passed.

We further recommend that the various state federations of labor and city central bodies put forth efforts in this same direction.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the President's Report under the caption "Construction by the Government," the committee reported:

##### Construction by the Government.

We endorse the efforts made to secure for the government navy yards the building of such vessels as Congress shall, from time to time, authorize to be built. We commend the publication in the American Federationist for June, 1912, of the article containing comprehensive data showing, by official statements and statistics, that the cost of manufacture and construction was less in government establishments where the work was done by day labor than where done under contract by private concerns. Publications made, on various occasions, of statistics and facts show conclusively that vessels built in government yards are superior in workmanship to those built in private yards.

We would be lacking in patriotism if, with the knowledge of these facts, we failed to use such influence as we possess toward having this work done in government yards and by day labor.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the President under the caption "Seamen's Rights," the committee reported:

##### Seamen's Rights.

We are pleased to learn of the passage through the House of Representatives of the seamen's bill, a bill that requires the employment of skilled men as seamen, that makes of the seaman a free man, that promotes safety of travel at sea, and will build up a merchant marine without resorting to subsidies.

We recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to make every effort to have this bill passed by the Senate and become a law during this Congress.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the President under the caption, "Immigration and Chinese Exclusion," the committee reported:

##### Immigration and Chinese Exclusion.

We endorse the action taken relative to preventing any modification of the Chinese Exclusion Law and recommend that every effort be put forth to secure the

extension of the Chinese Exclusion Law to apply to all other Asiatics.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the President under the caption "Child Labor and Children's Bureau," the committee reported:

#### **Child Labor and Children's Bureau.**

We are glad to learn of the enactment of the Children's Bureau bill establishing a permanent bureau of the federal government, which will be enabled to maintain continuous supervision, investigation and records and thus educate and arouse public sentiment. We feel that with the information thus obtained, uniform laws embodying the best provisions of legislation regulating the employment of women and children can be enacted in all of the states, if our organizations in each state act as vigorously and faithfully in the future as they have in the past.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of President Gompers under the caption "Initiative, Referendum and Recall. Limit Judges' Tenure," the committee reported as follows:

#### **Initiative, Referendum and Recall—Limit Judges' Tenure.**

We are pleased to note the progress which these fundamental principles of popular government are making and we desire to reiterate our declaration of last year on this subject.

We are in full accord with President Gompers when he says: "Men of America, we dare not halt. We must press forward or we will be driven back." With the suggestion that the tenure of the judges of federal courts created by Congress shall be limited to a specific period, not to exceed six years, we are in entire accord. It would act as a recall; a life tenure for judges and the disposition of the judiciary to place itself above the legislative branch of the government by assuming a veto power on legislation is destroying the confidence of the people in the judiciary and is responsible for the proposition to introduce into our system of government "a recall of judicial decisions."

As we read the constitution of the United States and the history of its making, the legislative branch is the superior branch

of our government; in it is lodged the power not only of correcting the evils that may arise in the two other branches, through legislation, but to impeach and to try judges and executives.

The judiciary and the legal profession ever has its face towards the past and is governed by precedent. It is, therefore, in its very nature the most conservative, and while the lessons of the past are of great importance and must not be overlooked or disregarded, it must not be permitted to act as a barrier to progress.

We warn our members and the friends of the initiative, referendum and recall against so-called "safeguards and restrictions" calculated to destroy their usefulness. We recommend that the initiative be applied to constitutional amendments as well as statute laws. That not more than 3 per cent be required on petitions to invoke the initiative or 5 per cent for the referendum, for the recall not more than 15 per cent for a state officer or 25 per cent for a city or local officer in any state; that measures be enacted by a majority of the vote cast thereon; that the Oregon pamphlet system of publicity be adopted; and that judges be forbidden to declare as "unconstitutional" measures enacted by the people.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of President Gompers under the caption, "Popular Election of United States Senators," the committee reported:

#### **Popular Election of United States Senators.**

We are pleased to learn that our insistent advocacy of this great reform has at last reached the stage in which it is to be acted upon by the states, and we urge upon the trade unionists of our country to give their best efforts in their respective states to have this amendment to the Constitution of the United States ratified.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of President Gompers under the caption, "Citizenship Rights Restored," the committee reported:

#### **Citizenship Rights Restored.**

We are pleased to learn that the last session of Congress has restored to those working for the government of the United

States their full right to petition Congress for redress of grievances, of which right they had been deprived by Executive orders.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of President Gompers under the caption, "Second-Class Postal Rates," the committee reported:

#### **Second-Class Postal Rates.**

Under this heading President Gompers recites several beneficial provisions inserted in the Postoffice Appropriation Bill, among which a right of second-class postal rates is secured for trade union publications, publications of a purely scientific nature, or publications by fraternal orders.

We are pleased to learn of this reform.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of President Gompers's report under the caption, "Contract Convict Labor System," the committee reported:

#### **Contract Convict Labor System.**

We are pleased to learn that the Booher Bill, H. R. 5601, has passed the House of Representatives. We hope that it will pass the Senate and become a law during this session of Congress. The many evils of this system are so well known and have been so often commented upon that we need say nothing except to urge upon the trade unionists of our country to communicate with their Senators representing their respective localities, urging the immediate passage of this act by the Senate.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of President Gompers under the caption, "Boiler Inspection," the committee reported:

#### **Boiler Inspection.**

Under this heading President Gompers urges a greater co-operation with the Chief Inspector, to the end that inspections may come early enough to prevent accidents. He further urges that any members of unions having knowledge of defects in boilers communicate with him in order that proper information may be

placed before the Chief Inspector for his official attention.

We concur in this recommendation.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of President Gompers under the caption, "Scientific Management," the committee reported:

#### **Scientific Management.**

We recommend that H. R. 22339 be indorsed and that the Executive Council endeavor to secure its enactment into law. We are opposed to any system of shop management which requires one man to stand over another timing him with a stop watch in order to speed him up beyond his normal capacity. In addition to the brutality of such a proceeding, no stop watch time study can possibly be accurate. Every physical act performed by man is preceded by a mental process. The greater the amount of skill required in the work, the greater the mental process preceding the physical expression of it, and there is no method known to efficiency engineers or others by which a time study can be made by a stop watch or any other time measuring device of the mental process which precedes the physical act. The mental process being a necessary part of the work itself, the failure to make a time study of that operation of the work makes the study inaccurate, and, secondly, worthless as a basis for computing compensation.

To establish a bonus or premium system upon such a time study is wrong, induces the workman to toil beyond his normal capacity and the whole system has a tendency to wear the worker to a nervous wreck, destroy his physical and mental health and ultimately land him as a charge upon the community in some of our eleemosynary institutions.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of President Gompers under the caption, "Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation," the committee reported:

#### **Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation.**

We indorse what President Gompers has to say upon this subject and the recommendations which he makes dealing with

the extension into all kinds of employments and to the different states.

In dealing with workmen's compensation we must not overlook that there is a question of its constitutionality in due time to be considered by the Supreme Court. In making compensation the only remedy, and thereby repealing the employer's liability, the injured workman may be placed in a position of having no remedy at all, and for this reason the employer's liability should not be repealed; the workman should have a choice, but even if this were not so the choice should still be left with the injured workman to accept compensation under a compensation law or to sue under a proper employer's liability law.

This is the law in Great Britain and we have been unable to find any injustice done either to the workman or to the employer under its operation.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Corcoran discussed the question briefly. He referred to the conditions existing in West Virginia where there was no workmen's compensation law, and a very large number of both organized and unorganized men were employed in hazardous occupations. He urged that the Executive Council assist the State Federation of West Virginia to secure an employees' compensation law for that state.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

On that portion of the report of President Gompers under the caption, "Old Age Pensions," the committee reported:

#### **Old Age Pensions.**

We reaffirm our former action on this question and regret that no further progress has been made than as indicated by the report.

We recommend that the efforts for the establishment of a general Old Age Pension be continued.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of President Gompers under the caption, "Occupational Diseases," the committee reported:

#### **Occupational Diseases.**

It is with pleasure that we learn of the passage of the Esch Phosphorus Bill. We are pleased to learn of bills of similar nature being advocated and adopted in sev-

eral states. We believe that with proper legislation and with proper care occupational diseases may be prevented and recommend that efforts in this direction be continued.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of President Gompers under the caption, "Anti-Watered Stock Gambling," the committee reported:

#### **Anti-Watered Stock Gambling.**

We endorse what President Gompers has to say upon this subject. It is our conviction that one of the causes of the high cost of living is to be found in our system of capitalization and the so-called watering of stocks. Bonds and stocks are mortgages upon the labor of the present and the future. This mortgage must be paid from the products of the working people, either in a reduction in wages and lengthening of the hours of labor or in the price of products, or both.

We endorse the La Follette-Lenroot Bill providing for physical valuation and urge its extension to all corporations doing interstate business. We further urge upon the states the adoption of similar legislation to cover intrastate business. We protest against the existing system of capitalization based upon income, and urge that no capitalization except upon actual investment be permitted.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "A. F. of L. Office Building," the committee reported:

#### **A. F. of L. Office Building.**

On the subject matter contained in the report of the Executive Council, which was referred to this committee relative to the erection of a labor temple and office building for the American Federation of Labor and its departments, we endorse the report and concur in the recommendations contained therein.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Commission on Industrial Relations," the committee reported:



**Commission on Industrial Relations.**

Under this caption the Executive Council reports the adoption of a law providing for a commission to study and report upon industrial relations. The commission is to consist of nine members, three of whom are to be employers of labor and not less than three of whom shall be representatives of organized labor. The Executive Council recommends for appointment on this commission John B. Lennon and James O'Connell.

We recommend the acceptance of the report and the adoption of the recommendation.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Contempt Case," the committee reported:

**Contempt Case.**

The Executive Council herein reviews the proceedings in the case in which Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison were found guilty of contempt of court and sentenced to twelve, nine and six months imprisonment, respectively, by Justice Wright.

We recommend the acceptance of the report, the concurrence in the course pursued, and recommend that this course be continued.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Post vs. A. F. of L. and Buck's Stove and Range Company," the committee reported:

**Post vs. A. F. of L. and Buck's Stove and Range Company.**

In this matter we recommend that the Executive Council be authorized to continue in the defense of the A. F. of L. if further defense shall be found necessary.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "The McNamara Case," the committee reported as follows:

**The McNamara Case.**

We recommend that every member of the affiliated organizations and those in sympathy with our movement read carefully the historical review of this case presented by the Executive Council, in order that they may be familiar with such facts as have already been brought out, the sources from which the information has been derived and the powers that are interested in the prosecution of the cases now being heard in Indianapolis.

The American labor movement, as represented in the American Federation of Labor, will neither countenance nor condone anyone who, under the cloak of trade unionism, undertakes to carry on a criminal warfare on society. That some of these men are guilty of carrying on such a warfare appears from the confessions they have made relative to their own connection with these crimes. That every man must be considered innocent until he has been proven guilty has always been accepted as a fundamental principle of our jurisprudence, and in the consideration of his case before the courts he is entitled to a fair and impartial trial. In a spirit of fair play we insist that these men shall not be convicted in advance, nor the decision in their cases influenced by the fact that the United States Steel Corporation, the Erectors' Association and the Burns' Detective Agency are clamoring for a conviction; particularly in view of the fact that the Burns' Detective Agency has been thoroughly discredited by disclosures made by the United States Department of Justice in the Oregon Land Fraud cases, and the Senate Investigating Committee in the Lorimer case.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Gallagher—I move to amend the committee's report by inserting therein the following words: "And in pursuance of the declaration of this Federation that these men shall receive a fair and impartial trial, that all of that money which remains in the McNamara Defense Fund, so called, be donated to them to secure such a fair and impartial trial."

The motion was seconded by Delegate Scharrenberg.

Treasurer Lennon in the chair.

The question was discussed by Vice-President Duncan, Delegate Gallagher, Delegate McClorry, Vice-President Hayes,

Delegate Hayes (F. J.), Delegate Conroy, Delegate Lynch (J. M.), Delegate Scharr-  
enberg, Delegate Cannon, Delegate Rowe,  
Delegate Tobin (D. J.), Delegate Fur-  
seth, Delegate Walker (J. H.).

Delegate Woll—I rise to a point of order on the amendment and in raising this point of order I want to preface it by saying that I believe it is in the interest of the men involved in Indianapolis as well as in behalf of this Federation. My point of order is this: That the money now in the hands of the committee, contributed for the purpose of carrying on the trial in Los Angeles for the McNamara, is not a fund of the American Federation of Labor and that therefore we, as a Federation of Labor, have not the authority to distribute or confiscate the funds of another organization.

Chairman Lennon—The chair is not exactly clear on this. The funds referred to originated in the first place with a conference of representatives of trades unions in the city of Indianapolis. It was not created by this or preceding conventions of the American Federation of Labor. The chair will hold the point of order is well taken and that the amendment is not in order. The question recurs on the report of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Conroy—I now move that it is the sense of this convention that the delegates upon their return home advise their international and national unions and local unions to provide liberally financial assistance for the trades unionists on trial in Indianapolis, in order to secure a fair trial for them. (Seconded.)

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Glover.

The motion offered by Delegate Conroy was carried.

Delegate Lynch (J. M.) in the chair.

Delegate Furseth, Chairman of the Committee—I would like to have the attention of this convention, and I hope you will not go away until you have disposed of this particular question now coming before you. It is more important by a long way than the question you have just been discussing.

On that portion of the President's Report under the caption, "Injunction Limitation Bill, Jury Trial in Contempt Cases," and that portion of the report of the Executive Council, "New Injunc-

tion Rule," the committee reported as follows:

**Injunction Limitation Bill—Jury Trial in Contempt Cases—New Injunction Rule.**

We reiterate the position heretofore taken by the American Federation of Labor relative to the abuse of the writ of injunction and the means necessary, absolutely, to eliminate such abuse.

We reaffirm our position that the equity courts should have no jurisdiction over the personal relationship between man and man, nor the power to deal with the police regulations. These powers belong to the law courts acting under laws created by the legislative branch of the government.

We commend the vigorous action that has been taken toward securing the enactment of legislation along these lines. As a result of the activity of the American Federation of Labor, the Clayton Injunction Limitation Bill and the Clayton Contempt Bill providing trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt, were reported to, and passed by, the House of Representatives, and while these bills do not go as far as we had contended for, if enacted into law they will give a great measure of relief.

We, therefore, endorse the recommendation of President Gompers that the men of organized labor by conference with and communications to the Senators from their respective states, make known that they insist upon the passage by the Senate of these bills before the close of the 62nd Congress.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Sherman Anti-Trust Law—Hatters' Case," the committee reported:

We desire to call especial attention to the report of the Executive Council upon this subject. The so-called Sherman Anti-Trust Law was apparently designed, and certainly was by the people accepted, as a law to prevent monopoly. The real fact is, and it is now becoming understood, that it is a law to prevent association. In Section 1, it makes any agreement or combination in the form of a trust or otherwise, illegal, if such combination in any way interferes with the

freedom of interstate or foreign commerce. It is not a monopoly that it is prohibiting, it is a combination or an agreement by and through which those who combine or agree to endeavor to hold those things about which the agreement or combination is perfected at prices to be determined by themselves and to be disposed of in a manner and on conditions determined by themselves. Thus, if the several corporations refining and selling oil associate themselves together to determine the price of oil and the manner of its sale, it is forbidden by this law. So also the several corporations making and selling tobacco; making and selling steel, or any other product from their factories or establishments. Corporations are persons created by law, and when by an application of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law their association is dissolved, the component parts thereof, that is the corporations, the artificial persons, remain and continue in business.

Labor power—the ability to labor with hand, or brain, or both—has by the courts been decided to be property, and by the Sherman Anti-Trust Law that definition is accepted, and thus man, his labor power, and the product of man's labor power are placed upon an equality. Labor power being considered as property and so treated under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, any number of men or women associating themselves together for the purpose of jointly determining the wage for which they will labor, and the condition under which they will labor, must, if the product of their labor goes into interstate trade or commerce, be upon the same plane and dealt with in the same way as the products of the factories belonging to the different corporations. If the combination of corporations, artificial persons, can be prevented from combining, or when they have combined can be dissolved into their original component parts, so any association of working men for the purpose of controlling and using their labor under a joint arrangement or agreement, can be dissolved into its component parts through the abolition or prohibiting of their combination. Thus, this law, under which one corporation may own and control either all the oil, or all the steel, or all the wheat, or all the cloth in the country, or all of them put together, prohibits us, as working people,

from associating ourselves together in self-defense against this very corporation. It permits the necessities of life to be within the absolute control of one artificial person and prohibits the natural, living, breathing persons from making use of the means which nature has granted to the fishes in the sea, the birds in the air, and the cattle on the plain—association for common defense and protection. In substance, it is a copy of Caesar's anti combination decree, it is used to the same end, and must, if permitted to continue, have the same result.

Two remedies are possible, one is to repeal the law entirely, and thus go back to the principles of common law. The other is to have the law make a distinct dividing line, over which no judge may pass, between the labor power of man, which is an attribute of life and life itself, and the product of labor, which is property, subject to being disposed of or treated in any manner that its owner or society may determine. There should be no difficulty in drawing up a statute or a series of statutes which will prevent monopoly in the products of labor, in mineral products, or in products of the soil, and yet leave man with his labor power free to associate himself with his fellow for any purpose, or in any action not forbidden to the individual. This last would be in entire harmony with the fundamental principles upon which the government of the United States is organized, and in perfect accord with the best principles of Saxon jurisprudence and with the ideas and ethics of Christian religion. The Bacon-Bartlett bill, "To make lawful certain agreements between employees and laborers, and persons engaged in agriculture or horticulture, and to limit the issuing of injunctions in certain cases, and for other purposes," would in the main accomplish this purpose. We recommend that the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee do everything within their power to cause the enactment of this bill into law, and that the International and National organizations and their officers and members communicate with the Senators and Congressmen to this end. We further recommend to the state organizations and the city central bodies to urge the adoption of similar statutes in the several states.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.)—I move the adoption of the recommendation of the committee and non-concurrence in the preamble associated with the recommendation.

Delegate Barnes spoke in opposition to the preamble and favored the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed by President Gompers and Delegate Ward.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

At 7:20 p. m. the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 9.30 a. m., Saturday, November 23rd.

## Tenth Day—Saturday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock a. m., Saturday, November 23rd, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees**—Klapetsky, Kline, Kramer, O'Shea (D. J.), Strom, Goellnitz, Shilf, Conway (H. J.), Yount, Feeney, Dolan (T. J.), Archie, D'Andrea, Bryan (W.), Healey (D.), Coakley, Lowe, Allen (C.), Leary (Geo.), Crane, Weber (Jos.), Miller (O.), Tracey (Wm.), Leonard, Murphy (P.), Whitehead, Gallagher (T. J.), Huddleston, Sumner (C.), Welch (M. R.), Gillispe (J. N.), Morris (J. J.), Holt, Donnelly, McGrath, Preble, Cone, Sullivan (Jas.), McCarthy (F. H.), Sause, Landers, Privett, Kane (J. M.), Burns (E. S.), Elyea, Campbell (P.), Hunter, Bonner, Stokes, Fello, Bates, Spencer, Wildberger, Lawler, Lampa, Sinclair, Waldron, Lebowitz, Mulkern, Johnson (J. E.)

Secretary Morrison read telegrams from Charles R. Case, President Washington State Federation of Labor, urging that the next convention be held in Seattle, Washington. Similar invitations were received from the Seattle Building Trades Council, International Shingle Weavers' Union, and from Clive Bodles of Seattle and Portland, Oregon.

Delegate Scharrenberger read a telegram from San Francisco Labor Council urging him to have convention take action to secure funds for the defense of the men on trial at Indianapolis.

Delegate White (J. P.), arose to a question of personal privilege and referred to a statement made during the discussion on the subject of the industrial form of organization that the Mine Workers' delegates were inconsistent in urging that form of organization and adopting a resolution in their own convention asking a separate charter for the stogie makers. Delegate White read the resolution adopted in the Mine Workers' convention which merely asked that the product of the organized stogie makers be given preference over that of the non-union factories in that industry.

Delegate Corcoran wished to make a statement in regard to the matter, and appealed to the convention to grant him that privilege, but objection was offered and the privilege was not granted.

### Report of Committee on President's Report.

Delegate Furuseth, Chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

#### Hatters' Case.

Dealing with the Hatters' Case, which illustrates all the evils of this law, and is therefore an extremely important incident in this struggle, we recommend that the American Federation of Labor continue in its efforts to assist the Hatters in defense of our common right of association for mutual protection.

Delegate Furuseth—Exclusive of the resolutions, here is where the report of the committee ends, but as a minority member of that committee I move to add the following:

"That we will, so far as shall be needed assist in the payment of court expenses and in furnishing counsel; but as has several times been clearly declared and expressed we are in no way responsible for any losses that may ensue as a result of this trial. We neither can nor will pay any fines imposed, nor any damages assessed through the operations of this statute so contrary to justice and natural law. We recommend that the collective property of the organization be, if possible, so placed that it will be beyond the reach of this law, that those of our members who are married place their property in their wives' names, to the end that the confiscator may find as little as possible to confiscate. We warn our membership that in this specific phase of the struggle between life and property, between man and the dollar, no mercy, no consideration will be shown to us while this law is on the statute books in its present shape."

Delegate Furuseth—I move to add what I have just read as an amendment to the report of the committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Willson (J.) spoke in favor of the report of the committee and opposed the amendment. He said in part: The committee felt that as far as we went we were justified by the facts in the case. We as organized wage earners and as the great movement of the common people have not yet admitted that we are a combination in restraint of trade and that the homes of our members should be taken from them under the Sherman Anti-Trust

Law. And the committee does not believe that we should say to the hatters in Connecticut or to the organized wage earners in any part of this country, "If your homes are taken from you because of your loyalty to the principles of organized labor we will stand by until the deed is to be committed and then we will desert you and let those who would strip you of your property and your life savings do so." This committee does not say that we will assume the fines or anything else; we only say that we will go as far as we have gone and we will continue all the assistance we have been giving in the past. And we have not yet contended as an organized labor movement that the court is justified in taking away property of the members of organized labor, and I think it would be a mistake for this convention to send word to the men whose homes have been attached that we will leave them without any assistance. I think the report of the committee should be adopted without the amendment.

Delegate Barnes (J. N.) offered the following as an amendment to the amendment: I move that the American Federation of Labor assume the court costs and all awards or penalties, if any, that may be imposed in connection with the Danbury Hatters' litigation, and the Executive Council is authorized to prepare and promulgate such plan as they deem wise to secure the needed finances. (Seconded by Delegate Williams.)

Treasurer Lennon discussed the question, speaking in favor of the report of the committee and opposing both amendments. He referred at length to the effect such action as contemplated in the amendments would have, not only upon the Hatters' case, but upon the efforts that were to be made by organized labor to either amend or repeal the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, and in closing offered the following motion: That the resolution of Delegate Barnes, the minority report of Delegate Furuseth and so much of the report of the committee as might be construed to guarantee the payment of an award be deferred for consideration until the third day of the next convention, when it shall be a special order at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

President Gompers—The motion is out of order. You cannot determine what the

special order for the next convention shall be.

Delegate Woll opposed both amendments. He discussed the legal phase of the case, referred to the various trials of the case and the effect the adoption of the amendments might have on future trials.

Delegate Furuseth spoke in favor of the amendment or minority report.

Delegate Lawlor (M.) discussed the question, and in reply to a statement made by a former speaker said that \$60,000 had been paid out by the Hatters in defense of the men whose property had been attached. He reviewed briefly the trials of the case and the course it would probably take in the next year or two, and said that the questions raised by the amendments might be left for the next convention or the one following to decide. He stated that he did not oppose the amendment offered by Delegate Barnes, but did not consider this the opportune time to present it.

The amendment offered by Delegate Barnes was lost by a vote of 147 in the negative to 7 in the affirmative.

The amendment offered by Delegate Furuseth was lost by a vote of 151 in the negative to 6 in the affirmative.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Furuseth—I would like to be permitted to make two motions I think are important just now with reference to this report. I move that the report adopted by this convention dealing with the Sherman Anti-Trust Law be, at the opening of Congress, submitted to the committee having the Sherman Anti-Trust Law under consideration. (Seconded.)

President Gompers—The chair would suggest that it be submitted to the committees in both the House and the Senate.

Delegate Furuseth—That is satisfactory to me.

Delegate Barnes—Does Delegate Furuseth mean the Executive Council's report or the report that has just been submitted?

President Gompers—All reports bearing on the subject.

The motion offered by Delegate Furuseth was carried.

Delegate Furuseth—I move that the action taken by this convention upon the

Seamen's Bill be transmitted at once, so that it will be in Washington on Tuesday morning, to Senator Burton, the chairman of the committee having the Seamen's Bill in charge.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Hayes (M. S.), and carried.

Delegate Baine, Secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

Resolution No. 1—By Delegate Wm. D. Huber, Frank Duffy, Fred Wheeler, A. M. Swartz, Dan Featherston, William J. Kelly, W. E. Hemsell, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

At the Seventeenth Biennial Convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, held in Washington, D. C., from September 16th to 28th, 1912, the Special Committee on Injunctions submitted the following report, which was concurred in by the convention:

"We, your special committee appointed by this convention to consider the court injunction in labor matters, and in special regard to the resolution from the New York State Council of the United Brotherhood, report as follows:

"That the reckless and unwarranted use of court injunctions has resolved itself into mere judicial anarchy. The frightful usurpation of unwarranted power has caused hundreds of thousands of the workers and tollers of our land to be lead like sheep to the shambles. Of the hundreds of injunctions issued scarce one has been issued for the protection of the lives or fortunes of the laborer, but on the contrary, they have been issued upon the slightest pretext to harass and annoy those who are engaged in a desperate struggle for existence. We agree with Thomas Jefferson, who with prophetic vision said: 'I regard the courts as a subtle corps of sappers and miners, who if left unrestrained, taking a little here and gaining a little there, will eventually undermine the liberties of the American people.'

"We believe the time has long passed when we, as representatives of the working class of America, should arouse the people to these facts, and do here and now protest against our judiciary taking unto itself such powers as were never contemplated by the founders of the republic and which if allowed to continue will result in a judicial oligarchy that would shame a Russian czar.

"Solemnly believing this to be true, we submit to this convention this declaration; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, that this Seventeenth General Convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America do declare as being in favor of the right of recall of judges and judicial decisions and that we use every lawful means at our command to secure its adoption; and, be it further

"RESOLVED, that a copy of this resolution be sent to the American Bar Association and to the Bar Association of New York State, and that our delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention at Rochester be instructed to present a copy of the same to that convention and to work for its passage."

The committee reported that the whole subject matter having been covered by their report upon the report of the President and Executive Council, they deemed no further action necessary.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate Oscar F. Nelson of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Postoffice Clerks in convention assembled has instructed its officers to endeavor to have the law classifying their salaries amended so as to provide a wage that will permit them to maintain decent living conditions for their families and themselves; and

WHEREAS, The Postoffice Clerks are wholly without redress for themselves or families in the event they are injured or killed in the performance of duty in that they cannot sue the Government and have therefore instructed their officers to seek to have established by law a provision that will establish the Government's liability and provide compensation in cases where they are injured or killed while on duty; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, do hereby instruct our Legislative Committee to assist the officers of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks in every way possible to have such legislation enacted into law.

The committee recommended reference to Executive Council with the request to give the postal employees such assistance as it can to obtain better wages and to be included in the compensation law passed by Congress for the benefit of some of the employees of the Federal Government.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate Fred Brockhausen, of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States guarantees trial by jury; and

WHEREAS, This guarantee has been set aside because of usurpation by our Courts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee shall demand of Congress to set aside the ruling of the Courts and restore to the people the Constitution as guarantee.

The committee reported that that subject matter, being fully covered by their former report they deemed no further action necessary.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 67—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, Thos. Harrison, Geo. E. Neesham and A. J. Chlopek of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The Alien Contract Labor Law has been almost entirely eliminated from the statute books of the United States by reason of the rulings and decisions rendered by United States Attorney Wickersham; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to draw up and introduce in the next session of Congress a bill that will prevent foreign seamen from performing the work of longshoremen on the wharves of the United States; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this bill be drawn in such a manner as to, also protect all American workers.

The committee recommends non-concurrence.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The menace of Chinese labor, now greatly allayed by the passage and enforcement of the Chinese Exclusion Act, has been succeeded by an evil similar to its general character but much more threatening in its possibilities, to wit: The immigration to the United States and its insular territory of large and increasing numbers of Japanese, Koreans, Hindus and other races native of Asia; and

WHEREAS, The American public sentiment against the immigration of Chinese labor, as expressed and crystallized in the Chinese Exclusion Act, finds still stronger justification in the demanding of prompt and adequate measures of protection against the immigration of Japanese, Koreans and Hindus and other races native of Asia, on the grounds (1) that the wage and living standard of such labor are dangerous to, and must, if granted recognition in the United States, prove destructive of the American standards in these essential respects; (2) that the racial incombattibility as between the peoples of the Orient and the United States present a problem of race preservation which it is our imperative duty to solve in our own favor, and which can only be thus solved by a policy of exclusion; and

WHEREAS, The systematic colonization by the Orientals of our insular territory in the Pacific, and the threatened and partly accomplished extension of that system to the Pacific Coast and other western localities of the United States, con-

stitutes a standing danger, not only to the domestic peace, but to the continuance of friendly relations between the nations concerned; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the terms of the Chinese Exclusion Act should be enlarged and extended so as to permanently exclude from the United States and its insular territory all races native of Asia and other than those exempted by the present terms of that Act; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That these resolutions be submitted through the proper channels to the Congress of the United States, with a request for favorable consideration and action by that body.

The committee reported as follows:

This resolution having been adopted at several previous conventions, your committee recommended that previous action be re-affirmed.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate T. J. Dolan, of the International Union Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, A bill is now in the U. S. Senate, establishing a Department of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record asking all members of the Senate to vote for the passage of this bill so it may become a law by March 4th, 1913; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution be sent to each U. S. Senator, and also a copy to Congressman Sulzer, the father of this bill.

The committee recommended concurrence.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate T. J. Dolan, of the International Union Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, The Government of the U. S. is a large employer of labor on public work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record in favor of liberal appropriations, by Congress, for all class of public works, where men can be kept steadily employed.

The committee reported as follows:

Appropriations should be made because they are needed, not because it may furnish work.

Your committee recommended non-concurrence.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate T. J. Dolan, of the International Union Steam Engineers:



WHEREAS, There is now on the Senate Calendar a bill making eight hours a day's work on all Government dredge contracts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. in Convention assembled, goes on record requesting all members of the U. S. Senate to pass this bill before the 4th day of March, 1913; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to every member of the U. S. Senate and the President of the U. S. by the Secretary of the A. F. of L.

The committee recommended concurrence.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Baine—This completes the report of the Committee on President's Report.

Respectfully submitted,

ANDREW FURUSETH, Chairman,  
C. L. BAINE, Secretary.  
JAMES WILSON,  
THOS. F. TRACY,  
FRANK DUFFY,  
G. L. BERRY,  
W. D. CLARK,  
J. J. CREAMER,  
HUGH STEVENSON,  
HOMER D. CALL,  
OWEN MILLER,  
MARTIN LAWLER,  
WILLIAM GREEN,  
T. V. O'CONNOR,

Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

Delegate Conway—A matter has occurred within the last few weeks in connection with our organization that may be important later to organized labor. As the Executive Council is familiar with the controversy, I move you that the matter be referred to the Council with instructions, when needed and advisable, to give advice to the International Association in that controversy. (Seconded.)

The Executive Council endorsed the strike of the Retail Clerks in their session in Atlantic City. Sixteen weeks ago a strike was called of our membership. Every effort has been made, not only to kill the strike, but to disrupt our entire International Association. The latest move on the part of the firm that is involved in the strike has been the importing of a discredited and expelled member of our organization to come to the city where the strike is and institute legal proceedings asking for a receiver and the winding up of the affairs of the International Association. The question came up in court last Wednesday, but from telegraphic ad-

vice from our attorneys I learned the courts would not at that time set a specific date for the hearing of a demurrer or hear evidence in the case, and so we may be in a position to ask the advice of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and that the convention make it a part of the record.

Vice-President Duncan—Is there any objection to this being referred to the Executive Council? Hearing none, it is so referred.

President Gompers—Mr. Chairman, I ask to be recognized for a question of the highest personal privilege. The nature of it is an attack upon me, not only as President of the American Federation of Labor but as a union man. I have waited several days in the hope that some tangible explanation might be made or a repudiation of it, and thus far nothing has been forthcoming. I recognize the fact that at a session the day after the publication in the Rochester Herald of this attack, Delegate Tobin made some reference to it, and Delegate McDonald made use of a remark which was not quite clear to me, as not having any knowledge of what he characterized as "bunk."

However, before I proceed to say anything in regard to the subject I here and now, in the presence of this convention, ask Delegate McDonald if that which was published in the Rochester Herald on Tuesday, November 19th, 1912, whether in words or in substance, he will now say he was accurately or inaccurately quoted.

Delegate McDonald—If you will permit a very brief explanation I will say why I did not make the statement before on the floor of this convention. The day after I landed in Rochester some unauthorized person heralded it broadcast over the country that McDonald was the radical Socialist leader that was going to oppose Gompers for the presidency. They did not get that information from me; they did not come near me in regard to that matter. They published it repeatedly day after day, and then they wound up by trying to put me in the hole in this statement referred to by President Gompers. I say now I did not make that statement as it appeared in the Herald. I say further, the reason I did not make any reference to it is this: That when I saw somebody, I don't know who, was trying to hold

me up before this convention in a ridiculous light. I knew it was not done for the purpose of injuring President Gompers, it was done to injure me personally. I am not responsible for that statement because it does not quote me correctly. I did not make the statement. I did not say I was going to oppose President Gompers, nor am I responsible for this slanderous method of trying to hold me up to ridicule for the delectation of the delegates in a vaudeville show given for them where I was characterized as a Chinaman or something of that sort.

President Gompers made a brief statement, in which he said he yielded every right and consideration to every man no matter how he might differ from him. He stated he was in no way responsible for the article that appeared in the Rochester Herald nor for the theatrical performance mentioned by Delegate McDonald. Delegate McDonald stated he did not hold President Gompers responsible for that occurrence.

President Gompers—Delegate McDonald says he was misquoted. I accept that, but I would like to know in what particular he was misquoted, because there may be some statements which are misquotations and there may be others in which he is substantially accurately quoted, and taking the entire matter it would be a misquotation, and therefore I will ask the Secretary to read the article.

Secretary Morrison — The article is headed, "Gompers Not A Good Union Smoker. Accused of Having Non-Union Cigars in His Apartments. Strong Opposition to the Administration. Socialists and Others Are for Election of Officers by Initiative and Referendum." The article is as follows:

"Duncan McDonald of the United Mine Workers, speaking last night at a meeting of A. F. of L. delegates who are opposed to the administration, said that his disgust against the administration of President Gompers was so strong that if no one was nominated to run against him he would nominate a wooden Indian or a yellow dog to run against him. The meeting was the advertised caucus of the Socialists, but was attended by several who had not previously allied themselves with this group. At midnight the caucus was still debating the best method of bringing their 'punch' to bear with the greatest force on the administration, and the sentiment seemed to be that a fight ought to be made, even though defeat is staring them in the face.

"Duncan McDonald said President Gompers is not even a good trades unionist. Even at this convention he is staying at a hotel that does not recognize unionism in any form with the possible exception of the bar. You may often go into his rooms and see a box of non-union cigars stuck up on his shelf. I have made a thorough investigation of Mr. Gompers from records in Washington, and I am convinced that he is not a good unionist. If no one else will name a candidate to run against him I will nominate a wooden Indian or a yellow dog. I tell you I am utterly disgusted with the farce of the election of President Gompers.

"Mr. McDonald said that the miners are also disgusted with the administration, and like sentiments were expressed from delegates from Chicago."

President Gompers—No man should try, and I do not wish to constitute myself as a censor of any man's opinions; but when a man indulges in direct charges, then they are matters of concern to the man charged, and therefore I am going to ask Delegate McDonald specifically the question as to whether he made the statement "that President Gompers is not a good trades unionist?"

Delegate McDonald—Absolutely no. I did not make that statement. I want to go a little farther, with your permission, and will tell you exactly what I said on this matter. Replying to a statement by one of the delegates about men being trades unionists—I was referring to what he said—I made the remark, "Why, some of our trades unionists do not even have enough regard for the trade union movement to buy union-made cigars; that some trades unionists who carry union cards and are prominent in the labor movement do not have enough regard for the label to smoke union-made cigars."

President Gompers stated that it had been brought to his attention that the man who reported the proceedings for the Rochester Herald was a Socialist, and that the report which he wrote and published was seen by several delegates to the convention before it was turned in as copy for the paper, although he was told it was a slanderous statement and ought not to be published.

Delegate McDonald stated that he had learned that before it was turned in as copy somebody had gone to the publisher of the paper and said, "We will stand back of that statement." Delegate McDonald stated the man who had given him that information was in the convention and

could speak for himself if he wished, but he did not feel justified in using his name.

President Gompers—I will ask Delegate McDonald a question as to this statement, "I have made a thorough investigation of Mr. Gompers from records in Washington and I am convinced he is not a good unionist."

Delegate McDonald—I did not make that statement.

President Gompers—I haven't anything more to say.

Delegate McDonald made a brief statement in which he again denied the correctness of the newspaper article, and said, "How could I make a statement of that character; I have never been in Mr. Gompers' room and he knows it. I do not know who is responsible, and I care less, but I wish I knew who was responsible for characterizing me on the vaudeville stage as a Chinaman. If it is because of the fact that I am one of the miners' delegates and recognized as opposed to the administration, I want to know it. If we are not wanted in this convention as miners' delegates trying to carry out the honest instructions of our membership, all you need to do, gentlemen, is to say so and I will leave the convention as one delegate from the miners' organization.

Now I will tell you why I did not bring this on the floor of this convention. When I saw the first statement that I was going to oppose President Gompers, then saw this other statement, and then heard of this thing on the vaudeville stage, I wondered what would appear next morning and made up my mind to suffer in silence and see how far they would go. I do not know who saw this copy before it went to the press; but if I saw it before it went to the press, the man who was responsible for it would have answered to me personally, because I will not permit men to hold me up to ridicule and public scorn. Since I came to this convention I have tried to conduct myself as a delegate worthy of the respect and confidence of the men who sent me here. I have not made a statement on the floor of this convention I am ashamed of. I try to fight for the principles our membership stand for and for the instructions

they gave me, and I rather assume, whether I am right or wrong, that a very concerted effort was being made to put myself and a few others in as bad light as possible. If I had made those statements I would not consider myself a fit subject to be a trades unionist, let alone represent as one of the delegates, the largest organization represented on the floor of this convention.

President Gompers—I want Delegate McDonald to accept what I say in absolute good faith; that I accept without qualifications his explanation and denial. With others I have given the best that is in me to help build up the American Federation of Labor and the labor movement. I have welcomed every organization of bona fide working men to come into our Federation, and whether they agree with me or disagree with me it makes no particular difference in my personal feeling or personal relation with them. They know that. And in the convention, whenever a difference comes up, of course that difference must be made clear and clean-cut. In that I am uncompromising. But here to-day you have set a special order for the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor. The report of the Committee on President's Report has been received by this convention. Discussion upon the year's work, in a way, has been had, and nothing of this character has developed until the discussion on the matter which I brought to the attention of the delegates. Could I, as one who may be nominated for the presidency of the American Federation of Labor, allow this entire matter to be buried in oblivion so far as the convention officially is concerned and allow the election to proceed under possible misapprehension as to me or misapprehension as to Delegate McDonald? I felt I owed it to him, I owed it to the convention, as well as to myself, to bring it before the delegate, and I am perfectly satisfied with the present status of the matter.

Delegate Walker (J. H.) arose to a question of personal privilege and asked permission to make a statement in regard to a portion of Delegate

Egan's discussion when the minority report of the Committee on Education was being discussed. Delegate Walker stated that he presented the minority report and understood Delegate Egan to say in discussing it that the man who presented the subject had been, prior to this time, preaching free love and Fletcherism and a number of other characterizations of the same kind. In commenting on the matter Delegate Walker said in part: This is, I think, the seventh convention of the American Federation of Labor I have attended as a delegate, for six years representing my own organization and one year representing the State Federation of Labor of Illinois. I don't think there is a man in Illinois, or outside of it, that is more tolerant of other men's views or attitudes, or more liberal in giving them the same right I ask for myself than I am. I think every man and woman here who knows anything about me will agree with that statement. So far as preaching free love is concerned, I want to say to you that the gentleman who made the statement and no other man here or anywhere ever heard me advocating that proposition anywhere under any circumstances. The matter that was introduced by myself as the minority report was presented to this convention by the delegates representing our union; we were instructed to bring it here by our last International Convention, in which there was something like 1,200 delegates, who adopted that motion instructing us to bring it here by unanimous vote. In the matter of the election by referendum of the officers of the American Federation of Labor we were instructed by the same convention, by the same kind of vote, to bring it here and vote for it and do everything within our power to get it adopted.

Delegate Egan arose to a question of personal privilege to reply to the statement of Delegate Walker, and said in part: I am going to read from the records the statement I made. I stated "that the organization I belong to, the International Typographical Union, had indulged in unionism when the men outside our ranks, who are now trying to disrupt the American Feder-

ation of Labor, were preaching free love and Fletcherism."

Delegate Egan—That is from the stenographic report of the official proceedings.

Delegate Walker stated he would accept the record quoted by Delegate Egan.

#### **Report of Committee on Resolutions.**

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 107—By Delegate Jacob Tazelaar of the Brotherhood of Painters:

WHEREAS, The Commissioner of Labor of the State of New York has, on many occasions, refused to aid the organized labor movement in prosecuting employers who violate the provisions of the labor laws of that state; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention petition the Governor of New York State requesting the removal of John Williams, Commissioner of Labor of New York State.

The committee recommended non-concurrence.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Tazelaar opposed the recommendation of the committee. He stated he had no quarrel with the gentleman referred to in the resolution, but in the interests of organized labor and of the American Federation of Labor he deemed it to be his duty to offer the resolution demanding the removal of the commissioner. Delegate Tazelaar detailed at some length conditions in Mineville, New York, where a federal labor union of the American Federation of Labor existed for years, whose members were unable to build up their organization because of the opposition of the Witherbee-Sherman Company. He stated the condition there had been brought to the attention of the Labor Commissioner; that the labor commissioner had been allowed something like two and one-half or three months to make an investigation, and acting under the laws of the state he should have presented the evidence to the district attorney of that county to begin prosecutions, but that he had failed to bring the cases to the district attorney. Delegate Tazelaar referred also to his work as organizer for the American Federation of Labor during the laundry workers' strike

in New York, and claimed that Mr. Williams had failed to present to the district attorney in that case evidence of violations of the law on the part of the employers.

Vice-President Duncan in replying to the statements of Delegate Tazelaar said in part: The committee told Delegate Tazelaar that if there was a grievance in New York state against this commissioner of such importance as to warrant a resolution of this kind to be considered by the committee it was marvelous to us that it was not reported to the convention by the State Federation of New York, which has recently been held. Nothing has come from that convention to this convention on the subject. We had no hearings upon it, because Delegate Tazelaar told the committee it made no difference what our report was on the subject he would make a statement and submit his testimony on the floor of the convention, and we therefore did not take testimony from him or send to Commissioner Williams to offer testimony in rebuttal, but referred the resolution with nonconcurrence.

Delegate Kelley (Wm. J.), discussed the question at length, and said in part: I do not rise in defense of Labor Commissioner Williams of the State of New York because he is a member of the Carpenters' Union. I do not believe the resolution was presented in good faith; and, as has been stated by the chairman of the committee, the proposition should have been taken up in the New York State Branch convention which met last September. Nothing was brought before the convention in reference to Labor Commissioner Williams except in a complimentary manner. The activity of John Williams, as Labor Commissioner of New York, can best be explained from the proceedings of the New York State Federation of Labor, which was held at Poughkeepsie, September 17-20, this year. When the New York State organizations went after the fifty-four-hour bill Mr. Williams, who was one of the most active men in its behalf, and President Harris, who is a delegate to this convention, drew the attention of the delegates of that State convention to the fact that Labor Commissioner Williams, in a memorandum to the Governor in regard to the fifty-four-hour bill, said:

"Without fear of any untoward consequences to the industrial and commercial interests of our state, I urge the approval of this bill."

President Harris said: "Taking into consideration Commissioner Williams' efforts in behalf of this bill, and in view of the fact that the law takes effect the first day of October, I have invited him to address the convention so that the delegates may know at first hand preparations made by the Labor Department for its enforcement and to gain such other information as they desire as to the laws enacted through our efforts and which are enforced by the Labor Department."

Thomas D. Fitzgerald, Chairman of the Legislative Committee of the State Federation, in his annual report, while discussing the fifty-four-hour bill for women, said: "One of the strongest documents filed with the Governor giving reasons why the bill should receive his signature was from Labor Commissioner Williams, and the convention itself, after going over the matter, received this report: 'Your committee must also acknowledge its great indebtedness for services, guidance and co-operation of Labor Commissioner Williams.'"

Now in reference to the statement that was brought out by Delegate Tazelaar in reference to the situation at Mineville, New York. The answer of that local itself is the best evidence as to how they viewed the situation there. Here is a copy of a resolution as passed by that local:

Laborers' Protective Union, No. 8073,  
Mineville, N. Y., affiliated with the A.  
F. of L.; affiliated with the N. Y. S.  
of L.

Office of Secretary,  
Mineville, N. Y.

H. B. Wykes:

At a largely attended meeting of Laborers' Protective Union, No. 8073, of Mineville, N. Y., held on the 28th day of January, 1912, the following resolution was adopted by a unanimous standing vote:

WHEREAS, During the month of August, 1911, Mr. Jacob Tazelaar, organizer for the American Federation of Labor, brought to the attention of Witherbee, Sherman & Co., a condition of affairs that required some action by the company; and,

WHEREAS, The company did not act as soon as it was thought they should Mr. Tazelaar caused to have published

statements that were so incomplete as to place the above company in a false light before the public; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** By this union that we condemn the action taken by Mr. Tazelaar; and be it further

**RESOLVED,** That we send a copy of this resolution to Witherbee, Sherman & Co., showing our appreciation of the manner in which they have treated our union through this whole matter, and thanking them for the action that has already been taken.

Signed, Committee on Resolutions.

Dated, January 31, 1912.

I do not believe it is necessary to take up any more of your time on this last day. The proceedings of the New York Federation are here and there are many other items in it that could be quoted which are commendations of Labor Commissioner Williams of New York:

Delegate Tazelaar requested permission to discuss the matter further and reply to statements made by Delegate Kelley. The question was called for, and a motion made and carried that debate close.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by a vote of 125 in the affirmative to 5 in the negative.

**Resolution No. 123—By Delegate Joseph Smith, of the Michigan State Federation of Labor:**

**WHEREAS,** For years the Michigan State Federation of Labor, and many central labor unions have declared their opposition to local option and prohibition, and have pledged their different organizations against any attempt to bring about local option in Michigan; and

**WHEREAS,** John B. Lennon, treasurer of the American Federation of Labor is using his office in the local option fight in Michigan, and using his office on the front page of The American Issue, the official organ of the Michigan Prohibition party, and on February 12, 1912, there appeared in that paper an article by Mr. Lennon, his picture, and under his name, Treasurer—The American Federation of Labor. In view of the fact and the position taken by organized labor in Michigan against local option; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That we, the delegates to the Twenty-third Annual Convention of the Michigan State Federation of Labor, instruct our delegates to the next Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to protest against Mr. Lennon using his high office to defeat the expressed will of organized labor in Michigan.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee;

On resolution No. 123 the introducer informed your committee that if John B.

Lennon states that the title of his office in the A. F. of L. had been used with his name while lecturing, without his authority and that he discountenanced the use of his official title in the A. F. of L. in his lecturing engagements he (the introducer of the resolution) would consider that statement to be satisfactory. On the other hand John B. Lennon assured your committee that he had never so authorized the use of his title. Your committee therefore, recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Smith, in discussing the question, said in part: I introduced the resolution regarding Mr. Lennon on instructions from the Michigan State Federation of Labor. As I stated to the committee, this is no attempt to restrict the free speech of Mr. Lennon or any other man. If I had thought it was, I would never have introduced the resolution. Since I was before the committee I have received information from Michigan instructing me to bring this matter on the floor of this convention. In the Michigan State Federation of Labor there was introduced a resolution signed by forty-nine delegates, and they claimed that Mr. Lennon was using his title or associations in opposition to the saloons and in favor of local option and by that means connecting the American Federation of Labor with the local option fight in Michigan, hence the protest.

Treasurer Lennon—I do not intend to enter into the discussion of what lies back of the resolution. I want to read exactly what I have written to the people in the respective localities where I have spoken on this question, and having read that, I am perfectly willing that this convention shall vote upon the matter: "I desire that in any advertising done where my name is used, that you state clear and plain that I speak, not officially as Treasurer of the A. F. of L., or as in any way representing the Federation, but simply as an individual union man stand-incorporated in the record?"

Delegate Sullivan (J. L.)—Will the statement just made by Delegate Lennon be incorporated in the records?

Treasurer Lennon—Yes sir. I will hand it to the Secretary.

**President Gompers**—It will be incorporated.

**Delegate Proebstle**—I have no object in disapproving the report of the committee, but will say that the declaration made by **Brother Lennon**, that he is acting as an individual and not as the Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor is satisfactory.

**Treasurer Lennon**—I only appear as an officer of the American Federation of Labor to advertise the fact just as much by denying that I am not there in the capacity of Treasurer as I do when I sign my name to it or proclaim that I am not there as Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor. If I am on the platform and I say to my audience that I do not represent the American Federation of Labor

as its Treasurer, then I make the quasi-statement that I am the Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor.

**Delegate Proebstle**—I only ask **Delegate Lennon** one favor. In behalf of the thousands of working men who have or will lose their positions and homes in the state of West Virginia, that he may go back after 1914 and investigate the conditions which prevail on the social evil which he has eliminated, as I have investigated the conditions in the state of Alabama when that state went under prohibition. That is the only favor I ask of **Delegate Lennon**.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

At 12:30 the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 2 p. m.

## Tenth Day—Saturday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 p. m., Saturday, November 23rd, **President Gompers** in the chair.

**Absentees** — Noschang, Klapetzky, Kline, (J. W.), Kramer, Crozier, Strom, Goellnitz, Shiff, Conway (H. J.), Yount, Feeney, Dolan, Larger, Bryan (W. E.), Healey (Dennis), Lowe, Allen, Call, Cannon, Weber (J. N.), Miller (Owen), Tracey (Wm. J.), Leonard, Murphy (P.), Whitehead, Gallagher (T. J.), Weeks, Hanson, Huddleston, Welch (M. R.), Donnelly, McGrath, Vanderveld, Preble, Sullivan (J. H.), McCarthy (E. H.), Sause, Landers, Gillispie, Privett, Kane (J. M.), Burns (E. S.), Elyea, Doherty, Hunter, Bonner, Stokes, Fello, Wood (E. V.), Bates, Spencer, Wildberger, Lawler, Sinclair, Waldron, Lebowitz, Mulkern, Johnson (J. E.), Beckman.

### Report of Committee on Resolutions.

**Delegate Frey**, Secretary of the Committee—Your committee had three resolutions referred to it relative to the initiative and referendum in the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor, and the committee acted on them collectively.

**Resolution No. 112**—By **Delegate Duncan McDonald** of the United Mine Workers:

The Initiative, Referendum and Recall have been adopted by a number of States, and is no doubt to be in the near future an established method of selecting and removing men to represent them and recall those unworthy of the trust reposed in them. No good reason has been advanced why this principle should not be carried

into effect in the affairs of the American Federation of Labor, therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That we amend Section 1, Article 5, by substituting therefore the following:

Section 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, eight Vice-presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer, to be elected as follows:

The President, Vice-presidents, Secretary and Treasurer shall be elected by a referendum of the members. Four months prior to the month in which the American Federation of Labor is held, the Secretary shall prepare nomination blanks and send them to each national, international and federal labor union in sufficient number to provide each local with three copies. The recording secretary shall fill in the names of the members nominated by the local union for the various offices and forward the same to the national or international office of his organization inside of thirty days after receiving said blanks. In case of federal labor unions the returns shall be sent direct to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

Section 2. The secretaries of the federal, national or international unions shall, within ten days, tabulate the nominations received and forward same to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, who shall, within ten days after receiving the total number of nominations, notify the two receiving the highest number of nominations and who shall have qualified as herein provided for each of the respective positions, whose consent must be obtained, but no person shall be eligible who is not in good standing in his respective organization, which fact must be attested by the President and Secretary of

the Local of which the nominee is a member. Said acceptance to be sent in to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor within ten days.

Section 3. No nominee filing his acceptance with the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor shall be allowed to withdraw his name. The Secretary shall prepare ballots giving the name, location and occupation of the person accepting the nomination, and shall furnish each affiliated organization with a sufficient number to provide every member in good standing a ballot not later than thirty days prior to the convening of the convention.

Section 4. Local recording secretaries must notify their members by posting notices or otherwise at least one week prior to the dates set for the nominations and election of officers.

Section 5. Each local union shall designate at a regular meeting of the local, where its election shall be held and the place so designated shall be the official voting place of such local union, and under no circumstances shall the votes of any local union be cast or tabulated in any other place than that designated, and no member shall be allowed to interfere with the official tellers during the voting or the tabulation of same.

Section 6. No member shall be allowed more than one vote for any candidate, nor shall the local tellers record the vote of any member who is not present at the time the election is held, except officers, organizers and workers for the organization away from home at the time the election is held, whose vote shall be recorded if sent to the secretaries of their respective local unions.

Section 7. Each Local shall select from among its members not less than three nor more than six, two of whom must be the president and secretary of the local to act as local tellers, whose duty shall be to supervise the election and, when requested, instruct the members how to vote and tabulate the votes cast by the members and enter on the "return sheet" furnished by the secretary for such purpose the total number of votes cast for each candidate. The correctness of the "return sheet" must be attested with the local seal and signatures of the president and the recording secretary of the local union, same to be forwarded to the secretary of their respective national or international unions.

Section 8. The secretary of the national or international unions shall have the returns totaled and forward same to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, who shall have the same counted and report same to the convention.

Section 9. The persons receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected to the various positions as hereinafter provided. The candidate for Vice-president receiving the highest number of votes shall be first vice-president, the one receiving the next highest second vice-president and so on until eight have been chosen, provided further that no two officers shall be from the same organization.

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate Joseph D. Cannon of the Western Federation of Miners:

On the first day of the fourth month preceding that on which the Convention of the American Federation is held, local unions shall have the right to make nominations for the executive offices of the Federation as follows:

For the offices of president, secretary and treasurer, one nomination each and for the offices of vice-presidents eight nominations. Returns of nominations by locals to be made to national and international secretaries not later than the first day of the third month preceding that in which the convention is held. Federal unions shall make returns to the secretary of the A. F. of L.

National and international secretaries shall make the necessary arrangements for the counting, tabulating and publishing of the returns of the primaries for the benefit of their members, and shall, not later than the tenth of the month, send these tabulated returns to the secretary of the A. F. of L.

The two candidates for the offices each of president, secretary and treasurer and the sixteen candidates for vice-presidents receiving the greatest number of nominations shall be declared the nominees for the offices for which they were candidates, providing they qualify. The secretary of the A. F. of L. shall, not later than the twentieth of the month, notify each candidate of his nomination, and also the two candidates receiving the next and second next highest number of nominations, who shall be alternates, nominees, and alternates must before the fifteenth of the second month preceding that in which the convention is held, notify the secretary of the A. F. of L. in writing of their acceptance and eligibility.

In case of the failure of any nominee to qualify, the candidate receiving the next highest number of nominations shall be declared the nominee under the same conditions as those applied to the original candidate.

To be eligible for office, a candidate must have been a member in good standing for one year preceding his nomination.

The secretary of the A. F. of L. shall, not later than the twenty-fifth of the month, send to the secretary of federal unions, a sufficient number of ballots for the members thereof. Ballots to contain the names of the candidates properly listed for the offices for which they stand, and to the secretaries of the national and international unions he shall send forms of the ballots not later than the date specified above.

Secretaries of national and international unions shall, not later than the first day of the month preceding that in which the convention is held, have printed and sent to the locals, ballots in sufficient number for the members.

Locals shall conduct the elections and in no case vote any members not there



to vote in person, except organizers or other officers unavoidably absent in business of the Federation or some of its affiliated Unions. In that case, the absent one shall have the right to have his ballot presented, sealed and indorsed by his signature, same to be verified by secretary or other proper officer.

A local union that votes any of its members, not voting in person, or as described above, or that in any other way uses unfair methods, shall be penalized by having its entire vote thrown out.

Local unions shall make returns of the results of the elections to the national and international secretaries not later than the twentieth day of the month.

Secretaries of national, international and Federal Unions shall make tabulated returns of the result of the election in their organizations, not later than the first of the month in which the convention is to be held. The same to be published for the benefit of the members.

The convention, upon the completion of its organization, shall elect a committee of seven which shall canvass the vote and report its findings to the Conventions.

**Resolution No. 118—By Delegates John P. White, John Mitchell, Frank Hayes, Duncan McDonald, Wm. Green and J. H. Walker of the U. M. W. of A.:**

**WHEREAS**, There is a growing demand among the rank and file of the trades union movement to participate directly in the election of officers, not only of their respective unions, but of the American Federation of Labor as well; and

**WHEREAS**, Many of the affiliated national and international organizations have adopted the direct election of all their officers with satisfactory results; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Committee on Law be instructed to prepare an amendment to the constitution providing for the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor by the referendum method.

On Resolutions 112, 114 and 118, and on that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Election of A. F. of L. officers by initiative and referendum. Investigation of subject," the committee reported as follows:

Your committee while in full accord with the declarations of the American Federation of Labor on the application of the initiative and referendum to the election of public officials and the enactment of general legislation, does not believe that it would be advisable to apply this method to the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor. In the political field and on questions of legislation there is public and common information as fully available to one

citizen as to any other through the public forum and the press.

Your committee is aware that there are organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which elect their officers by the initiative and referendum; also that some affiliated organizations which at one time applied the initiative and referendum to the election of their officers, have returned to the convention system because of their experiences under the former method, and that many affiliated organizations have not considered it advisable to adopt the initiative and referendum for that purpose. On that phase of the question members of unions electing officers through the initiative and referendum have opportunities through trade information of knowing something concerning the availability and qualifications of candidates for office. On the subject of applying the initiative and referendum to the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, your committee is as fully aware that neither of the preceding opportunities of essential information are apparent. The members of one union have little opportunity of receiving trade or other knowledge concerning the availability or personnel of members and nominees of other unions, for officers of the American Federation of Labor. Apart from the enormous cost of such a method of election, the possibility of irregularities in connection therewith; the evident multiplicity of nominations which would follow, and the impossibility of guaranteeing an election by a number approaching a majority vote, there is the evident fact that there are neither adequate methods of conducting such elections nor are there available opportunities for the dissemination of proper and essential information to properly conduct such an election.

Your committee has examined the report of the Executive Council upon the subject under consideration and find that in reply to the circular letter sent to all affiliated organizations on this matter as a result of the action of the Atlanta Convention on the subject, the officers of 53 affiliated organizations representing 890,240 members recorded themselves as opposed to the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, by the

initiative and referendum, while the officers of but 23 affiliated organizations representing 508,116 members expressed themselves in favor of this system.

For the reasons submitted and in view of the present method where in representative conventions officers are elected with due regard to their ability, fitness for the office for which they are selected, with fair and just consideration for the rights of affiliated organizations, your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolutions, one member of the committee, Delegate Ward being recorded as not supporting the committee's report.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Green (Wm.) in discussing the question, said in part: The United Mine Workers of America in their last convention instructed their delegates to introduce a resolution providing for the adoption in the constitution of the American Federation of Labor of laws providing for the election of officers by a referendum vote. One of the resolutions which the committee has referred to is a resolution introduced by the delegates of the United Mine Workers of America. I am not in accord with the committee's report, because I believe the initiative and referendum is fundamentally right. The members of the organization we have the honor to represent are wedded to this principle. I believe in the initiative and referendum, as one delegate to this convention, not because some other organization believes in it, not because any set of individuals believe in it; but I believe in it because I was taught to believe in it in the school of my local union. I remember a few years ago when our organization adopted this principle. Brother Mitchell was then president of our organization and in his report to the convention he advised that the convention adopt this method of electing officers. In accordance with his advice the delegates to that convention adopted the principle, and ever since the officers of the United Mine Workers of America have been elected by the members on a referendum vote at every election that has been held. Even the delegates who represent the United Mine Workers of America in this convention were elected by this method.

Delegate Green discussed at some length the practicability of the system and stated that the necessary machinery that would have to be provided in order to make it a success. He referred to the operation of the system in the Mine Workers' organization, and in concluding said: "This morning we adopted the recommendation of the committee on officers' reports which provided for the adoption of the initiative and referendum in governmental affairs; and if I remember correctly that report provided that we favor the voters of our country having the right to pass upon a constitutional amendment providing a petition is signed by eight per cent of the voters requiring the submission to them of such proposed amendment. And it also provided that statutory laws should be referred to them, provided a petition was signed by five per cent of the citizenship, I presume in either the state or in the nation. What does that mean? It means that we have expressed here in this resolution and in this report that the masses of the people are fully competent and capable of passing upon the fundamental law of our land. The organic law of the commonwealth or the federal constitution of the United States are far more important in character and application than whether or not the rank and file have the right and are capable and competent to elect the officers of their organizations. I want to ask you men in all fairness are we consistent when we demand for the working people the right to vote directly upon an amendment of the organic law of our nation, and then stand before the public and deny them the right to vote directly for the election of their own officers? It seems to me that position is inconsistent, it is indefensible and places the great mass of the working people of our country in an unenviable light. The objection that it is impracticable is not well founded, because if it is fundamentally right, then we ought to admit that we have the capacity within us to put into operation the proper machinery to make it practicable, and if it is right, if the rank and file, the men we have the honor to represent, are entitled to and should have the right to vote directly as to who shall be their officers,

then we should not longer withhold from them that right.

We are living in a most progressive age; we are living in the day when these reforms are slowly but surely coming. I predict that if it is not adopted at this convention it will not be many conventions hence until there will be incorporated in the constitution of the American Federation of Labor a provision for the election of officers by a referendum vote; and he who stands in the way may as well understand that he will either join the procession or be left by the wayside in this onward march of progress.

Delegate Garvey, in speaking in favor of the report of the committee and in opposition to the resolution, said in part: I am not in favor of any referendum. We suffered under that once in our Brotherhood. I see what kind of officers we have in to-day by electing them in the convention; they are officers that are a credit to any community in the world. I hope the report of the committee will be adopted and I hope I will never see this adopted in this Federation. I don't care who you put up in this convention as long as he is capable of filling the position. I am well acquainted with the men in this convention; I have been with them on the railroads and in conferences and I know they are capable of filling the offices, but if it went to that kind of vote it would be turned down. We come here and see them and know them and go among them, and we have a chance to cast our votes for the men we want. I am here as one of the tollers from the shop; I work every day and when I am sent to the convention I want to have my say about who is to be put in that chair, or that chair, or that chair, and my organization backs me up.

Delegate Tobin (J. F.), in discussing the question, spoke in favor of the report of the committee, and said in part: I want to be recorded here as one of the original referendum advocates in the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. We had eleven years' experience under that system of electing officers. The system became so absolutely unsatisfactory and so productive of corruption that we were obliged to abandon it entirely and elect in the convention. It is a significant fact that in our union those who oppose change of

dues, from the old fashion of low dues and low benefits, were the ones who, after the high dues system had been adopted, and who had previously shown absolute indifference as to who might be the officers of the union, after we had demonstrated the success of the high dues system in our union and had reached six figures in our financial reserve, began to clamor for office. And with that clamor for office was produced the most vicious, unreasoning and untruthful attacks upon the officers of the organization they desired to replace.

Delegate Tobin spoke at some length of the experience of the Boot and Shoe Workers' organization while the referendum system was in force, and in closing said: We are told here that because the initiative and referendum applies in politics and it would make a satisfactory system of dealing with public affairs that it follows naturally that it must be good in the labor organizations, that economic organizations should be governed by the rank and file. You might as well say that because salt makes palatable some kinds of food a spoonful or two of salt in your coffee would make it palatable.

Delegate Proebstle—I arise for a correction of an editorial expression in the American Federationist for the month of March, 1912, in which the editor of the Federationist says: "At the Atlanta convention the Socialists dug a pitfall for the American Federation of Labor officials—and these officials promptly decided to tumble into it according to programme. Delegate Joseph Proebstle of the International Union of the United Brewery Workers of America introduced a resolution," etc., implying that the resolution was introduced by the Socialists. I want to tell the President and the delegates that never a Socialist faction or any Socialist has induced me to do something which I did not want to do. The resolution for the introduction of the initiative and referendum was introduced by me as far back as the Minneapolis convention. I was not a delegate and sent it to our delegates to be introduced. I personally introduced it in the Toronto and Atlanta conventions.

Delegate Proebstle spoke briefly of the matter contained in the report of the Executive Council, and in opposing the report of the committee, said in part:

Now, in connection with the report of the committee, I want to say it is absolutely illogical to say that no machinery could be found to make the introduction of the initiative and referendum practicable in the American Federation of Labor. I have a different story to tell from the President of the Shoe Workers. In my organization the referendum is practicable. Ninety per cent of the members are voting on every question put before them, and it does not cost an enormous sum of money either. The introducers of the proposition were fully willing that the burden of expense should be borne by the international organizations. It was not the intention to try to oust by referendum any of the officers; but in the march of progress it is necessary to give the rank and file of the organizations a say-so in regard to the fundamental laws. You may retard this progress for the time being; you may stem it, if you please, you will finally conflict with the capitalistic system will eventually drive you to it. You have voted down the proposition for a partial introduction of the industrial organization system. Your rank and file is going to force you, the great capitalistic combines will also force you, and for such measures as this the initiative and referendum were intended. I have seen no logical reason advanced by the committee or the speaker who argued against the introduction of this system. The only thing possible which you are going to force is that you create discontent and dissatisfaction if you continue to rule from above and give the masses of the workers no voice at all in the administration of their labor organizations.

Delegate Scharrenberg asked Delegate Probstle how the delegates of the brewery workers to the A. F. of L. convention were elected. Delegate Probstle stated they were elected in the convention.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.), in speaking in favor of the report of the committee, said in part: There is not a delegate in this convention who does not believe the referendum is perhaps an absolute necessity in our political affairs, but it is entirely different when it comes to the election of officers of this organization. In the first place, there are a number of international organizations—I believe a majority—that have no system of referendum and do not

believe in that system of electing officers in labor unions, for the very reason that they know that in the organizations that now employ the referendum there is not a square deal in the election of officers; there is absolutely no chance for a square deal where the officers in charge are in favor of one of the individuals who is a candidate for office. We are opposed to the attempt to amend the constitution by providing for the election of officers by referendum. We do not believe it is practicable, we do not believe it is necessary. We have gone along under this system successfully for years, and I see no reason why we should change when we have had such satisfactory results from the present system.

Delegate Tobin spoke briefly of the experience of other organizations with the referendum method of electing officers, and referred particularly to the Mine Workers, stating that in one instance twenty thousand votes of the Illinois District were stolen out of the office of the mine workers and no account of them was made under the system of referendum election.

Delegate Franklin, in speaking in favor of the report of the committee, said in part: As a member of the committee and as a representative of an organization that has tried the referendum system in the election of its officers, I could not allow this opportunity to pass without raising a protest against the adoption of that system by the American Federation of Labor. We know all of the curses of the system of electing officers in an international organization by referendum, and it would be magnified if adopted by this convention. In my judgment the internationals that have the referendum system, or a great majority of them, are not satisfied with it, and as Delegate Tobin has told you, after trying it they have discarded that system. In 1906 the organization I have the honor to represent instructed the majority of the delegates at that convention, if nothing else was accomplished, to do away with the referendum system. Our organization has made more progress since that system has been discarded than it ever did in its history before.

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, in discussing the question and defending the report of the committee, said

In part: We have heard here about principles involved, but during my experience in the trade union movement I have found that facts and conditions were as important to consider as some principles that might be involved. And I doubt whether in this question, the principle of the application of the initiative and referendum, we can apply that to all conditions and all activities of men equally and satisfactorily. If it could be proven in this convention that the initiative and referendum for the election of officers of the affiliated unions have been eminently successful that in itself would not be an argument why this federation, which is composed of these various organizations, should adopt the same method, but the evidence is not before this convention that this system has proven satisfactory to all of the affiliated organizations.

There are other reasons, to which I desire to direct your attention, why we should not adopt this system. We do not want to make politicians of our officers, we do not want to have them devote a large portion of their time, or a small portion of their time, in working for their re-election as the politician does in the political parties; and we are aware that under the initiative and referendum system of electing officers of trades unions we have had developed in this country during recent years state-wide campaigns on the part of candidates, with brass bands, opera houses, literature and other forms of excitement that go with political campaigns. The initiative and referendum would very likely develop some of our officers into the keenest type of politicians which is something we desire to avoid.

Delegate Frey spoke of the practice that has grown up in organizations that have the referendum vote of sending circulars in regard to candidates, and to newspapers that were the organs of certain political parties taking an active interest in the election of trades union officials. Continuing with his discussion, Delegate Frey said:

There is a little evidence I desire to lay before this convention. It is the expression of opinion from organizations that at present have adopted this system. In the February issue of the Painter and Decorator, the official organ of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper

Hangers of America, I find this in an editorial relative to the vote that had just been canvassed:

"The reporting committee found irregularities and indications of fraud similar to those reported by the committee that canvassed the vote in the election to fill the vacancy in the Third General Vice-Presidency and makes the same recommendations—"that some means be devised by which a stricter supervision of elections can be had."

"If confidence in the referendum system is to be maintained—to be restored would, perhaps be more correct—there must be positive assurance that the returns made are a true report of the votes of the members present and voting in elections. Swelling of the vote cannot be tolerated. The election officers of any union found guilty of this practice should be subject to severe penalties—forfeiture of membership would not be too drastic a punishment for violation of the sacredness of the ballot.

"Purity of elections must be had; organization politics must be kept clean. If corrupt practices go unwhipped, if the unscrupulous and unprincipled are permitted to thwart the will of the membership by the falsification of returns, respect for the Brotherhood will be weakened and confidence destroyed. Before another referendum election is held, the laws should be amended so that a repetition of these deplorable, disreputable and dangerous practices shall be impossible."

I find that in that election twenty-four local unions had their votes cast out, not for fraud, but because of error in complying with the election laws of that organization.

I would like to read you the report of the Canvassing Board of the Carpenters' Union, canvassing, I believe, the vote of 1909. The report in part is as follows:

"We further wish to state that the present method of election of General Officers seems to the undersigned, from the experience gained while acting on this committee, to be a clumsy and costly one, and if continued will ultimately wreck the organization, for which we give the following reasons:

"First—That it is a premium on illegal voting and sharp practice.

"Second—That it leaves with recording secretaries the power to disfranchise the local union by holding back returns and by not signing same, either through carelessness or intent.

"Third—that the membership at large are voting more or less blindly, not from lack of intelligence, but from lack of opportunity to be acquainted with the merits and demerits of the various candidates for office, and have to accept the opinions of the delegates or others who may be interested parties, and finally,

"That this method is enormously expensive. We give you the following bills of cost, furnished by the G. S., bearing in

mind that this does not include the cost entailed on each local union for meetings, postage, expressage, etc. (Many local unions sent their ballots in such a way that they could not be identified)."

The following is from "The Call" of New York, December 30, 1909. I will read it all, if the convention will allow, and then there will be no thought that parts are being skipped:

### Socialist Party Questions.

"We have received several communications, intended for publication, advocating the election of this or that candidate, or this or that set of candidates, for the national executive committee. We do not intend to publish these communications and we wonder how any one, and least of all, experienced Socialist party members, could have expected us to publish them. Do you think that this paper is an organ of a faction within the party? And if they do think so, is it not very significant that people advocating different views and candidates have sent in their communications with apparently the same degree of confidence that they would be published?

"Possibly the writers of these communications think that because we have been publishing articles and letters representing opposite views on questions of party organization and policy, therefore we may also be expected to publish letters advocating the election of various men to the national executive committee. But the analogy is merely superficial. The presentation of different views on the same subject is a necessary part of the educational work of the Socialist press, while the use of the party press for championing or antagonizing candidates for party offices may lead to the grossest abuses and to endless mischief.

"But is it not in the nature of an anomaly that the Socialist press is, or should be, debarred from discussing a question submitted to the vote of the entire membership of the Socialist party? It is, indeed. But the anomaly is due not to the conduct of the press, but to the mode of election. Had our party been conducted on the same lines as other Socialist parties throughout the world, there would be no need of electing members of the national executive committee by a general vote, just as there would be no need of so many useless frequently silly, and occasionally mischievous referendums. All other Socialist parties, except our own, meet in annual conventions, which exercise sovereign power within the party and the decisions of which are accepted as final until the next convention. These annual conventions also elect the executive committees. But we seem to feel ourselves bound by the practice of the capitalist parties, and so meet only once in four years for the purpose of making nominations. And to counterbalance this evil, we create another evil—the fetich of

democracy, the referendum on party questions and the general vote for national officers.

"We are well aware that in attacking the democratic fetich we are treading on dangerous ground. Many well meaning and otherwise well informed Socialists think that the referendum and the general vote are not only the surest, but also the only way of ascertaining the true opinion of the party membership on questions of organization and policy and of securing real control over the party officials. Now, we may admit that so long as we meet only once in four years the referendum and general vote are unavoidable. But we deny that they serve the purposes which they are supposed to serve.

"In the first place, the result of a general vote does not necessarily reflect the opinion of the majority of party members. It only reflects the opinion of the majority participating in the vote. But the total number of those actually voting may be, and frequently has been, only a minority of the total party membership. So that the question is really decided by a minority of a minority. This is the democratic fetich of actual practice. It is a perversion of democracy, which no true democrat is bound to respect.

"But furthermore, it is not merely the opinion of the party membership that is needed in the decision of questions, but their best opinion, their intelligent opinion, based on a free and full discussion of the questions at issue. Now, intelligent opinion is not formed in isolation, but by the action and reaction of mind upon mind. This takes place only in deliberate assemblies. The opinion of a few party members meeting in their local organizations, or subdivisions thereof, is rarely formed after a full discussion of the question. All the materials for such a discussion are lacking. Such a discussion can only take place in a deliberate assembly composed of delegates who have come together for a special purpose, and who can obtain all the available facts upon which an intelligent judgment may be formed.

"But frequent Socialist party conventions are imperatively needed, not only for the purpose of deciding intelligently upon party questions, but also for the purpose of preventing the formation of factions and cliques. The multiplication of factions and cliques seems to us to be due to this, that new questions arise and press for solution while there is no established party organ for dealing with them and settling them. Only frequent, and if possible, annual party conventions are fitted to discuss and decide such questions as they arise, and before they have developed into serious causes of friction and division.

"It is unnecessary to add that only such conventions can exercise any real control over the national officers of the party. And the more numerous we become and the greater our organization, the more necessary does such control become."

Delegate Frey, during the discussion, read the following quotation from the Machinists Monthly Journal:

"I know the referendum has many redeeming features, but it is a menace to success unless every voter is made thoroughly familiar with the intended amendments and the qualities of the aspirants for office. This our present system fails to do in a miserable manner, and I doubt very much if it will ever be made to meet all such requirements.

"The election of officers two years ago was one of the greatest farces the I. A. of M. has ever been a party to. In fact, the full result is yet unknown, although we are upon the eve of another election now. I do not know what the last election cost the I. A. of M., but I understood it was up in the thousands of dollars. If anyone knows I would be pleased to hear what good results were accomplished thereby. It was also at a time when we needed money badly."

Delegate McCullough moved that the article from The Call be made part of the record of the convention. He withdrew the motion at that time, but stated he would renew it later.

Delegate Walker (J. H.)—I have no desire to take a part in the discussion, as I feel that Brother Green has put the case in about as strong a manner as it can be put, but Brother Tobin made some reference to the Illinois miners' recent election, and as president of that organization—we have something like 70,000 to 75,000 paid up members—I did not want to leave any room for any false impressions going out as to the elections in the recent past in that district. The referendum method of election of officers in Illinois has been established for a considerable number of years. We do not attempt to say that men who are not honest will not try to serve their own interests by unscrupulous methods in a referendum election, but in Illinois we have provided the machinery for safeguarding an election of that kind to the extent that in the last eight or nine years there has not been a single question as to the honesty of the elections raised in the Illinois convention, and I believe whatever weaknesses there may have existed in that regard in our international method of procedure has been safeguarded in such a way as to make it practically impossible for unfair elections to be held. The membership who are paying us, the men who do the voting and elect the officers and have to abide by the result of that elec-

tion in Illinois, or in my judgment, at least 90 per cent of them, after the system has been in existence for about ten years, would go to any extreme men can go honorably to prevent a renewal of the old system or prevent doing away with the referendum method of election in that district now.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.)—I wish to ask Delegate Walker a question and to make a correction. You understand I did not insinuate there was anything wrong in the election of Illinois officers. Is it not a fact that in the election of your international officers at one time there were between 25,000 and 30,000 votes of your district that were unaccounted for after being sent to the international headquarters?

Delegate Walker—I knew what you meant and have no wish to charge you with leaving that understanding. I do not understand the exact number, but in one election there were a considerable number of votes that were unaccounted for, but since that time it has been made impossible for anything of that kind to occur.

President Gompers, in discussing the question, said in part: The proposition discussed in the editorial quoted from the New York Call was in regard to its own party organization and its own party propaganda. It wanted to remain neutral in the contest for office among its own party members, but there is no such attitude of neutrality when an election occurs in an international union. The New York Call and the New York Volkszeitung, both the English and the German Socialist daily papers have within this past few weeks been exceedingly busy in the election which is occurring in the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

President Gompers read the following quotation from the German paper, reading it first in German and then translating it:

"Carpenters, you are on the firing line. Every Socialist, every progressive member of the Brotherhood must do his duty this week, to go to the polls and vote for the progressive candidates on the progressive list."

I shall not undertake to analyze the entire editorial, but what I have read and translated is the last paragraph of the

editorial, and all of it leading up to the idea that the officers of the United Brotherhood who have officered that organization up to this time have been reactionary, have not had the interests of the Carpenters at heart.

There has not been an election in the International Cigar Makers' Union within the past fifteen years but that the Socialist papers have attacked the officers of the International Union and urged Socialists in the ranks to vote against them and spread broadcast slanders, villification, attacks upon honor, character and motives of the men who had officered the International Union. When I was a candidate for Vice-President of the Cigar Makers' International Union the Hearst papers attacked me violently and bitterly, and other papers did. And I welcome their attacks and their criticism; it makes no difference to me; you may defeat me for an office, you cannot destroy my convictions.

Perhaps there are two-thirds of the international unions which have not introduced or have not now the system of electing officers by the initiative and referendum system. If you should adopt at this convention the initiative and referendum system how would you make those unions and their membership vote? Wouldn't you disfranchise them. It would lie in the power of the capitalist press, with their millions of dollars and the corporations with their billions of money to flood the country with their billingsgate and attacks upon officers they would want to defeat. How could an honest trade unionist counteract that? How would it be possible to counteract it?

President Gompers referred to the editorial in the March number of the American Federationist, part of which had been quoted by Delegate Proebstle. He stated he would be satisfied if the time could be afforded to read the entire editorial. The editorial was not read, but was made part of the record, and is as follows:

**Referendum Election of the A. F. of L. Officials.**

At the Atlanta Convention the Socialists dug a pitfall for the American Federation of Labor officials—and these officials promptly decided to tumble into it, according to programme. Delegate Joseph Proebstle, of the International Union of United Brewery Workers of America, introduced a resolution (No. 97), declaring that "whereas the American Federation

of Labor has at all times favored the adoption of the Initiative and Referendum and Recall," etc., the convention adopt the Initiative and Referendum in the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor.

The Committee on Laws reported unfavorably on Resolution No. 97. One member of the committee, Delegate J. H. Walker, or the United Mine Workers, submitted a minority report, which we shall quote herein later. In the considerable debate which thereupon followed, the leading Socialist delegates exhibited but too plainly an exultation over having exposed what they regarded as a discrepancy between profession and practice on the part of delegates participating in the views of the majority of the committee adverse to the resolution. They hastened to work up ammunition on the point for the Socialist press and campaign orators lying in wait in the background. Delegate J. D. Cannon, of the Western Federation of Miners, indulged in sarcastic allusions to alleged inconsistencies of the President of the American Federation of Labor on the question and asserted that he (Mr. Gompers) had, during the campaign in Arizona, made an attack upon the men who were seeking the incorporation of the Initiative and Referendum in the constitution of the then prospective State. We take the opportunity here, without the slightest change, to quote our reply from the official stenographers' notes made at the Atlanta Convention:

President Gompers—It is a matter of great regret to me that the discussion on this subject has taken the turn it has. Even while presiding I did not feel particularly, under the circumstances, like sustaining a point of order on a discussion of a question entirely foreign to it. The reason I refrained from sustaining the point of order was because some people might imagine I wished to stop the delegate in saying anything he desired to say in regard to me.

When the report of the committee was read, in an undertone I expressed my opinion to the chairman of the committee and the secretary of the committee. I said I believed the majority report was indefensible and ought not to be adopted.

I believe in the initiative and referendum, and I venture to say I proposed it in the organization of which I am a member before Delegate Cannon was a member of a union. In 1877, in a convention of the Cigarmakers' International Union, with but seven delegates present, I proposed the election of officers and the adoption or ratification of laws in the International Union by the initiative and referendum. At the Indianapolis convention of the Cigarmakers' International Union, I not only advocated it, but I sat up forty-eight hours continuously and drafted the laws which are now part of the Cigarmakers' International Union, by which the officers are nominated and elected by the initiative and referendum, and made voting not only a right but a duty, and made failure in the performance of that duty punishable.



I don't think it is necessary that I should defend my attitude at this late day upon the question of initiative, the referendum, or the recall. As a matter of fact, the history of the American Federation of Labor is replete with the evidence of my constant pressing home upon our own delegates and upon our own men and women and upon the people of our country the necessity of real democracy in the government of the movement of labor, as well as of our country, by the real democracy, the rank and file; and to have simply lugged into this discussion an aspersion upon me is only worthy of an answer because some one may carry away with him the belief that I did just what Delegate Cannon said I did.

First, I want to say that I have no recollection of having received a telegram such as he said he sent. Going back to the first statement he made, I will say that I made no utterance that can bear the slightest resemblance to the statement he attributes to me, which he says he read in the Associated Press dispatches. I will venture to say that if a dispatch was read or published in the papers concerning me, in connection with that subject, it was something like this: "I am more concerned in the adoption of the initiative and referendum and recall, and other progressive, protective features in the constitution of the proposed State of Arizona, than I am in the success of the Democratic, the Republican, or the Socialist parties." I said that yesterday and I said it to-day. I will say it to-morrow and the day after. I am not concerned in the success of any political party except as it is an immediate instrument to strike at an enemy of labor.

The statement made here, is upon a par with some of the statements that are uttered, either here or elsewhere. This morning I was handed a copy of a Socialist paper containing a dispatch, purporting to have been sent from this city, in which the rankest untruth is attributed to me. A conversation between two delegates to this convention and myself, confidential in character, invited by me for the purpose of preventing an injury to a man more intimately associated with them than with me, has not only been violated, but absolutely the untruth published. When in the Boston convention, we had a meeting at the noon time with representatives of labor, at a luncheon where I did not lunch, because I had to attack charges that were made against me about the place being non-union, a statement was sent on by a report from a New York Socialist paper.

Delegate Hurley—I arise to a point of order.

Several delegates cried, "Sit down, sit down."

Delegate Hurley—I will not sit down.

Chairman Duncan—You will if you are told to. What is your point?

Delegate Hurley—Is the speaker discussing Socialism, or the initiative and recall?

Vice-President Duncan—That is not a point of order. The delegate will sit down.

President Gompers (resuming)—When I spoke to him about it, and asked why he had sent on a deliberate, lying statement, his answer was: "Well, you know I am a Socialist." And that to me was a sufficient answer.

I think the question of election, or the possibility of the election, of the officers of the American Federation of Labor by the initiative and referendum is a subject worthy of honest investigation and honest report. Delegates to this convention, and members of the American labor movement, ought to know whether we can, or whether we can not, elect officers in that way.

I am in entire sympathy with and will support, if I have an opportunity, the minority report of the committee.

The minority report of Delegate Walker read as follows:

"RESOLVED, That we favor the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor by the referendum vote of the membership of the affiliated unions who are paid up and in good standing if, after thorough investigation, mature and deliberate consideration, it is found to be practicable and for the best interests of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it further

"RESOLVED, That the question of the practicability and desirability of electing the officers of the American Federation of Labor by referendum vote, be referred to the Executive Council for investigation, with the understanding that they report on this subject to the next annual convention for its consideration."

It is to be observed, that, according to both Resolution No. 97 (Delegate Proebstle's) and the amendment (Delegate Walker's), the steps to be taken in the proposed adoption of the initiative and referendum indicate the caution which both the proposers felt should be exercised in introducing this innovation in American Federation of Labor procedure. Delegate Walker saw the necessity for a due and guarded preliminary investigation of its "practicability and desirability" through the Executive Council, with discussion of their report at the next annual convention.

Delegate Proebstle's resolution called for ballot voting in the affiliated unions, with the count to take place at American Federation of Labor headquarters. This proposition lays down as a requisite the adoption of the vote by ballot, and a vote by ballot, if not a mere sham, must be regulated and safeguarded by business-like measures. Experience has proved that such measures are necessary. This fact is not put forth here as an objection to direct voting by the union membership on either officers or legislation. It is stated, however, as a fact bearing on the desideratum of satisfaction on the part of the membership of all the unions with the result of the voting in any and all of the affiliated bodies.

We do not deem it just or necessary at this time to go into details of the difficulties raised by the problem. We believe we but reflect the general desire in the united unions to take up with every feature of a complete democracy as soon as the conditions and established procedures in the various unions permit. In recognizing the obvious and important fact that, as Treasurer Lennon showed at Atlanta, the methods of conducting elections and legislation in some of the unions are inadequate to obtain precise and incontrovertible decisions, satisfactory to those other unions in which the results of voting are indisputably correct, we but indicate the difficulties of the task before the vast membership of our affiliated organizations in the application of a principle both sound in theory and practical in groups or communities which are conducted by laws and methods that permit every voter's judgment to be consulted and his vote on each point decided to be systematically recorded and accurately enumerated. But the subject is in itself important; it deserves and will receive, painstaking, thorough and impartial investigation and report. The results will be laid before the delegates to the next American Federation of Labor convention for consideration and decision.

In the principle of the referendum vote there is considerable agreement. At the same time, consideration must be given to the question as to the methods to be employed to elect the officers of the American Federation of Labor by the initiative and referendum, how the elections may be conducted fairly and thoroughly, and the real sentiments and votes of the rank and file absolutely secured.

President Gompers, in continuing the discussion, said: The reason for writing that editorial was that as soon as the convention in Atlanta closed a systematic attack was made upon the officers of the American Federation of Labor, and particularly upon me, because, as they said, I opposed the investigation of the subject as to whether the system should be introduced or could be, when the very reverse was the truth, and because of that systematic representation I undertook, so far as our channels were open to me, to correct the grave error, the grave wrong.

Now, I just want to close with this statement: When Mr. Carl Legien, the secretary of the International Secretariat, and the secretary of the German Federation of Trades Unions, was in this country, we discussed this thing, because of the misrepresentations that had been made of our movement in Germany. Secretary Morrison was present during one of the conversations with Carl Legien and he can hear me out or refute my statement. Mr. Legien said: "Why, the

idea of the initiative and referendum system in the American labor movement? You can do it if you want to, but in Germany we don't turn over the job to apprentices." These are his words, not mine. He said, "In Germany, where we have the most compact movement and unity of the rank and file of the officers and the great membership they have confidence in election in conventions, not only in the German Federation of Trades Unions, but in every international union." And if you look over the replies received from officers of international trade unions in response to our circular and our list of questions they answer for themselves.

On motion debate was closed.

Delegate Lewis (T. L.), arose to a question of personal privilege. President Gompers asked if there was objection to his speaking. Objection being offered, President Gompers said: "I will leave it to the convention. Shall the privilege of the floor for a privileged question be given Delegate Tom Lewis?"

Delegate Lewis was granted the privilege of the floor, and said: "I want to call the attention of this convention to the fact that from the beginning of the discussion I have arisen at this spot no less than half a dozen times to discuss the question before the house."

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by a vote of 193 in the affirmative to 57 in the negative.

Delegate McCullough renewed his motion in regard to including the matter quoted from the New York Call in the records.

Delegate Hayes (F. J.), stated that he desired a roll call on the report of the committee.

President Gompers—The vote has been announced and another motion has been made.

Delegate Barnes—I move to amend that the editorial in the March Federationist be also included.

Delegate McCullough stated he would accept the amendment.

Delegate Proebstle—I want the correction made that I have not been used by the Socialist party to introduce that resolution. I introduced it as a trades unionist representing my organization.

The announcement was made that the hour for the special order of business, the election of officers, had arrived.

Delegate McDonald, chairman of the Committee on Credentials, stated that the committee had received a credential at noon and the delegate desired to be seated before the election.

No objection being offered Delegate McDonald reported as follows for the committee:

November 23, 1912.

To the officers and delegates of the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials desires to report that credential has been presented by the Brotherhood of Railroad Freight Handlers for its delegate, P. J. Flannery. This organization is indebted for per capita tax, but International Secretary J. J. Flynn has wired to Secretary Morrison that he has forwarded check for the amount of the indebtedness. We therefore recommend that P. J. Flannery be seated with 25 votes.

Respectfully submitted,

E. J. MARX, Chairman,

W. A. NEER,

DUNCAN McDONALD, Secretary.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Tobin (J. F.), in the chair.

Chairman Tobin—Nominations are now in order for President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.), was recognized by the chair and placed in nomination for President for the ensuing year Samuel Gompers, of the Cigar Makers' International Union.

• Delegate Hayes (F. J.), placed in nomination Max S. Hayes, of the International Typographical Union, for president for the ensuing year.

No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

Secretary Morrison called the roll, which resulted as follows:

#### Roll Call on Election of President.

**For Gompers**—Mullaney, Noschang, Fischer, Klapetzky, Anderson (Ed.), Lafranco, Kline, Kramer, Glover, Franklin, McGuire, Garvey (T. J.), Pring, Streile, Tobin (J. F.), Baine, Anderson (Mary), Howes, Harrington, Brewery Workers' delegation (180 votes), O'Shea, Thoman, McGory, Huber, Duffy (Frank), Swartz, Featherston, Kelly (W. J.), Hemsell, Gompers, Tracy (T. F.), Fitzgerald (W. H.), Mueller, Conway, McCauley, Scooby, Doyle, Meyer, McNulty, Glynn, Yount,

Ford, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Moser, Dolan, Healy (T.), Brennan, Friel, Flannery, Rowe, Clarke (W. P.), Green (C. F.), Conroy, Rickert, Linger, Doley (M. C.), Altman, Schwarz, Rosenberg (A.), Dyche, Pierce, Rosenberg (Meyer), Hayes (D. A.), Heritage, Marx, Ring, Nestor, Duncan, Garvey (James), Lawlor, Shaivoy, Green (M. F.), D'Alessandro, D'Andrea, Etchison, Marshall, Kenehan, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Miller (Geo.), Pattberg, Williams (John), McSorley, Taggart, Bailey, Coakley, O'Connor, Chlopek, Neesham, Harrison, Lowe, Powers, Allen, Price, Daly (T. M.), Leary (Geo.), Rumsey, O'Sullivan, Crane, Hynes, Walsh (Thos.), Mitchell, Valentine, Frey, Curran, Langan, Weber (J. N.), Miller (Owen), Carey (D. A.), Winkler, Hedrick, Wright, Carey (J. T.), Wilson (James), Gernon, Sheret, Woll, McGivern, Cook, McDermott, Clark (W. D.), Alpine, Tracey (W. J.), Leonard, Murphy, Nelson, Menge, Whitehead, Berry, Halpine, Hart, Wilson (Harry), Malin, Dacey, Perham, Brown (W. T.), Miller (J. F.), Gallagher (T. J.), Ryan (M. F.), Weeks, Adames, Paquin, Mahon, Commons, Taber, Furuseth, Hanson, Hylen, Shay, Suarez, Lemke, Freil, Sumner (C. A.), Short, Jette, McKay, Grimshaw, Heberling, Welch (M. R.), Connors, Robinson, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Neer, Gillespie (J. M.), Morris (J. J.), Golden, Starr, Williams (T. J.), Evans (E. L.), Shilling, Curtis, Typographical Union delegation (438 votes), Hanley, Cooke, All, Birnes, Gallagher (A. J.), Keane (J. A.), Holder, Corley, Sumner (Stephen), Pfeiffer, O'Brien, Shaughnessey, Ryan (P. J.), Walls, Donoghue, Champ, Prinz, Egan, Young (Wm.), Hoefgen, Creamer, Corcoran, Fitzgerald (T. D.), Cone, Tharp, Lennon, McCarthy, Collins, Coughlin, Morton, Mullen, Smith (Frank), Keegan, Tracy (M. F.), Cavanagh, Sontheimer, Hays (C. A.), Smith (J. T.), Butler, Campbell, Chance, Fahey, Welch (M. R.), Holland, Evans (E. E.), Norman, Bryan, McGrath, Brower, Hirschberg, Koveleski, James, Lapham, Scharrenberg, Henley, Snellings, Voll, Duffy (Kathryn), McAndrews, Cunningham, Woodhouse, Bohm, Dunne, Gold, representing 11,974 votes.

**For Hayes**—Myrup, Koch, Goldstone, Brewery Workers' delegation (270 votes), Wheeler, Barnes, Zuckerman, Cursi, Archie, O'Neal, Johnston, Lamb, Van Lear, Wharton, Buckley, White (J. P.), Hayes (F. J.), Walker, Lewis, McDonald, Green (Wm.), Williams (J. C.), Scanlan, Young (Edwin), Cannon, Skemp, Tazelaar, Rodriguez, Arnold, Sultor, Brown (J. G.), Brals, Biggs, Typographical Union delegation (109 votes), Holt, Smith (Jos.), Behrens, Coates, Brockhausen, White (R. H.), Gillespie (G. W.), Diehl, Weber (F. J.), Philippi, Niven, Morris (J. F.), Youhon, representing 5,073 votes.

**Not Voting**—Butterworth, Crozier, Gengenback, Goellnitz, Shiff, Bryan, Healey (Dennis), Call, Hannah, Huddleston, Carolan, Moyer, Donnelly, McGrath, Vanderveld, Preble, Swick, Scrivner, Sullivan (J. H.), McGinley, Garman,

\*Voted for Gompers. See page 407.

Sause, Landers, Privett, Kane, Burns, Elyea, Doherty, Hunter, Draper, Bonner, Hannon, Stokes, Keane (J. J.), Fello, Wood, Simpson, Purcell, Bates, Spencer, English, Wildberger, O'Rourke, Morris (E. C.), Lawler, Lampa, Sinclair, Waldron, Lebowitz, Mulkern, Johnson, Beckman, Welss, Seddon, Smillie, Bruce, representing 296 votes.

Secretary Morrison announced the result of the roll call vote.

Chairman Tobin—In accordance with the announcement made by the Secretary, I declare Delegate Samuel Gompers duly elected President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

President Gompers made a brief address to the convention, in which he expressed his appreciation of the honor of his reelection.

President Gompers in the chair.

James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters' International Association, was placed in nomination for First Vice-President by Delegate Golden.

No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed. The Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James Duncan for First Vice-President for the ensuing year.

The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and James Duncan was declared duly elected First Vice-President for the ensuing year.

John Mitchell, of the United Mine Workers of America, was placed in nomination for Second Vice-President by Delegate White (J. P.), of the same organization.

No further names being presented the chairman declared nominations closed.

On motion of Delegate Brown the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John Mitchell for Second Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and John Mitchell was declared duly elected Second Vice-President for the ensuing year.

James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists, was placed in nomination for Third Vice-President by Delegate Wilson (J. J.).

William H. Johnston, of the International Association of Machinists, was placed in nomination by Delegate Rodriguez.

The nomination of Delegate Johnston was seconded by Delegate VanLear. The

nomination of Vice-President O'Connell was seconded by Delegate Tobin (D. J.).

Secretary Morrison called the roll, with the following result:

#### Roll Call on Election of Third Vice-President.

**For O'Connell**—Mullaney, Noschang, Fischer, Klapetzky, Anderson (Ed.), Labraco, Kline, Kramer, Glover, Franklin, McGuire, Garvey (T. J.), Pring, Streile, Tobin (J. F.), Baine, Anderson (Mary), Hcwe, Harrington, Brewery Workers delegation (180 votes), O'Shea, Thoman, McClory, Huber, Duffy (Frank), Featherston, Kelly (W. J.), Hemsell, Cigarmakers delegation (252 votes), Conway, Scoby, Doyle, McNulty, Glynn, Yount, Ford, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Moser, Dolan, Healy (T.), Brennan, Friel, Clarke (W. P.), Green (C. F.), Flannery, Conroy, Rickert, Larger, Daley (M. C.), Altman, Schwarz, Dyche, Pierce, Rosenberg (Meyer), Hayes (D. A.), Heritage, Marx, Ring, Nestor, Duncan, Garvey (James), Lawlor, Shalvoy, Green (M. F.), D'Alessandro, D'Andrea, Etchison, Marshall, Kenehan, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Miller (Geo.), Fattberg, Williams (John), McSorley, Taggart, Bailey, Coakley, O'Connor, Chlopek, Neesham, Harrison, Lowe, Powers, Allen, Price, Daly (T. M.), Leary (Geo.), Rumsey, O'Sullivan, Crane, Hynes, Walsh (Thos.), Mitchell, Valentine, Frey, Curran, Lanigan, Musicians delegation (375 votes), Painters delegation (114 votes), Carey (J. T.), Wilson (James), Gernon, Sheret, Woll, McGivern, Cook, McDermott, Clark (W. D.), Alpine, Tracey (W. J.), Leonard, Murphy, Nelson, Menge, Whitehead, Printing Pressmen's delegation (48 votes), Mallin, Dacey, Perham, Brown (W. T.), Miller (J. F.), Gallagher (T. J.), Ryan (M. F.), Weeks, Mahon, Commons, Taber, Furuseth, Hanson, Hylen, Shay, Suarez, Lemke, Freil, Sumner (C. A.), Short, Jette, McKay, Gr'mshaw, Switchmen's delegation (63 votes), Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Neer, Gillespie (J. M.), Morris (J. J.), Golden, Starr, Williams (T. J.), Evans (E. L.), Shilling, Curtis, Typographical delegation (438 votes), Harley, Cooke, Ali, Birnes, Holt, Gallagher (A. J.), Keane (J. A.), Corley, Pfeiffer, O'Brien, Shaughnessy, Ryan (P. J.), Walls, Shamp, Prinz, Egan, Ycung (Wm.), Swick, Hoefgen, Creamer, Cotes, Scrivner, Fitzgerald (T. D.), Cone, Tharp, Lennon, Collins, Coughlin, Morton, Mullen, Smith (Frank), Keegan, Tracy (M. F.), Cavanagh, Sonthimer, Hays (C. A.), Smith (J. T.), Campbell, Fahey, Welch (M. R.), Holland, Evans (E. E.), Norman, Bryan, McGrath, Brower, Hirschberg, Koveleski, James, Lapham, Scharrenberg, Henley, Voll, Duffy (Kathryn), McAndrews, Cunningham, Woodhouse, Bohm, Dunne, Gold, representing 10,858 votes.

**For Johnston**—Myrup, Koch, Goldstone, Brewery Workers delegation (270 votes), Wheeler, Swartz, Cigarmakers delegation (168 votes), Zuckerman, Mc-

Cauley, Meyer, Rowe, Rosenberg (A.), Cursi, Archie, O'Neal, Johnston, Lamb, Van Lear, Wharton, Buckley, White (J. P.), Hayes (F. J.), Walker, Lewis, McDonald, Green (Wm.), Williams (John C.), Scanlan, Young (Edwin), Cannon, Musicians delegation (125 votes), Painters delegation (571 votes), Printing Pressmen's delegation (142 votes), Sultor, Adams, Paquin, Switchmen's delegation (29 votes), Brais, Biggs, Robinson, Typographical Union delegation (109 votes), Holder, Smith (J.), Bohrens, Donoghue, Corcoran, Brockhausen, White (R. H.), Gillispee (G. W.), Butler, Weber (F. J.), Hannon, Phillips, Niven, Youhon, representing 6,171 votes.

**Not Voting**—Butterworth, Crozier, Gengenback, Goellnitz, Shill, Bryan, Healey (Dennis), Call, Hannah, Brown (J. G.), Huddleston, Carolan, Moyer, Sumner (Stephen), Donnelly, McGrath, Vanderveld, Preble, Sullivan (J. H.), McCarthy, McGinley, Garman, Sause, Landers, Privett, Kane, Diehl, Burns, Elyea, Chance, Doherty, Hunter, Draper, Bonner, Stokes, Keane (J. J.), Fello, Morris (J. F.), Wood, Simpson, Purcell, Bates, Spencer, Snellings, English, Wildberger, O'Rourke, Morris (E. C.), Lawler, Lampa, Sinclair, Waldron, Lebowitz, Mulkern, Johnson, Beckman, Weiss, Seddon, Smillie, Bruce representing 314 votes.

Delegate Conway announced that he was obliged to leave the city, and requested permission to leave his vote with the Secretary. No objection being offered, the request of Delegate Conway was complied with.

Dennis A. Hayes, of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association, was placed in nomination for Fourth Vice-President by Delegate Duffy (F.). There being no further nominations, the chairman declared nominations closed.

On motion of Delegate Flannery the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for D. A. Hayes for Fourth Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and the chairman declared D. A. Hayes duly elected Fourth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

William D. Huber, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, was placed in nomination for Fifth Vice-President by Delegate Short (J. A.).

There being no further nominations, the chairman declared nominations closed. The Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William D. Huber for Fifth Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention and the

chairman declared William D. Huber duly elected to serve for the ensuing term.

Joseph F. Valentine, of the Molders' Union of North America, was placed in nomination for Sixth Vice-President by Delegate Franklin.

There being no further nominations, the chairman declared nominations closed. On motion of Delegate Freely (J. J.), the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Joseph F. Valentine. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and the chairman declared Joseph F. Valentine duly elected Sixth Vice-President for the ensuing year.

John R. Alpine, of the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of North America, was placed in nomination for Seventh Vice-President by Delegate Leonard.

There being no further nominations, the chairman declared nominations closed. The Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John R. Alpine for Seventh Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and John R. Alpine was declared duly elected Seventh Vice-President for the ensuing year.

Henry B. Perham, of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, was placed in nomination for Eighth Vice-President by Delegate Miller (J. F.). The nomination was seconded by Delegate Connors (J. B.).

There being no further nominations, the chairman declared nominations closed. The Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Henry B. Perham. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention and Henry B. Perham was declared duly elected to serve as Eighth Vice-President for the ensuing year.

John B. Lennon, of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, was placed in nomination by Delegate McNulty. No further names being presented, nominations were declared closed.

On motion of Delegate Leonard the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John B. Lennon for Treasurer. The Secretary complied with the instructions and Treas-

urer Lennon was declared duly elected for the ensuing year.

Frank Morrison, of the International Typographical Union, was placed in nomination for Secretary by Delegate Frey. There being no further nominations, the chair declared nominations closed.

Delegate Sullivan (Jos. L.), moved that the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Secretary Morrison. Fraternal Delegates Smille and Seddon complied with the instructions, and the chairman declared Frank Morrison duly elected Secretary for the ensuing year.

Each officer, upon the announcement of his election, made a brief address to the convention, thanking the delegates and pledging their best efforts to the work of the organization for the coming year.

Chairman Tobin announced that the next order would be the selection of two fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress and the Trades and Labor Assembly of Canada, and announced that nominations were in order for the first delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Delegate Charles L. Balne, of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, was placed in nomination by Delegate Duffy (F.).

There being no further nominations, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Delegate Balne. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention and Delegate Balne was declared duly elected.

Delegate Louis Kemper, of the United Brewery Workmen, was placed in nomination by Delegate Woll. There being no further nominations, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Delegate Kemper. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention and Delegate Kemper was declared duly elected.

Delegate William J. McSorley, of the International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers, was placed in nomination for delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Assembly by Vice-President Duncan. There being no further nominations, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Delegate McSorley. The Secretary com-

plied with the instructions of the convention, and Delegate McSorley was declared duly elected.

Each of the fraternal delegates-elect made a brief speech and thanked the convention for his unanimous election.

The chairman stated that nominations were in order for the next convention city.

Delegate Creamer placed in nomination Richmond, Virginia.

Delegate Coates placed in nomination Seattle, Washington.

Delegate Rowe stated that it had been the intention of the Toledo representatives to ask for the convention for 1913, but as they were not quite prepared for the occasion they desired to state that at the next annual convention they would ask that the 1914 convention be held in Toledo.

Delegate Hayes (F. J.), stated that he had been requested by the representative of the central body of Indianapolis, Indiana, to place that city in nomination.

#### Roll Call on Convention City.

**For Richmond**—Kline, Kramer, Glover, Franklin, McGuire, Garvey (T. J.), Pring, Hayes (D. A.), Heritage, Marx, Sheret, Clark (W. D.), Berry, Halpine, Hart, Wilson (Harry), Ryan (M. F.), Weeks, Adames, Paquin, Mahon, Commons, Taber, Corley, Shaughnessey, Creamer, Cone, Lennon, Sontheimer, Evans (E. E.), representing 1,293 votes.

**For Seattle**—Mullaney, Myrup, Koch, Goldstone, Noschang, Fischer, Klapetzky, Anderson (Ed.), Labralco, Streile, Tobin (J. F.), Balne, Anderson (Mary), Howes, Harrington, Proebstle, Kemper, Ward, Kugler, Sullivan (John), Huber, Duffy (Frank), Wheeler, Swartz, Featherston, Kelly (W. J.), Hemsell, Gompers, Tracy (T. F.), Barnes, Fitzgerald, (W. H.), Muelier, Conway, Meyer, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Moser, Dolan, Healy, Brennan, Friel, Rowe, Clarke (W. P.), Green (C. F.), Flannery, Conroy, Rickert, Langer, Daley (M. C.), Altman, Schwarz, Rng, Duncan, Garvey (James), Archie, Lawlor, Shalvoy, Green (M. F.), D'Alessandro, D'Andrea, Etchison, Marshall, Korehan, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Miller (Geo.), Pattberg, Williams (John), McSorley, Taggart, O'Connor, Chlopek, Neesham, Harrison, Machinists delegation (478 votes), O'Sullivan, Crane, Hynes, Walsh, United Mine Workers delegation (2,288 votes), Williams (John C.), Scanlan, Young, Cannon, Valentine, Frey, Curran, Lanigan, Hedrick, Skemp, Tazelaar, Rodriguez, Wright, Arnold, Wilson (James), Gerron, Woll, McGivern, Cook, McDermott, Alpine, Tracey (W. J.), Leonard, Murphy, Nelson, Menge, Whitehead, Sulitor, Dacey, Furuseth, Hanson, Hylen,

Shay, Suarez, Lemke, Short, Jette, McKay, Heberling, Welch (M. R.), Connors, Brails, Biggs, Robinson, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Neer, Gillespie (J. M.), Morris (J. J.), Golden, Starr, Williams (T. J.), Evans (E. L.), Curtis, Lynch, Morrison, Stevenson, Hayes (Max S.), McCullough, Cocke, All, Birnes, Sumner (Stephen), Walls, Smith (Joseph), Behrens, Donoghue, Shamp, Young (Wm), Hoefgen, Coates, Corcoran, Scrivner, White (R. H.), Collins, Coughlin, Cavanagh, Smith (J. T.), Butler, Campbell, Holland, Norman, Koveleski, Hannon, Philippi, James, Scharrenberg, Youhon, Woodhouse, Bohm, Gold, representing 13,035 votes.

**For Indianapolis**—O'Shea, Thoman, McClory, Zuckerman, Scoby, Doyle, McNulty, Glynn, Yount, Ford, Rosenberg (Meyer), Nestor, O'Neal, Machinists' delegation (120 votes), Lowe, Powers, Allen, Price, Daly (T. M.), Leary (Geo.), Rumsey, United Mine Workers delegation (332 votes), Weber (J. N.), Miller (Owen), Carey (D. A.), Winkler, Carey (J. T.), Ferham, Brown (W. T.), Miller (J. F.), Gallagher (T. J.), Freel (J. J.), Sumner (C. A.), Shilling, Pfeiffer, Egan, Tharp, Hays (C. A.), Fahey, Welch (M. R.), representing 2,543 votes.

**Not Voting**—Butterworth, Crozier, Gengenback, Goellnitz, Shift, McCauley, Bailey, Bryan, Healey (Dennis), Coakley, Call, Hannah, Malin, Brown (J. G.), Huddleston, Grimshaw, Carolan, Hanley, Ilicit, Gallagher (A. J.), Moyer, Keane (J. A.), Holder, O'Brien, Donnelly, Ryan (P. J.), McGrath, Vanderveld, Prinz, Freble, Swick, Brockhausen, Fitzgerald (T. D.), Sullivan (J. H.), McCarthy, Morton, Mulen, Smith (Frank), McGinley, Garman, Sause, Keegan, Tracy (M. F.), Landers, Gillespie (G. W.), Privett, Kane, Diehl, Burns, Elyea, Chance, Weber (F. J.), Doherty, Hunter, Draper, Bryan, McGrath, Brower, Bonner, Hirschberg, Stokes, Lapham, Keane (J. J.), Henley, Niven, Fello, Morris (J. F.), Wood, Simpson, Purcell, Bates, Spencer, Snellings, English, Wildberger, Voll, O'Rourke, Duffy (Kathryn), Morris (E. C.), Lawler, Lampa, McAndrews, Cunningham, Sinclair, Waldron, Lebowitz, Mulhern, Dunne, Johnson, Beckman, Weiss, Seddon, Smillie, Eruce, representing 472 votes.

**President Gompers**—I declare Seattle, Washington, is the city in which the 1913 convention will be held.

**Delegate Etchison**—The city I represent as the President of the building tradesmen of that State will ask for the 1914 convention. I want to serve notice on this convention that after going to the Coast we want you to meet in Indianapolis the next year. We do not invite you to come there as guests of the Commercial Club or any other such institution, but invite you as the guest of the building trades of Indiana.

#### Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 7 be amended to read:

Resolution No. 7.—By Delegate J. H. Collins, of Brocton, (Mass.) Central Labor Union:

Whereas, The President of the United States has submitted to the meeting of the Governors of the states to be held in December a proposition for the creation of additional banks for the benefit of the farmers as wealth producers; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorses the proposition with the following addition:

If any system for more adequate money and banking facilities is created it should include provisions whereby the wage workers of the nation also may obtain credit at cost.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be adopted.

After a brief discussion by Delegate Collins the motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 26 be amended to read:

Resolution No. 26.—By William P. Hannon, Sacramento, Cal., Federal Trades and Labor Assembly; M. F. Ryan, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen; J. W. Kline, Brotherhood of Blacksmiths; William H. Johnston, A. V. Wharton, International Association of Machinists; J. A. Franklin, Brotherhood of Boilermakers; M. O'Sullivan, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers:

WHEREAS, The machinists, boiler-makers, blacksmiths, sheet metal workers, railway carmen, pipe fitters, railway clerks, painters, electricians and other shop employees of the Harriman and Illinois Central Railroad lines have been on strike on the above mentioned lines for the past fourteen months; and

WHEREAS, Despite the fact that all efforts to bring about a settlement of the strike by the international officers of the various unions have been unsuccessful up to the present time, it has been demonstrated that the strike has proven to have been most effective; and

WHEREAS, Among those on strike are many unskilled men who belong to the federal labor unions and many who are not members of any organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the 32d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby approve of the gallant struggle being waged by the mem-

ders of these organizations and extends to them our moral support in their efforts to secure the shorter work-day and other favorable working conditions; and be it

**RESOLVED**, That the convention urge the national and international organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. to render all financial aid possible to the strikers on the Harriman and Illinois Central Railroad lines until such time as an amicable adjustment of the questions at issue have been reached.

The committee recommended concurrence with the resolution as amended.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 12—By Delegate Emmet T. Walls of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:**

**RESOLVED**, That we favor embodying the initiative and referendum in the Federal Constitution; we favor a small tax on land values to replace some of the more burdensome tariff taxes on the necessities of life; we urge that the government loan the deposits coming into the Postal Savings Banks to individuals in small sums, in the communities where the deposits are made, preferably to working people seeking to acquire homes; and we request our delegate to the American Federation of Labor to introduce and support resolutions on these subjects at the annual national convention.

The committee recommended concurrence.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 70—By Delegate Frank H. McCarthy of the Boston Central Labor Union:**

**RESOLVED**, That we urge that the money accumulated in the Postal Savings Banks be loaned to individuals in the community where deposited, preferably to laboring people striving to obtain a home.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 71—By Delegate Frank H. McCarthy of the Boston Central Labor Union:**

**RESOLVED**, That we favor the imposition of a small tax on land values in place of some of the more burdensome tariff taxes.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 77—By Delegate Frank H. McCarthy, Boston Central Labor Union:**

**RESOLVED**, That we favor embodying the Initiative and Referendum in the Federal Constitution, and the Executive Council is hereby directed to use every possible effort to cause the enactment of the same.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 100—By Delegate T. J. Dolan, of the International Union Steam Engineers:**

**WHEREAS**, the government of the U. S. does not pay overtime to men engaged on emergency work being carried on in the Reclamation Department of the government; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is hereby instructed to have a bill prepared to present to Congress, and do all they can to get it passed, said bill to authorize the payment of all men working over eight hours per day on Government work at the prevailing rate of wages paid for such overtime work, in the district in which the work is being carried on.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 116—By Delegates John P. White, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, Duncan McDonald, Wm. Green and J. H. Walker of the United Mine Workers of America:**

**WHEREAS**, The lines are being more closely drawn between capital and labor; and

**WHEREAS**, The capitalists of the country have organized the National Manufacturers Association and other large employers' organizations, compact cohesive bodies, having for their purpose the destruction of the trades union movement, and realizing that "In unity there is strength;" therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That in order to combat these compact and powerful organizations of employers of labor, this convention adopts and endorses the plan of organization by industries instead of by crafts which often divides the forces of labor, and that the officers of the A. F. of L. be instructed to use every effort to bring this about, and that they visit the different labor conventions and use their influence to mould sentiment along these lines.

**Secretary Frey—A resolution similar to this is in the hands of the Committee on Education. That committee has acted on it and your committee simply states the**



matter has already been published by the convention's proceedings.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 117 be amended to read as follows:

**Resolution No. 117—By Delegates John P. White, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, Duncan McDonald, William Green, J. H. Walker of the U. M. W. of A.:**

**WHEREAS**, By reason of the non-enforcement of existing laws, private monopolies or trusts exist, whereby the necessities of life and articles of trade, commerce and the transportation of the same are monopolized, production controlled and prices fixed, in open violation of the state and federal statutes; and with few exceptions, these private monopolies have been encouraged to ignore and violate the law and to increase their wealth, power and control, through the connivance or passivity of public officers charged with the duty of prosecuting them; and

**WHEREAS**, For many years organized labor has suffered from, and repeatedly denounced state and federal officers and courts for being guilty of vexatious, technical delays and vicious discrimination in the administration of justice as between the people and the monied interests, and as the correctness of our complaint is now recognized through declarations made by the President of the United States, by the Governors of different states, by state bar associations, by the press and by public spirited men; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That it is the sense of the delegates to this convention of the A. F. of L. that our executive officers petition Congress to ascertain:

**First:** To what extent complaints of violations of anti-monopoly laws have been ignored by state and federal officers charged with the duty of enforcing such laws;

**Second:** Whether state and federal officers have protected from prosecution and punishment violators of the law of the several states and of the United States, prohibiting private monopolies;

**Third:** Whether state and federal officers have vigorously and impartially enforced the laws providing for injunctions against violators of the statutes prohibiting private monopolies;

**Fourth:** Whether state and federal officers and courts have enforced the laws prohibiting and providing for the punishment of private monopolies with the same vigor shown by them in their prosecutions and punishment of minor offenses charged against organized labor;

**Fifth:** Whether the investigation and prosecution of anti-monopoly cases have been discouraged, hampered, delayed or prevented by courts and prosecutors;

**Sixth:** Whether public officers, having knowledge of open and notorious violation of state and federal laws, have permitted the continued violation of state

and federal laws and thus assisted in the building up of unlawful monopolies to the injury of organized labor and of the public;

**Seventh:** Whether in the performance of their duties, courts and public officers have favored wealthy offenders, and at the same time were guilty of vigorously pressing prosecutions against members of labor unions.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be adopted.

Vice-President Duncan, chairman of the committee—The committee is in doubt as to whether the Miners' delegation had given it the attention it requires, because it is very innocently stated, but if the intent of the resolution were carried into effect it would take about one hundred lawyers about five years to accomplish the work. There are some excellent things required under it, and your committee, instead of fastening an investigation on the A. F. of L. recommends that it be amended to petition Congress to make the investigation desired.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

**Resolution No. 125—By Delegate J. C. Privett, of the Central Trades and Labor Council, Jacksonville, Fla.:**

**WHEREAS**, Luring the debate in the United States Senate upon the Compensation Bill, Senators from Arkansas, Missouri, North Carolina, Texas, Florida and Georgia did their utmost to prevent the passage of this necessary and just legislation; and

**WHEREAS**, No compensation laws have been enacted by the states from which the greatest opposition came; neither have these states enacted efficient employer's liability laws; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the central labor bodies and the state federations of the states herein mentioned be especially urged by the officers of the American Federation of Labor to secure the passage of good, practical compensation laws.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 128—By Delegate Sol Sorthimer of the Hartford, Conn., Central Labor Union:**

**WHEREAS**, An organizer of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Charles A. Miles, was instructed to proceed to Thompsonville, Conn., to organize the textile workers of the Hartford Carpet Company; and

WHEREAS, Upon the arrival of the Organizer at Thompsonville it became very apparent he was an unwelcome visitor insofar as the company officials were concerned, every hall in the town was closed to him, and when an effort was made to hold an open-air meeting, this was quickly prevented by the town officials. Organizer Miles was then held up and searched for concealed weapons notwithstanding the fact of his denial of carrying such weapons, this occurred on the public highway, in full view of a gang of hired ruffians, who as soon as the police left him, began to brutally beat him, pelt him with decayed vegetables, rolled him down the embankment of the river, and as he was being ordered to leave the town was finally fired upon, the bullet peeling the skin from his temple; and

WHEREAS, From evidence now in our possession we are of the opinion that the Hartford Carpet Company is solely responsible for the brutal assault and attempt upon the life of Organizer Miles; and

WHEREAS, At the solicitation of the Hartford Central Labor Union, Governor Baldwin of Connecticut decided to hear the protest of twenty-two delegates representing the organized labor movement of the state of Connecticut, in conjunction with President John Golden of the United Textile Workers of America; and

WHEREAS, After a full hearing of the case all that could be secured from Governor Baldwin was a suggestion that the case be presented to either the County Prosecutor or the grand jurors, all of whom we are convinced are completely under the domination of the Hartford Carpet Company, which practically owns and controls the town of Thompsonville; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the Delegates to the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled do hereby offer our emphatic protest against the brutal, inhuman and cowardly assault committed upon an American citizen in the peaceful discharge of his duties as an organizer of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon Governor Baldwin of Connecticut to order a rigid and searching investigation of the whole affair with the avowed object of securing the arrest and conviction of all those concerned in the brutal attack on one of our organizers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be immediately forwarded to Governor Baldwin of the State of Connecticut, with a request that he act at once.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 130—By Delegate W. D. Mahon, of the Amalgamated Association

Street and Electric Railway Employees of America:

WHEREAS, Many of the street and electric railway companies of America are now requiring their employes to put in from twelve to nineteen hours each day in order to get in a day's work, for which they receive actual pay of from eight to ten hours time; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention endorses the attempt of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America to secure legislation providing that no street or electric railway company shall be allowed to require of their employes more than twelve consecutive hours in any one day to put in their regular day's work of from eight to ten hours; and, further be it

RESOLVED, That all state and provincial branches are hereby urged to give their aid and assistance in securing the above legislation.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 132—By Delegate Gompers of the Cigar Makers' International Union:

WHEREAS, One of the pressing problems confronting the great army of toilers of our country is the proper and efficient safe-guarding of their comfort, health and safety; and

WHEREAS, The safety devices and other methods of promoting the safety, health, and comfort of workers are ineffective and insufficient and the ready knowledge obtainable on the subject is of such meagre proportion to the importance of the problem; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor urge Congress to establish a museum of safety, wherein working devices may be on exhibition that will illustrate in a comprehensive manner the most approved methods of safeguarding machinery, eliminating dusts, noxious fumes and excessive heat, and furnish information calculated to promote the health, safety and comfort of all toilers. A museum of this character should afford a means of establishing standards and offering an opportunity for factory departments of the several states to obtain information and assistance that will tend toward the accomplishment of more uniform enactments and effective enforcement of laws for the conservation of the life and health of the working people of America.

Adopted.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

## Resolution No. 133—

Berlin, November 4, 1912.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, c/o Seneca Hotel,  
Rochester, N. Y.

Dear Brother Gompers—Your report received and part of it translated. Mr. Legien thinks it will make a splendid showing in his report. Just the sort of material we needed, I think, for the enlightenment of our European fellow trade unionists. As far as I know, Brother Morrison usually submits a statistical table to the convention, which gives the average membership of every affiliated international. I think you ought to add that table to your excellent report. Would be all right if you were to send it immediately from Rochester.

Brother Legien wants me to convey his best wishes to you and your fellow workers for the forthcoming convention. He is convinced of the great work achieved by the American Federation of Labor, of the great difficulties you have to overcome, and also of your daily and ultimate success. All good wishes to all mutual friends and to the delegates of American labor, who are now assembling in their annual parliament.

Yours very sincerely,

A. BAUMEISTER,

Assistant Secretary.

Secretary Frey—Resolution No. 133 is a communication under date of November 4th from A. Baumeister. Your committee recommends that the fraternal greeting from Carl Legien be received as another evidence of the growth of international trades unionism, and that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to forward an appropriate reply.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey—Your committee had referred to it the following communication:

"Chicago, Ill., Nov. 20, 1912.

"Hon. Samuel Gompers, Rochester, N. Y.:

"Dear Mr. Gompers—At its thirty-second annual session held in New Orleans the 7, 8, 9, 11 and 12th of this month, the Farmers National Congress, having in mind certain provisions in the Postoffice Appropriation Bill enacted into law August 24 last, unanimously adopted a resolution stating that it regarded with disfavor and apprehension any abridgment of the freedom of the press and demanding that the making of laws and rulings abridging the freedom of the press be discontinued.

"Of course, the Farmers National Congress is well aware that freedom is not license and it was the first national organization to adopt a resolution calling on all papers to stop the publication of fraudulent or immoral ads.

"It has reached the conclusion—such conclusion is inevitable—if events are carefully considered—that there is a movement gradually, subtly, but none the

less effectually, to abridge the freedom of the press.

"As you know, periodicals have been harried during recent years and those classes of periodicals that have been most vigilant to expose public corruption have been most subjected to harassing rules and regulations.

"A little has been done here, a little there, until the total effect has become threatening and now all classes of periodicals have been affected. It is certainly time to call a halt.

"Certainly no organization should be more alert to maintain the freedom of the press than the American Federation of Labor. Considering what it represents, it may be asked if any other organization should be as alert? A free press is the best safe-guard of our liberties and institutions. It is the greatest foe of corruption and disloyalty. The Farmers National Congress is not composed of publishers, but of practicing farmers. At its recent annual session 36 states were represented by delegates appointed by the governors of these states on the nomination of the agricultural organizations of the states.

"We respectfully suggest that the American Federation of Labor adopt a resolution along the lines of the one adopted by our organization, calling a halt on the making of laws and regulations further to abridge the freedom of the press and also asking for the repeal of laws already enacted when needlessly and unwarrantably interfering with the business of the publishers of periodicals.

"Respectfully yours,

"FARMERS NATIONAL CONGRESS.  
"JOHN M. STAHL, Legislative Agent,  
Farmers National Congress, U. S. A."

The committee reported as follows:

In accord with the communication just read from the Farmers' National Congress your committee regards with disfavor and apprehension any abridgment of the freedom of the press and views with displeasure the efforts which have been made through Federal legislation and departmental rulings to limit or in any other manner interfere with that most essential condition to the freedom of thought and public expression—the freedom of the press. Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to co-operate with the Farmers' National Congress in connection with the object and purpose referred to in the communication received from that body.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey—The committee wished to introduce the following resolution:

Resolution No. 134—By Committee on Resolutions:

WHEREAS, The trades union women have the same struggle as the men

against cheap labor, which results not only in the displacing of men by women, but also in the displacing of trades union women by cheap female labor, and

WHEREAS, To enforce the principle that a given work demands a just compensation whether done by a man or woman, and to protect women's unions, especially in time of strike, the ballot is one of the most important factors; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. reaffirms its declaration in favor of equal suffrage for men and women.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey—The Committee on Resolutions desires to submit one more resolution.

Resolution No. 135, by Committee on Resolutions:

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates of the Thirty-second Annual Convention of

American Federation of Labor, accept this opportunity to express our deep appreciation for the cordial and kindly welcome which was extended to us by His Honor, Mayor Edgerton, and by the Commissioner of Labor of the State of New York, Hon. John Williams, on behalf of Governor Dix, in Convention Hall, and other distinguished public officials and representatives of organized labor.

That the Local Committee on Arrangements and Entertainment is fully entitled to expressions of unstinted approval on our part for the many provisions for our comfort and entertainment, which were continuously enjoyed during our sojourn, and which filled the social hours with a bounteous variety of pleasures.

That the wives and daughters of the Rochester trade unionists have earned our sincere admiration for the spirit of kindly interest which they have manifested for the comfort and social enjoyment of our lady delegates and the other ladies in attendance at this convention.

That the many social clubs and fraternal organizations of Rochester whose hospitality was so generously extended to our delegates have added to the laurels already earned as hospitable and successful entertainers.

That this convention realizes its great obligations to the city of Rochester and herewith expresses its most sincere appreciation for the privileges accorded to the American Federation of Labor in the generous use of Convention Hall for its sessions, and that we further desire to give recognition of the uniform courtesy of the city's representatives in charge of Convention Hall.

That we here record our appreciation for the evident spirit of fairness which has been indicated by the newspapers of Rochester and for their evident intention to convey an accurate account of our proceedings through their columns, and

That the delegates to this convention, in their discussion of the subjects which

came before them, have indicated the true spirit of forbearance and courtesy towards each other and have further indicated that our conventions tend to develop the minds and broaden the vision of those who attend them, fitting them to labor more effectively and successfully for the growth of our great movement in its efforts to secure equality of rights and opportunity for all, and to elevate the American workman's standard of living.

Respectfully submitted,  
JAMES DUNCAN, Chairman,  
JOHN P. FREY, Secretary,  
B. A. LARGER,  
W. D. MAHON,  
M. F. RYAN,  
E. F. WARD,  
JOSEPH N. WEBER,  
JOHN T. SMITH,  
JOHN A. VOLL,  
J. A. FRANKLIN,  
E. C. STREILE,  
C. P. FAHEY,  
SOL. SONTHEIMER,  
MATT COMERFORD,  
JAS. A. CROZIER.

Committee on Resolutions.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Koveleski objected to all the Rochester papers being included in the resolution.

Delegate Tazelaar objected to including the name of the Commissioner of Labor of the State of New York.

Brief statements were made by President Gompers, Vice-President Duncan and Vice-President Huber.

Delegate Gallagher (A. J.) arose to a point of order and stated that the character of the State Labor Commissioner was not before the convention.

The objection offered by Delegate Koveleski was withdrawn.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Lynch (J. M.) asked unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution. He stated the nature of the resolution. Delegate Tazelaar objected to its introduction. The chairman stated as there was objection it could not be introduced, and Delegate Tazelaar was exercising his constitutional right in objecting.

Delegate Keegan (J. J.) asked if it was not abusing his right as a delegate.

Delegate Voll moved that the rule relative to the introduction of resolutions be suspended and that Delegate Lynch be accorded the privilege of introducing his resolution.

The chairman stated that the motion was not in order and that after a certain date the constitution prohibited the introduction of any resolution except by unanimous consent.

Delegate Voll—I move that the objections be noted in the record.

#### **Report of Committee on Organization.**

Delegate White (J. P.) reported as follows for the committee:

Your committee emphasizes the fact made so plain in the reports submitted to this convention by our officers, that the international unions making up this Federation are stable and militant in their respective fields. Many of these international unions show an increased growth, but membership alone is not their only achievement; for the reports also show that they have bettered wages and improved conditions, and that they are educating their membership to a higher conception of citizenship and life, and the enjoyment thereof. That is one of the results of our movement. It inspires hope and confidence in its followers, and it unfolds to them a better life and a higher ideal. We urge upon the affiliated unions that they should continue in this most beneficent work, and that at every opportunity that presents itself they shall advance their organizations so that the entire battle line of organized labor will be a year from now nearer to the citadel of privilege and oppression. Thousands and thousands of toilers are still unorganized. They can be reached, and they will be reached, if the international unions with jurisdiction are determined that, so far as it is humanly possible, their organizations shall include all their craftsmen. Men and women who ten years ago did not know the meaning of unionism are to-day aggressive and resourceful leaders of militant unions. Men and women now unorganized will to-morrow be marching in step and unison with the unions of to-day. It is most inspiring and encouraging that the statistics contained in the annual reports submitted to this convention, when woven into story and precept, show beyond any question that our movement is justifying itself, in that it is advancing and uplifting the human race.

#### **Migratory Workers.**

Relative to that portion of the President's report covering the organization of migratory workers, your committee indorses the measures that have been made effective and those mentioned that will be put into force. Considering the subject of organizing migratory workers, your committee is of the opinion that there should be a comprehensive and searching investigation of the subject of migratory workmen, the work that they do and the seasons and localities in which their labor is in demand. At the same time this investigation is made, lists of names of the better educated and more intelligent of these migratory workers could be formulated, and from this list volunteer and, in instances where advisable, paid organizers could be selected to go among their fellows and spread the creed of unionism as exemplified and carried into effect by the American Federation of Labor. These roving workers must be proselytized by missionaries selected from their ranks, and these missionaries will have to work with the material at hand as occasion may offer. It will of course be impossible to organize permanent local unions of migratory workers, and in the investigation that we suggest shall be conducted, the best form of organization will suggest itself as the investigation proceeds. It may be that a general union, national in its character, will be the best solution of the problem, the headquarters of this union to be at the offices of the American Federation of Labor, or with quarters for the officers of the union in the same building, or in association with the A. F. of L. general offices.

The advisability of conducting an employment bureau for the benefit of migratory workers also suggests itself to your committee in considering this subject. Your committee is fully impressed with the great value to the organized labor movement of a successful organization of migratory workers, the members of which would be travelling apostles for the spread of trade union doctrine. These migratory workers reach remote and oft-times almost inaccessible portions of the continent, and it can be fairly assumed that under-

standing the principles of unionism, they would be active in propaganda for the union cause. Your committee therefore refers the entire subject to the Executive Council together with the suggestions herein contained, with the urgent recommendation that a full and complete investigation shall be made and that measures shall be inaugurated based on the results secured from this investigation.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

### **Organizing Steel Workers.**

The efforts being put forth by the A. F. of L. to uphold the rights and promote the interests of the workers in the iron and steel industry have our hearty endorsement and commendation.

Through the operations of modern industry as exemplified by the United States Steel Corporation, the workers in this industry have felt the lash of corporate greed with great severity. The history of the antagonism of the great steel companies towards organized labor is a matter of common knowledge. The efforts of the workers to organize have been thwarted by every means at their command. Organization has been made difficult, not alone by the cosmopolitan character of the men now employed in the steel industry, but also the perfect system of espionage that has been established and is maintained. The spy system, so thorough that even minor indiscretions are reported, is one method employed, and every attempt to organize is frustrated by a chain of communication that runs through the works, and is as invisible as an electric current flashing through wire. Added to the spy system is the fear of the blacklist, another steel corporation method. That it exists is as sure as that the wheels of industry revolve to grind out dollars at the cost of the wage slaves who are the victims of the system.

A study of labor conditions will develop that during the past ten years there has been a remarkable change in the class of men employed. In nearly all the large steel plants the English speaking race has been supplanted by the Syrian, Pole, Bohemian, Croatian, Hungarian, Slav, Italian and other races. These people having been raised

in an environment that is foreign to all principles enunciated by the trade union movement can not be blamed for knowing little or nothing regarding the principles for which the American labor movement stands, and in their present condition they are a menace, not only to the iron and steel workers, but to the trade union movement in general, as they are totally ignorant of the value of the labor they perform, and accept without protest that which is paid to them by their employers, whether adequate or inadequate, for work done under conditions that inevitably shorten life.

The workers in the non-union iron and steel mills must be redeemed. The work of redemption has been, and is now being prosecuted by the American Federation of Labor through organization and education, and with a vigor that gives promise of ultimate success.

We endorse the action of the A. F. of L. in the efforts now being put forth, and request the assistance and co-operation in this work of all who believe that the workers in the employ of these great corporations shall have a part in determining the wages they will receive, and the conditions under which they shall be employed.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Williams (John) made an extended statement in regard to the condition of his organization and the condition of the industry in which the members of his organization are employed. He referred at length to recent investigations made by the Department of Commerce and Labor into the conditions of the employe of the United States Steel Corporation. In closing, Delegate Williams said: "I might speak for a half hour or an hour detailing the things we have had to contend with, but I do not want to close without saying something regarding the association I represent here to-day. Much has been said regarding the decreased numerical strength of our organization, but I desire to have you understand that the members of the Amalgamated Association were as vigilant as they ever were since the inception of the organization, and they are doing as much as they ever did in the history of the organization. It is true we do not deal

with as large a number of men as we used to, but they are maintaining conditions and getting the wages in the mills we control. Last year in our conferences we succeeded in getting for the iron workers, particularly the puddling industry, the best scale ever secured for that class of workers in this country or in the history of the civilized world.

So far as the campaign of organization is concerned, I believe it is going to bear fruit. As the report indicates, the character of the men who are working in the iron and steel mills has changed. The only way these people can be reached is through the medium of education. The American Federation of Labor has undertaken this campaign of education.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Conroy and Delegate Rowe.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

#### **Labor Forward Movement.**

Your committee endorses the Labor Forward Movement, and the plan under which it shall be conducted, as published in the October issue of the American Federationist.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Organizers.**

Your committee indorses that portion of the report of the president in reference to organizers and their value to the trade union movement; especially the work that they perform and the results that they achieve. Your committee is of the opinion that A. F. of L. organizers should confine themselves to the work that they are commissioned to do, so that there may be no opportunity for criticism by representatives of other unions with which, missions assigned to A. F. of L. organizers may bring them into contact. Where their work conflicts with or crosses that of other organizations, there should be a conference of the A. F. of L. representatives with those of the other organizations, and full agreement as to the manner in which work of mutual concern shall be carried forward. We also recommend that organizers assigned to particular localities where central labor unions are estab-

lished report their presence to the officers of these central labor unions and place themselves at their service in connection with any special work that it is desired shall be taken up, provided their mission and time will permit. In so reporting to the officers of the central labor unions there will also be general knowledge of the presence of these A. F. of L. organizers in various localities and the fact that the A. F. of L. is exerting itself in these places, and consequent satisfaction to the local labor movement.

In considering the work of the organizers, it is the opinion of your committee that the A. F. of L. organizers should make annual reports covering their activities while in the employment of the A. F. of L., and that these reports should be published in connection with the reports of the officers of the A. F. of L. submitted to the annual conventions, or in a separate pamphlet, for the information and use of the unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

In reference to the work of the organizers, the executive council report says: "It is often the case that an organizer is required to devote days of his time to a particular locality, performing most excellent work in the interest of a special trade, as well as of the movement in general, and yet not be able to report the organization of a new union. Such work as this is not susceptible to statistical tabulation." Your committee realizes the force of this observation, but at the same time, your committee believes that work of this character can be adequately covered in the yearly reports that your committee suggests shall be submitted by the organizers, and that these reports will remove many misapprehensions and give general satisfaction to the labor movement.

In considering that portion of the report of the executive council, your committee indorses the efforts that have been made to secure the affiliation to the American Federation of Labor of the unions that are not now a part of the federation, and urges that this work shall be continued and carried forward along lines that may be approved by the executive council.

In its report the executive council says: "A number of resolutions were introduced at our last convention requesting

the appointment of special organizers for many of the different trades and callings, or requesting assistance in special organization work. Many requests of a similar character have been made during the course of the year. In all instances we authorized the president of the A. F. of L. to comply as fully as warranted by the funds of the Federation available for that work."

In the belief that the assignment of organizers is an administrative and executive function, your committee has referred all of the resolutions introduced at this convention, and requesting organizers for special work, to the executive council for the consideration of that body. We assume that the council will take the action set forth in its report, and quoted herein, and that the president of the A. F. of L. will, so far as may be possible, comply with the requests contained in the resolutions. We recommend to the introducers of these resolutions that they further explain the intent and purpose of their petitions to the president of the A. F. of L. by means of correspondence.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

President Gompers stated that the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress, Messrs. Smillie and Seddon, were about to leave the convention, and wished to say a word in parting to the delegates.

Fraternal Delegate Smillie and Fraternal Delegate Seddon before leaving the convention expressed the pleasure they had experienced during their attendance on the convention, and thanked the delegates and officers for all the kindnesses and courtesies extended to them.

Delegate White continued the report of the Committee on Organization, as follows:

**Resolution No. 4—By Delegate C. F. Bailey, of the Laundry Workers' International Union:**

WHEREAS, The laundry workers of the country are still poorly organized notwithstanding the efforts of our organization and of many of the organizers of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, the Laundry Workers International Union, is composed of only 47 locals, 15 of which are in the states of Montana and California, thus showing an extremely large field for organization; and

WHEREAS, On account of the small number of members our funds for organization purposes are necessarily limited; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and instructed by this convention to issue a special letter to organizers under their jurisdiction to give particular attention to the organizing of the workers of this craft.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with favorable recommendation.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 6—By Amalgamated Leather Workers' Union of America:**

WHEREAS, The labor employed in the production of leather in the United States aggregates, approximately, 80,000 persons; and

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Leather Workers Union of America, under whose jurisdiction this class of labor comes, is not at present in a condition financially to prosecute a campaign of organization; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the president of the American Federation of Labor be empowered to appoint an organizer who shall specially devote at least six months to organizing that class of labor, and that the expense of said organizer be defrayed by the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 8—By Delegate H. L. Vanderveld, of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor:**

WHEREAS, But a very small percentage of the jewelry workers of Newark, N. J., are members of the local of their craft in that city; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Board of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, after a careful investigation into the conditions of the jewelry workers of Newark, N. J., from a union standpoint, have come to the conclusion that an organizer of the American Federation of Labor should be placed in that city; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That this convention authorize the placing of an organizer in Newark, N. J., to assist in unionizing the jewelry workers of that city.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 11—By Delegate Edw. E. Shilling of the Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union:**

WHEREAS, Comparatively a small per cent of the workers of our craft are organized in the United States and Can-



ada, and the larger portion of them have to work long hours and under bad conditions for the lack of being organized; and

WHEREAS, This vast number of leather workers is by far the largest contingent of unorganized labor embraced in a single class now in existence; and

WHEREAS, The Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union has organized a certain per cent of this class and increased their wages and shortened their hours to nine hours per day through such organization; and

WHEREAS, The Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union had to withdraw their International President from the pay roll on account of no funds being in the treasury, and as the General President has been acting as the organizer for our craft, and without an organizer being in the field the Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers Union will soon be on the decline; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized by this convention to give to our organization assistance in the way of appointing a special organizer for a certain period of time or by giving financial aid for that period.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 15—By M. M. Donoghue, President Montana State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, In the western portion of the state of Montana there are many thousands of men employed in the lumber industry; and

WHEREAS, These men were formerly organized under various heads and forms; and

WHEREAS, They now are thoroughly disorganized, there not being a local union of any kind connected with this industry in the state of Montana; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the time is now opportune for the organization of the employes engaged in this industry, under the banner of the A. F. of L.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. fully consider and grant the request of the Montana State Federation of Labor and its affiliated locals that an organizer be specially sent into this district, said organizer to be under the direction of the president of The Montana State Federation of Labor and under salary from the A. F. of L. for a period of not less than four months in each year, not exceeding two years.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 18—By W. J. Kelly, U. B. of C. and J. of A.:

WHEREAS, The City Firemen's Protective Association of the City of Pittsburgh has been actively engaged in organizing the city firemen, that they may be better enabled to demand better conditions, a more humane mode of living, and that they get the proper recognition for the services they render to their fellow men; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the American Federation of Labor can, by the use of its good offices in this movement, be the means of bettering the conditions of firemen throughout the whole of the United States and thereby disenfranchise thousands of families from the present unnatural mode of living, and give these families an opportunity now denied, of becoming acquainted with their husbands and fathers; and

WHEREAS, The firemen of the City of Pittsburgh have been organized since 1903 and affiliated with this A. F. of L. and thereby have been enabled (in the face of strenuous opposition on the part of their superiors in the fire department) to better their conditions wonderfully in the past nine years; and

WHEREAS, The fight to organize the city firemen has been and still is an uphill fight and while we have not organized all the members of the Pittsburgh department, but are slowly and steadily winning them to seeing the value of organization because they cannot shut their eyes to the fact that we are from time to time achieving something to better their conditions; and

WHEREAS, The firemen of the City of Pittsburgh lay dormant for twenty years until the rank and file of the department awoke to the fact that there should be something more than serfdom for their lot in life, even though they were servants of the public, therefore, some of the most aggressive and progressive jumped into the fray at the time of an upheaval in this city's politics, and at a, I may say, dangerous time and organized and since have attained more real, good, permanent results than were ever dreamed of by the oldest members of the department; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and organizers of the A. F. of L. be instructed and that they are hereby instructed to take up the question of organizing the fire departments throughout the United States, and lend every assistance towards obtaining better conditions of employment than these firemen have at the present time; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers and organizers be instructed also to submit a report of their progress along these lines to the next annual convention of the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate J. R. Crozier:

WHEREAS, The Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' International Union is making a determined effort to organize this industry throughout the country;

WHEREAS, The finances of this organization will not permit it to put organizers in the field where most needed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor appoint a special organizer to assist this craft in its struggle against great odds.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for the recommendation that if an organizer is appointed under the terms of the resolution he shall be instructed to work in accordance with agreement entered into between the Upholsterers and the Carriage, Automobile and Wagon Workers' International Union.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate John Sinclair, Fish Splitters and Handlers Union No. 14,270:

WHEREAS, The spirit of unionism requires stimulation in Gloucester and vicinity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates in convention assembled take such action as will result in sending a member of the Executive Council to the City of Gloucester, Mass., sometime during the month of March or April of 1913, to strengthen and stimulate unionism.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with favorable recommendation.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate Manny Weiss of the Sugar Refinery Employees Union No. 13,053, Yonkers, N. Y.:

WHEREAS, The Sugar Refinery Employees Union No. 13,053 of Yonkers, N. Y., has and does hold a charter of the A. F. of L. for the past two years; and

WHEREAS, There are between 75,000 and 90,000 unorganized men in this industry throughout the United States, who are only too anxious to be organized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instructs its officers and organizers to do everything within their power to organize the men in this industry.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegates C. L. Shamp and George E. Norman representing the Nebraska State Federation of Labor and the Omaha, Nebraska, Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, In the state of Nebraska there are thousands of unorganized wage workers of different trades and callings who, we believe, could be organized if visited by an organizer; and

WHEREAS, The Nebraska State Federation of Labor has at all times spent all the means at their command to organize the unorganized, but are not in a position to maintain organizers to cover only a portion of the territory that should be covered; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to at the earliest possible date place an organizer in the state of Nebraska and keep him there as long as he can organize the unorganized wage workers, and the Nebraska State Federation of Labor pledges itself to lend said organizer all the possible assistance it can to the end that all of the unorganized wage workers of the state be organized if possible in unions of their respective trades and callings.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with favorable recommendation.

After a brief statement by Delegate Norman the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Wesley Russell of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union:

WHEREAS, Commercial telegraphers are among the pioneers in the labor movement of this country; first organized in 1864, they have struggled nearly fifty years for the right to organize and to build up a strong union of their craft, striking in defense of their rights in 1870, 1883 and 1907; and

WHEREAS, They were probably the earliest organized craftsmen to feel the effects of monopolistic power, being opposed from 1866 by a powerful corporation having an almost complete monopoly; control of which corporation has now passed to the telephone trust, making a combination of capital aggregating five hundred million dollars, second in size only to the notorious steel trust; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that this half-century fight of the commercial telegraphers for a principle deserves our hearty commendation and support, and that the membership of the present union, organized in 1902, and the longest lived in the history of the craft, may be encouraged to persevere in their struggle to ultimate victory, the Executive Council is hereby requested to instruct its organizers, city, central and state bodies, to make especial effort during the ensuing year to bring all com-

mercial telegraphers into the Commercial Telegraphers Union of America.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate R. J. McGrath, Iron City Central Trades Council:

WHEREAS, Organizers are at all times needed in the different districts throughout the country for the purpose of helping to organize more thoroughly the different organizations and adjusting grievances; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the A. F. of L. instruct its organizers to have a certain headquarters in all cities where they can be reached without difficulty when wanted for assistance by any organization affiliated with the A. F. of L.; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all organizations in any city affiliated with the A. F. of L. be notified of said headquarters.

The committee reported as follows:

The intent of this resolution has been covered by your committee in its general summary acted upon by this convention. It therefore refers the resolution to the Executive Council with the recommendation that its spirit be made effective so far as may be possible.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate O. L. Preble of the Rhode Island Branch of the A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The state of Rhode Island has within its bounds a large number of manufacturing establishments, among which are many textile and jewelry plants, the employees of which are to a great extent unorganized and working under very poor conditions; and

WHEREAS, In the state of Rhode Island is a city which in size is about the eighteenth in the United States, namely Providence, and is centrally located in a thickly populated part of the country, being within an hour's ride of nearly two million people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in regular convention assembled, that we establish a permanent office in the city of Providence, R. I., and place one of our organizers in charge of the same, with instructions to work in that locality and use every honorable means to aid in building up the now existing organizations, to organize the unorganized and assist them in maintaining their organizations, to the end that better conditions of employment may obtain for the workers in that locality and that the influence of organized labor under the banner of the American Federation of Labor Day may be still further increased.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, It is now generally recognized that the millions of so-called migratory, unskilled or common laborers of this country must be organized and brought within the protecting fold of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Immeasurable assistance can be rendered in this work by the members of all organized skilled crafts if they will give every possible assistance and moral encouragement to those workers who have been falsely led to believe that the American Federation of Labor is mainly interested in the further advancement and uplifting of the crafts already organized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we urge upon all affiliated unions, and particularly upon the rank and file of same, to constantly impress upon the unorganized, unskilled workers with whom they may come in contact that all workers are welcome in the organized labor movement under the banner of the American Federation of Labor; further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to prepare a series of educational articles for general publicity, and particularly for publication in the labor press, setting forth the duty and obligation of the already organized workers as indicated in these resolutions and explaining the benefits to be derived by all workers through the thorough organization of the migratory, common and unskilled laborers.

The committee reported as follows:

The intent of this resolution has been covered in the report of the committee and the committee therefor recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council for consideration in connection with that portion of the report of the committee covering the same subject.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate R. H. White of the Birmingham Trades Council:

WHEREAS, The field is ripe for the work of organizing several branches in the district of Greater Birmingham; and

WHEREAS, Believing that sending an organizer to the Birmingham district will accomplish much good; be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. that the Executive Council send an organizer

to the Birmingham district and said organizer be William E. Terry.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

Delegate White (R. H.)—The request in that resolution is that William E. Terry be sent, but if the Executive Council decides to send somebody else it will be all right with us, but we would like to have someone at once.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 50—By Delegate Oscar J. Nelson of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:**

WHEREAS, The last session of Congress enacted into law provisions that have liberated not only the postal employees but the 400,000 workers in the civil service of the Federal Government from the Executive orders commonly known as the "gag" rules, which deprived them of their rights as American citizens; and

WHEREAS, By the enactment of such provisions not only were the Executive "gag" orders nullified and our right of free speech restored but the right to organize and affiliate with such organizations as the A. F. of L. was established as a statutory provision of our Federal law; and

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Postoffice Clerks recognizes with deep gratitude the fact that the enactment of such provisions together with the notable achievement of the enactment of a law providing for an 8-hour workday for the postoffice clerks and letter carriers were the direct result of the moral support given by the American Federation of Labor and the efficient and effective work done by President Gompers, Secretary Morrison, Arthur E. Holder and John Moffitt of the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. in appearing before committees of Congress in behalf of such provisions; and

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Postoffice Clerks, now that the right of affiliation has been established by law, conscious of the fact that all remedial legislation that the postal employees have ever received has come either directly or indirectly by the assistance of the A. F. of L. and recognizing the common interests of all wage-earners whether in public or private employ, are conducting a vigorous organization campaign among the Postoffice Clerks; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, do hereby, through our officers, instruct all organizers of this body and advise all central bodies that they assist in bringing about a closer federation of all postal employees by inviting the rank and file of the letter carriers, railway mail clerks and rural carriers to become affiliated with their

fellow workers in the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 55—By Delegates Edw. V. Wood, Syracuse, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Assembly; Homer D. Call, Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; E. A. Bates, Utica Trades Assembly; Henry Prinz, New York State Federation; Daniel Harris, Cigarmakers International Union; James C. Brower, Poughkeepsie Trades and Labor Council; J. P. Coughlin, Brooklyn Central Labor Union:**

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. has recommended a Labor Forward Movement as outlined by Samuel Gompers in the October Federationist and submitted to this body in the report of the Executive Council; and

WHEREAS, Since the issue of the October Federationist, three cities in the state of New York have started to put the suggestion into practice; and

WHEREAS, The field for organization in this section is large and fertile; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 32nd Convention of the American Federation of Labor approve and it hereby does approve the recommendations for a revival or Labor Forward Movement as outlined and recommended by the Executive Council; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention authorize and it does hereby authorize the inauguration of the Labor Forward Movement in the state of New York as the starting point of the country-wide movement, to be started as early in January, 1913, as it is possible for arrangements to be made and be conducted under the supervision of the State Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 57—By the Lynn, Mass., Central Labor Union:**

WHEREAS, There are from eighteen to twenty thousand members of independent and dual organizations to the A. F. of L. who are continually adding to their membership in Lynn, Mass.; and

WHEREAS, There is a large plant in the western part of the city known as the General Electric Company, employing fourteen thousand of the following trades: painters, carpenters, steam fitters, electricians, machinists, pattern makers, molders, engineers, and others who are unorganized; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the A. F. of L. send an organizer to the city of Lynn, Mass., to assist in the organizing of this plant; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the convention urge upon all national and international organizations having jurisdiction over the above mentioned trades to send an organizer to take up immediately the work of organizing this plant.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 61—By H. P. Corcoran, State Federation of Labor, West Virginia;**

**WHEREAS**, Thousands of men are employed on the industrial field engaged in the manufacture of stogies, one-half of whom are organized; and

**WHEREAS**, Through the effort of organization we have secured a higher standard of wages and better working conditions, which is also characteristic of the cigar making trade; and

**WHEREAS**, We believe that an amalgamation of the cigar and stogie trades would result in the elimination of much of the non-union product now being sold; and

**WHEREAS**, Conferences have been held at various times between the executive officers of the International Cigar Makers Union and the National Stogie Makers League for the purpose of amalgamating the two branches, at which conferences they were not able to arrive at a basis of amalgamation, satisfactory to both sides; and

**WHEREAS**, These conferences were held in conformity with the policy of the A. F. of L. with reference to the two organizations combining, and failure on the part of both organizations in arriving at a satisfactory solution of the problem which has been resultant in the application of the Stogie Workers being refused a charter from the A. F. of L., and being refused, we still believe that further efforts should be made to bring the two organizations together; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention take some action looking towards a better and more thorough organization of both branches of this industry in the interest of those dependent upon the industry and in the interest of the general labor movement.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee commends the action of the Cigar Makers International Union and the National Stogie Makers League in holding conferences the purpose of which has been to effect an amalgamation of the two organizations, and recommends that these conferences shall be continued until their object shall be achieved.

The question was discussed by Delegate Corcoran and Delegate Tracy.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 63—By Delegate Agnes Nestor, International Glove Workers Union of America:**

**WHEREAS**, A controversy has existed between the Saranac Glove Company of Littleton, N. H., and the Glove Workers Union of that city since October, 1916, because of the discharge of a number of men, all of whom had been employed by the company for a number of years, for refusing to give up their membership in the Glove Workers Union; and

**WHEREAS**, The Atlanta Convention of the A. F. of L. adopted a resolution instructing the Executive Council to endeavor to effect an adjustment of the question in controversy; and

**WHEREAS**, Repeated efforts have been made since that time by representatives of the A. F. of L. and the International Glove Workers Union to reach an agreement with the Saranac Glove Company, but without success; and

**WHEREAS**, The product of the company is sold largely among the working people, particularly railroad men; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That another effort be made by the Executive Council to reach an agreement and if this is not effected within sixty days, that the Executive Council be authorized to thoroughly advertise the attitude of this company, among the organized workers of the company, particularly the railroad workers and unions in the district where this product is sold.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 64—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, Thos. Harrison, Geo. E. Neesham and A. J. Chlopek of the International Longshoremen's Association:**

**WHEREAS**, The affiliation of all organizations of workers employed in the industry of transportation, such as longshoremen, seamen, teamsters, railroaders, freight handlers, street car men, boatmen, etc., will be of advantage to all concerned; and

**WHEREAS**, The developments of industry will eventually force the workers to organize and affiliate on industrial lines; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor take such steps as they may deem necessary for the formation of such a Department, and that all transportation organizations be invited to join the Transportation Department.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee is of the opinion that the formation of a transportation department should first be considered by the

unions in interest at a meeting called for such purpose, and that the formation of such a department should be agreeable to at least a majority of the organizations interested, or by the organizations representing a majority of the workers in the transportation industry. Your committee therefore non-concurs in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, Members of the National Letter Carriers' Association have for many years past expressed a desire to join ranks with their fellow workers of other occupations who are organized under the banner of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The postal appropriation bill adopted by the late session of Congress specifically legalizes affiliation of postoffice employes with the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we most heartily welcome the affiliation of the National Letter Carriers' Association; further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to convey these sentiments to the officers of the National Letter Carriers' Association; further

RESOLVED, That a member of the Executive Council or a special representative designated by the Council be delegated to address the next annual convention of the National Letter Carriers' Association, which will meet at San Francisco, Cal., in September, 1914, with a view of bringing about the desired result.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate Alice O'Rourke, of the Badge, Banner, Regalia, Button and Novelty Workers, No. 14,065:

WHEREAS, We have exerted great efforts in an attempt to strengthen our organization, and are affiliated with the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity, and the Central Labor Union of Brooklyn, and the Central Labor Union of Hudson County, N. J., for the purpose of creating a healthy agitation for union made badges, banners, regalia, buttons and novelties; and

WHEREAS, We find that even with the hearty assistance of these bodies we are not advancing and progressing as we desire and should; be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor directs the Executive Council to render all possible aid to the Badge, Banner, Regalia, Button and Novelty Workers No. 14,065, and request

such international and national unions as have members employed in badge, banner, regalia, button and novelty shops, to render ready moral assistance to this appellant union by urging workers in such shops engaged in this industry to join the said union of this trade.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate S. J. English of Central Trades and Labor Assembly of Watertown, N. Y.:

WHEREAS, For a number of years we have asked for aid from the American Federation and the duly constituted officials of the New York State Federation of Labor with a view to the reorganization of certain crafts in the City of Watertown, N. Y.; and

WHEREAS, There are a number of crafts already organized but who are weak in numerical strength, because the international officials of these crafts have not given them the attention they should have given to make of them a vital and numerical factor in their trade; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates assembled at this Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, use our every endeavor to have organizers sent into this particular field to reorganize all delinquent locals and organize any new ones that may prove eligible under the laws of the American Federation of Labor as now understood.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 83—By Delegate James P. Holland of the Central Federated Union of New York and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, The International Typographical Union has jurisdiction over newspaper writers and has had the same for many years; and

WHEREAS, It has made no strenuous effort during all of these years to effect an active and complete organization campaign to unite these workers so invaluable to the cause of the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The intelligent and thorough organization of these workers, whose sympathies, regardless of the opinions of their employers, is almost unanimously in favor of the workers, would be of great help to the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, There is now a sentiment among many newswriters favoring organization for the improvement of their condition and the betterment of their craft; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor demands that the Inter-

national Typographical Union immediately assign organizers to unionize this important craft and that, in the event of its failure to do so, that the Federation will launch an organization campaign independent of the International Typographical Union; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the International Typographical Union be ordered to issue charters to the independent union at Butte, Mont., and such other independent organizations of newswriters as have already been established.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the International Typographical Union.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 90—By Delegates of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union:**

**WHEREAS**, The W. H. McElwain Company, a large shoe manufacturing firm doing business as manufacturers in Bridgewater, Mass., Manchester, New Hampshire and elsewhere, as well as having control of shoe jobbing houses and retail stores in several cities of the United States has taken advantage of our immigration laws by employing many foreign, unskilled workmen, thereby establishing and maintaining a low labor cost, which is a serious menace to the American standard of living; and

**WHEREAS**, Hundreds of workers of foreign birth and recent arrival in this country are taken advantage of because of their ignorance of our language, and placed to work under the most un-American conditions, thus becoming the means through which the fair manufacturers and skilled shoe workers are injured by unfair competition; and

**WHEREAS**, In March, 1912, the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, having secured membership in several of the departments of the McElwain Company's factory at Bridgewater, made an effort to improve the conditions by presenting a request for an advance in wages, and upon the refusal of the McElwain Company to consider the list submitted, the union offered to leave the questions in dispute to the Massachusetts State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration for decision; the McElwain Company refused this offer, declaring that they would only consider matters of wages and conditions with their employees as individuals, whereupon a strike was declared by the local union having jurisdiction over the Bridgewater factory, which contest has been since continued under the financial support of the general organization; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed to appoint a committee to confer with the W. H. McElwain Company with a view to bringing about an adjustment, and failing to settle the controversy upon any fair basis, the Council be directed to convey by circular letter to all affiliated unions the result of their negotiations to the end that the labor movement may be

officially informed as to whether this company denies its employees the right to organize and collectively negotiate for their wages and conditions of labor.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for favorable action.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 94—By Delegate Charles V. Lawler of the Commercial Portrait Artists Union:**

**WHEREAS**, The following portrait companies located in the City of Chicago, Consolidated Portrait Co., Chicago Copy Co., Fidelity Portrait Co., Central Portrait Co., Chicago Portrait Co. and George Smith Co. After repeated solicitation on the part of the Commercial Portrait Artists' Union, they have absolutely refused to comply with union conditions, nor will they consider any overtime of the union; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That in accordance with the usual practices, this subject be referred to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. with a view to adjudication of the existing trouble.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 95—By Delegates Frank A. Scoby, James J. Doyle of the Coopers International Union:**

**WHEREAS**, The Standard Oil Co. has for years operated and controlled throughout the United States its cooper shops and preferring always workmen in its employ who were ignorant of our language, customs, laws and decent American conditions; and

**WHEREAS**, The wages paid to coopers in its employ have been and are far below the standard being paid to coopers similarly employed in the refineries that are owned and controlled by the Independent Oil Refiners Company of America; and

**WHEREAS**, Efforts have been made from time to time on the part of the Coopers International Union of America to organize the men who are employed by the most gigantic trust of the world to join the ranks of organized labor and such efforts have always been thwarted by superintendents, bosses and foremen employed presumably to retard the progress and enlightenment of their poorly paid servants by holding up to them the uselessness of being union men; and

**WHEREAS**, A great injustice will be perpetrated if allowed to continue, wherein independent oil refiners and union cooperage manufacturers are compelled to struggle on in a competitive market and be obliged to pay a higher scale of wages

than the Standard Oil Co. is obliged to conform to; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, do, and hereby assure the Coopers International Union that its struggle is their struggle, and at all times in the future patronage will be given to such oil refineries as conform to conditions that conform to an American standard of living; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take up this condition with the officials of the Standard Oil Co., whose offices are located at 26 Broadway, New York City.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 103—By Delegates Rowe, Clarke and Green of the American Flint Glass Workers Union:**

**WHEREAS**, The Macbeth-Evans Glass Company, having headquarters in Pittsburgh, Pa., and factories in Charleroi, Pa., Elwood and Marion, Indiana, and Toledo, Ohio, declared for an open shop and locked-out eleven hundred members of the American Flint Glass Workers Union and are avowed enemies of the trade union movement; and

**WHEREAS**, Said concern is the sole manufacturer of the "Alma" glass articles used extensively for illuminating purposes, also the grade of lamp chimneys known as "Pearl Glass," "Pearl Top," "Zenith," etc., therefore; be it

**RESOLVED**, That delegates to this convention, particularly those connected with the Building Trades Department shall exercise their very best efforts towards having the product of union labor substituted for the glass-ware made, advertised and sold by the Macbeth-Evans Glass Company.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 113—By Mining Department, American Federation of Labor:**

**WHEREAS**, There are in existence two organizations of steam shovel men, one known as the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, not in itself an international organization, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, but a subsidiary organization to the International Union of Steam Engineers, and one organization known as the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen; and

**WHEREAS**, A resolution was adopted by the Atlanta convention directing the Executive Council to call conferences of representatives of the different organizations in-

terested for the purpose of uniting in one organization all the men in these crafts in accordance with the laws of the American Federation of Labor; and

**WHEREAS**, The Associated Union of Steam Shovel Men has co-operated with the Executive Council in its efforts to amalgamate the two organizations to its fullest extent; and

**WHEREAS**, The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen does not seem desirous of amalgamation on terms fair to all, as is evidenced by the report of the Executive Council; and

**WHEREAS**, The said Associated Union has repeatedly made efforts to become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

**WHEREAS**, It is imperative to this department that a bona fide international organization of steam shovel men affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be chartered immediately; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor, recognizing the necessity of and the right to affiliation with the American Federation of Labor of an international union of steam shovel men does hereby insist that the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the immediate issuance of a charter to an international union of steam shovel men.

The committee reported as follows:

The intent of this resolution is the same as that embraced in No. 115 and your committee recommends that the action taken on No. 115 shall be considered as disposing of this resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 124—By Delegates Henry Prinz, Daniel Harris and E. A. Bates, of the New York State Federation of Labor:**

**WHEREAS**, In the Mohawk Valley, New York State, there are over seventy-five thousand wage workers employed in the textile industry; and

**WHEREAS**, The large majority of these workers are at the present time unorganized, although we are of the opinion the time is now ripe for organizing this large body of unorganized workers, to the end that a higher standard of wages and working conditions may be secured; be it therefore

**RESOLVED**, That the delegates to the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as strongly urging the Executive Council of the American Federation to place some of their organizers in the Mohawk Valley, New York State, at their earliest convenience; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we, the officers and delegates from the State Branch American Federation of Labor, New York State, pledge our hearty co-operation immediately this work is started.



The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Delegate White (J. P.)—The committee wishes to offer the following resolution:

Resolution No. 136, by the Committee on Organization:

**RESOLVED**, That it is against public policy for ex-Presidents of the United States, ex-presidents of state colleges and universities, ex-professors of political economy in public institutions, and other public servants to receive pensions from private persons and privately endowed non-public foundations.

On motion the resolution was adopted.

Delegate White—That completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted.

JAMES M. LYNCH,  
ANDREW J. GALLAGHER,  
THOMAS D. FITZGERALD,  
T. M. DALY,  
JOHN HANLEY,  
JOSEPH PROESTLE,  
JOHN P. WHITE,  
F. A. SCOBY,  
JOHN T. TAGGART,  
A. A. MYRUP,  
FRED C. WHEELER,  
JOHN WILLIAMS,

Committee on Organization.

**Vice-President Alpine in the chair.**

**Report of Committee on Labels.**

Delegate Sullivan, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate Edw. E. Shilling of the Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union:

WHEREAS, A large number of trades and crafts affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have a union label of their own, its use being that of affording a mark of distinction to the purchaser to be used as a guide to the purchasing of union made products; and

WHEREAS, It becomes the duty of each and every union man to use his purchasing power to advance the interests of fair products by purchasing only such products as bear the union label; and

WHEREAS, The Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union has a paper label for trunks and a stamp label for leather goods, which it advertises as a mark of distinction between the union and non-union trunks, bags, suit-cases and leather novelties; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we, the delegates representing the international, state, central and federated unions, in convention

of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Rochester, November, 1912, will use our utmost endeavor in creating a greater demand for the goods, bearing the label of the Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union; be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we earnestly request the members of our respective local unions to observe carefully when making purchases of trunks, bags, suit-cases, pocketbooks, belts or other leather novelties, that the purchases made have the union label of the Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union, as none are genuine union made unless the label is there to be seen.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The chairman of the committee stated that Resolutions 28 and 92 had been withdrawn, and the recommendations of the committee had been recommitted. He reported that the committee desired to withdraw its recommendations.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee reported as follows:

That subject concerning Whitehead-Hoag Company, your committee recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council for such action as in their judgment is best calculated to preserve the interests of the employees of the company.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.**

On the matter reported from the convention of the Union Label Trades Department, printed in the proceedings of a former session and referred to the Committee on Organization, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee commends to this convention favorable action upon that portion of the communication from the Union Label Trades Department not otherwise provided for, to the end that the most complete publicity be given to the labels of affiliated unions.

We further urge that affiliated unions supply to the Label Trades Department the fullest information covering the question of the theory of a universal label or design.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Tobin—This completes the report of your committee, and it is moved that the report as a whole be adopted.

JOHN F. TOBIN,  
J. BRAIS,  
JOE BIRNES,  
MAX S. HAYES,  
MAIER SCHWARZ,  
MAX ZUCKERMAN,  
F. C. BROCKHAUSEN,  
J. J. MORRIS,  
H. J. CONWAY,  
J. L. SULLIVAN,  
LOUIS KEMPER,  
HENRY KOCH,  
WILLIAM L. HOEFGEN,  
F. X. NOSCHANG,  
J. M. BARNES,

The motion to adopt the report of the committee as a whole was carried.

#### Report of Committee on Law.

Delegate Egan, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 3—By Central Labor Union of Elkhart, Ind.:

WHEREAS, There are a number of locals not affiliated with central bodies but affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, We believe that all locals affiliated with the American Federation of Labor should be affiliated with central bodies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in session at Rochester, N. Y., change Article XI, Sec. 2, by striking out the word "shall" and inserting the word "must."

The proposed change contemplates substituting the word "must" for "shall" in the first line of Sec. 2, Art. XI., which, if amended, would read: "It 'must' be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor bodies," etc., etc.

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate James P. Holland of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that Article XI, Section 2 of the Constitution be amended by erasing the word "to" on the fourth line after unions, and add "that they must," etc.

The proposed change contemplates changing Sec. 2, Art. XI., to read: "It shall be the duty of all National and International unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their local unions 'that they must' join chartered Central Labor bodies," etc., etc.

On the above proposed amendments, contained in resolution No. 3, and resolution No. 122, your committee is in entire accord with the end that these amendments seek to attain, but are assured, by the recent accomplishments in the direction of securing the affiliation of every local union with central labor bodies and state federations, warrants us in recommending the continuance of the policy of urging national and international officers to continue and accentuate their efforts to influence their respective local unions to so affiliate, rather than attempt by law to force the matter. Much has been accomplished by these persuasive methods, and your committee urge the officers of the American Federation of Labor and of all affiliated unions, to be, if possible, still more diligent in their efforts to bring about proper affiliation of every local union in the United States and Canada. Your committee, therefore, non-concurs in proposed amendments as found in resolutions Nos. 3 and 122.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Norman moved that the word "shall" be stricken out and the word "must" inserted.

The question was discussed by Delegate Holland, who spoke in favor of the resolution he had introduced.

Delegate Morton spoke in favor of the report of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Keegan (N. J.)—I desire to amend Article 11, Section 1. Under the present law there is no provision for the election of officers in the central labor unions. My amendment reads: "The election of officers in central bodies and state bodies shall be conducted by roll call, an open vote the same as elections are conducted by the American Federation of Labor."

President Gompers—The chair asks Delegate Keegan whether in offering an amendment to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, affecting all the central bodies in America, or so radically changing a procedure, it would not be better that the amendment be made part of the record and during the year give the officers and delegates of the rank and file an opportunity to see what is con-

tained in the amendment so that it may have the consideration of the convention in 1913?

After a brief discussion Delegate Keegan agreed to accept the suggestion of President Gompers.

Resolution No. 9—By Hair Spinners Union, No. 12353:

WHEREAS, We, Hair Spinners Protective Union 12353, A. F. of L., do consider the strike benefits paid by the American Federation of Labor too small compared with the high cost of living, high prices for wearing apparel and so on, and we think we can get better results in case of trouble if a higher benefit is paid, for we find when the money runs down some of the persons on strike or lockout become indifferent to their obligations and duty; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Section 5 of Article XIII of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by striking out four (\$4.00) dollars per week for each member and inserting six (\$6.00) dollars per week for each member.

A majority of the committee recommends concurrence, after which Sec. 5 Article III. will read as follows:

Sec. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to six (\$6) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safe-keeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

Minority Report of Committee on Laws on Resolution No. 9:

That the entire subject matter of resolution No. 9 be referred to the executive council for investigation, and if the executive council after the proper investigation has been made believe that the strike benefit paid to federal unions ought to be increased, that the council recommend same to the next convention.

DANIEL J. TOBIN,  
JAMES P. EGAN,  
J. C. SKEMP,  
T. A. HANSON,  
CHARLES A. SUMNER,  
S. E. HEBERLING.

Delegate Tobin—I move that the minority report be adopted by the convention. (Seconded.)

Delegate Barnes—I move that the majority report be adopted, with this amendment, that in place of six dollars it be made five dollars.

Delegate Gallagher (A. J.)—I arise to a point of order. The question is to refer the minority report, and the majority report is not before the house.

The point was declared well taken.

The question was discussed by Delegate Barnes, Delegate Tobin (D. J.) and Secretary Morrison.

The motion to adopt the minority report was carried.

Delegate Egan continued the report as follows:

The following portion of the Executive Council's report to this convention was referred to this committee:

#### ORGANIZERS' SALARIES.

The Atlanta Convention considered a resolution for the amendment of section 7, article IX of the constitution, relating to the salaries of organizers, the proposed amendment being to:

"Strike out the figures \$5.00 per day and insert the figures \$6.00 per day on line 4."

The matter was referred to the Executive Council with power to act. Owing to the fact that the funds were not then available to meet the proposed added expenditure which would thereby be entailed, we finally decided in favor of the proposition, the amendment to go into effect January 1, 1913. When considering this amendment, it was also decided that where organizers for any specific trade are employed by the A. F. of L. to perform special trade organizing work, that such organizers shall receive the stipulated salary as provided by the national or international union in whose interest the work is being performed, provided, however, that such salary does not exceed \$6.00 per day.

The committee recommends concurrence, after which Sec. 7, Art. IX, would read as follows:

The remuneration for loss of time by members of the Executive Council, organizers, or speakers engaged by them, shall be \$6.00 per day, hotel expense and actual railroad fare.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Egan—The matter was referred to the Atlanta convention, with instructions to the Executive Council to take such action as they deemed best.

Treasurer Lennon—This matter was acted upon definitely at Atlanta and was referred to the Executive Council with power to make the raise. At the last meeting of the Executive Council, under that power, the raise was made to go into effect the first day of January. It is simply changing the law to conform to

what has already been done by the Executive Council under the authorization of the Atlanta convention.

Delegate Norman asked if it meant six dollars a day and expenses? Upon being answered in the affirmative he spoke briefly in opposition to the change.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

**Resolution No. 88—By Delegate Steve C. Summer of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:**

Amend Article VII. by inserting a new section, to be known as Section 5, as follows:

"The Secretary shall, on the first day of each quarter of the fiscal year of the Federation, forward to the Secretary of each State Federation recognized as such by the A. F. of L., a sum equal to one-half cent per member per month for every union man connected with the A. F. of L., either direct or through affiliation, in such state jurisdiction."

Renumber Section 5, Article VII, by making same new Section 6.

Renumber Section 6, Article VII, by making same new Section 7.

(Section 6, as now in effect, (new section 7), gives the Secretary full power to secure the data necessary to put the proposed change in full operation).

Amend Article X, Section 1, by striking out the words "one-half of one cent," in line five, and inserting the words "one and one-sixth" (thus collecting one-half cent per member per month for State Federations.)

The committee recommended nonconcurrency. On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 105—By Delegate Jacob Tazelaar of the Brotherhood of Painters:**

WHEREAS, It is generally believed that the work of this Federation is carried on in the "open" and that there are no secrets in the management of its affairs, because such statements are made by officials representing this Federation, and

WHEREAS, Some people may be in doubt as to the truth of these statements and assurances; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended to read as follows:

Adding new section to Article IX.

All matter coming before the Executive Council shall be reported by said Executive Council in the American Federationist in issue following the Executive Council session, or such matter as from time to time shall be submitted to the members thereof for a vote, the report so appearing shall record the name of each member voting in the affirmative, negative or those not voting. National, state, central and federal unions in affiliation to receive a transcript of the

minutes of the meeting over the signature of the President and Secretary.

The committee recommended nonconcurrency.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 106—By Delegate Jacob Tazelaar of the Brotherhood of Painters:**

RESOLVED, That permanent organizers known as general organizers or salaried general organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall at future conventions be elected instead of appointed by the members of the Executive Council or upon their request.

Your committee non-concurs, as we believe a convention is less qualified to pass on the abilities of organizers, and their especial fitness for certain work, than is the executive council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 111—By Delegate Duncan McDonald of the United Mine Workers:**

In the recent past a general complaint has been made against the autocratic powers exercised by presiding officers in many Legislatures and in the United States Congress.

This complaint has been so general that the American people have been aroused to action, and are now demanding a more democratic form of government as evidenced in the recent general election, and the slogan, "Let the People Rule," demonstrates that the people are insistent in these demands.

WHEREAS, the American Federation of Labor, representing some 1,000,000 members, are expected to play its part in this matter; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention set an example by amending Section 3, Article 3, by substituting therefore the following:

Section 3. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be elected by the delegates to the convention in the following manner: On the first day of the convention, each delegate to the Convention shall be provided with blanks on which to record their choice for members of the various committees by inserting on a blank line opposite the name of the respective committees the number of their choice, the fifteen delegates receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected to the respective committees, providing that no two members of said committee shall represent the same organization, and no delegate shall serve more than one committee. In the event anyone so elected shall be unable to serve, the one receiving the next highest number of votes shall be declared elected in his stead.

The names of the committees and the balance of this section to remain as at present.

The committee recommended nonconcurrency. On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The following portion of the Executive Council's report to this convention was referred to this committee:

The Executive Council has had under consideration a suggestion of our President and in which we not only concur, but recommend for adoption. Under the system which has prevailed in our Federation since its inception, the laws have required that the President, Secretary, Treasurer and the Executive Council shall each submit a report to our annual conventions. By reason of this custom it has frequently occurred that many of the subjects with which these officers have dealt in their reports have been duplicated and, in some instances, triplicated. This feature is not necessarily an evil, though it may be a lack of conserving the time of the conventions. But quite apart from this feature, though it has not arisen in the past, there is a likelihood of its occurring in the future, of individual conflicting expression of judgment and recommendation. It is the opinion of the Executive Council, in which all its members concur, that the report submitted to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor should be the expression of the judgment of the collective opinion of the men entrusted with the affairs of labor rather than any individual judgment of any individual officer thereof. We hold that the organized labor movement, as represented in the American Federation of Labor, is an entity and after a thorough discussion of all the subjects which come under the consideration of our conventions, there should be reported to the following conventions of the American Federation of Labor not only the activities of its executive and fiduciary officers, but the combined report of the activities of the expression of judgment and of the recommendations to the convention.

It is therefore the unanimous recommendation of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. that our laws be so changed as to eliminate from the Constitution and the custom, the requirement that either the President, the Secretary, or the Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor shall report individually to the future conventions, and that the reports or recommendations of the President, Secretary and Treasurer shall, after scrutiny and determination, be incorporated in or become a part of the report of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. We recommend that this subject matter be referred to the Committee on Laws of this Convention for its consideration and report to this Convention.

Your committee concurs in the above recommendation, and recommends the following changes in the constitution to make said concurrence effective:

Amend Sec. 3, Art. III, by striking out all reference to the president's, secretary's and treasurer's reports, after which said section would read as follows:

Sec. 3, Art. III—The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local or Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organizations; eleventh, Boycotts; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades).

Amend Sec. 2, Art. VI, by striking out that part which provides the President shall "report his acts and doing to the annual convention of the Federation." If amended, the section will read.

Sec. 2, Art. VI—The President shall submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation, and shall report to the annual convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council.

Amend Sec. 4, Art. VII, by providing that the Secretary shall report to annual conventions through the Executive Council. If amended, the section will read:

Sec. 4, Art. VII—The Secretary shall give a bond of \$2,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and shall report to the annual convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive such sum as the annual convention may determine, payable weekly.

Amend Sec. 3, Art. VIII, by providing that the Treasurer shall report to annual conventions through the Executive Council. If amended, the section will read:

Sec. 3, Art. VIII—The Treasurer shall submit to the annual convention, through the report of the Executive Council, a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the Federation under his control; and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be \$500.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Harvey Garman of the Denver Trades and Labor Assembly:**

**Amend Article XI of the Constitution, by adding thereto a new section, to be known as Section 11, to read as follows:**

Section 11. Local central labor unions, state federations, or other central body of delegates, shall incorporate into their constitutions the following provisions: Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the yeas and nays is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof he represents. The secretary of each local central body, state federation or other central body of delegates shall prepare for use of each such organization, printed roll call lists, containing the number of votes the delegates are each entitled to, based upon the membership upon which per capita tax has been paid during the year by their respective unions.

The committee recommended nonconcurrency. On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 43—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of the San Francisco Labor Council:**

**Amend Section 12 of Article IX to read as follows:**

Section 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated national or international union, a central labor body or a state federation when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll-call vote.

**Amend Section 1 of Article XI to read as follows:**

Section 1. No central labor union, or any other central body of delegates shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, national or international, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with a national or international organization of their trade herein affiliated, under penalty of having their charter revoked by the next convention, as provided in Section 12 of Article IX.

The committee reported as follows:

The logical application of these amendments, if adopted, would be that between conventions any central body or state federation would be unhampered in its admission of all sorts of rival, dual, secession or antagonistic organizations. While your committee is in accord with the efforts of the movers of the resolution to minimize friction incidental to unfortunate jurisdiction disputes, we be-

lieve the remedy proposed would have an opposite effect from that intended, and would cover a wider field than the authors of Resolution No. 43 contemplated. Your committee non-concurs in the resolution.

Delegate Scharrenberg and Delegate Gallagher (A. J.) opposed the report of the committee.

The question was discussed by Treasurer Lennon, Vice-President Duncan and Delegate Comerford.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by a vote of 92 in the affirmative to 22 in the negative.

**Resolution No. 43—By Delegate James P. Holland, Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity.**

WHEREAS, The ultimate aim of the labor movement is industrial emancipation, which means the abolition of wage-slavery and voluntary servitude;

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated state federations have devoted their energies to the enactment of national, state and territorial labor laws as well as to the embodying of provisions for the protection of labor in several state constitutions;

WHEREAS, The decisions of the United States Supreme Court in injunction and labor cases have conclusively shown that there are provisions in the Federal constitution which have erected a wall for the protection of capitalist interests as against the interest of the toiling millions, and that no thoroughly effective and beneficial labor legislation can be secured unless the United States constitution be so amended as to wipe out the two classes of master and servant, as provided thereunder at present;

WHEREAS, Logically and inevitably the next great step in the struggle of the oppressed to secure the recognition of rights to which the toiling millions of our country are justly entitled, is the demand and propagandism for a labor amendment to the United States constitution, ordaining that neither wage-slavery nor voluntary servitude shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction, and embodying the legislative demands of the American Federation of Labor, which shall bring about the industrial emancipation of all toilers; and

WHEREAS, A petition to Congress, being primarily a petition to the American people, is circulated and has been endorsed by the representative bodies of organized labor in New York City and New York State, which petition reads as follows:

The Honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress Assembled.

Gentlemen:  
The undersigned constituents petition your honorable bodies to propose to the

legislatures of the several states the following article as an amendment to the constitution of the United States.

And your petitioners will ever pray, etc.

### ARTICLE XVII.

Section I. Neither wage-slavery nor voluntary servitude shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Sec. II. The Congress shall have power:

1. To acquire all lands, forests, watersheds, lakes, rivers, mines, oil wells, quarries, railroads, ferries, bridges, marines, telegraphs, telephones, express services, and all movable, and immovable, means of production, transport, exchange, distribution and communication.

2. To regulate private services, agriculture, intrastate commerce, imports and exports; and to provide for the occupation of all persons who are able to work in such work as they are qualified to perform, and for the care of all persons who are unable to work.

3. To establish the prices of all commodities, a uniform work day, a uniform scale of compensation for work and services, a uniform educational, and sanitary, system, so as to prevent the jeopardy of life and limb, and to protect the health, of all persons engaged in agricultural, industrial, commercial, and vocational pursuits; but sumptuary legislation shall be prohibited within the jurisdiction of the United States.

4. To regulate all money, banking, savings, and insurance institutions; but the delegation of power to issue currency shall be prohibited, and all treasury notes of the United States shall be legal tender.

5. To establish a uniform rate of interest, not exceeding two per centum per annum, and to regulate the payment of all interest-bearing public and private debts, loans, liens, and mortgages; and thereafter all interest-bearing debts, loans, liens, and mortgages shall be prohibited.

6. To restore to the people all lands and franchises alienated from the people; and thereafter the alienation of lands and franchises from the people shall be prohibited.

7. To establish uniform rules for all National, State, County, Communal, and Industrial, elections; but the right of the citizens of the United States, being twenty-one years of age, to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, creed, or sex.

8. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and for enforcing the provisions of this article.

Resolved, By the American Federation of Labor in the thirty-second annual convention assembled, that the representatives in Congress be and hereby are authorized to introduce in Congress said petition for a labor amendment to the United States constitution, when offered them by their signers.

The committee reported as follows:

While there are some declarations in the above that are favored by the American Federation of Labor, and which have long been urged by this body, they are only incidental to other declarations heretofore unheard of, and which ask us to favor the regulation of private services, to establish the prices of all commodities, a uniform scale of compensation for work and services, etc., etc. The adoption of these sentiments would mean the abandonment of our fundamental principle that workers own their own labor power, and that they alone, acting as individuals or in voluntary associations, have the sole right to set the price and bargain for same. Your committee non-concurs with the resolution.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate Fred W. Holt of Arkansas Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, It has been demonstrated time and time again that it is absolutely necessary for the workers to be more closely united in order to more successfully combat the combination of the employing class; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we declare for an amendment to the Constitution of the A. F. of L. that Article 2, Section 2, be amended by adding the following: "National and International Trades Unions shall have the right to amalgamate; such amalgamation must be endorsed by a referendum vote of the organizations affected. A two-thirds affirmative vote of the members voting on such amalgamation in each organization shall be necessary to make the amalgamation legal and binding."

The committee reported as follows:

The above resolution indirectly charges the American Federation of Labor with denying the right of national and international unions to amalgamate, unite or associate in any manner they elect. Against this charge we enter a most emphatic protest, and express surprise that any trade unionist is unconscious of the continued efforts of the American Federation of Labor toward the complete federation of workers. The resolution further intends to destroy a majority rule in these matters, and substitute a two-thirds decision. Your committee non-concurs.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

Treasurer Lennon—That completes the report of the committee, and I move that

the constitution be adopted as a whole as amended.

The motion was seconded and carried by more than a two-thirds vote of the delegates.

The report was signed by the committee in full:

JOHN B. LENNON, Chairman,  
JAMES P. EGAN, Secretary,  
J. C. SKEMP,  
DANIEL J. TOBIN,  
ROADY KENEHAN,  
T. A. HANSON,  
S. E. HEBERLING,  
JAS. H. SULLIVAN,  
JOSEPH MORTON,  
HARVEY GARMAN,  
THOS. RUMSEY,  
STEPHEN SUMNER,  
CHAS. A. SUMNER,  
DENNIS HEALEY,  
JAMES STARR,

Committee on Laws.

#### **Report of Committee on Building Trades.**

Delegate McNulty, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 126—By Frank H. McCarthy of the Boston Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The Boston Building Trades Section, a once powerful organization has been literally torn to pieces, and rendered almost useless as a labor organization by various of the building trades locals having withdrawn therefrom, and

WHEREAS, Some of the building trades locals that have withdrawn, have formed a dual building trades organization and has ordered and engaged in strikes against attempts of the regular Building Trades Section to enforce American Federation of Labor laws and decisions; and

WHEREAS, The Boston Central Labor Union has been compelled to suspend from membership some sixteen local unions in an effort to protect the Building Trades Section of Boston, and enforce A. F. of L. laws; and

WHEREAS, All these local unions refuse to affiliate with the Boston Building Trades Section, and the dual building trades organization is still in active existence, thereby demoralizing not only the regular Building Trades Section of Boston, but all organized labor of Boston and vicinity, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be directed to immediately take such action as will cause a conference of representatives of all international unions concerned to be held in Boston at which conference a representative of the American Federation shall be present, the purpose of the conference being to end the present de-

plorable condition of affairs in the Boston Central Labor Union and the Boston Building Trades Section. The unions withdrawn from the Building Trades Section and unseated in the Boston Central Labor Union are, eleven unions of Brotherhood of Carpenters, three Unions of Brotherhood of Painters, Iron Workers Union, Iron Building Laborers Union.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted:

Secretary McNulty—Resolutions No. 66 and No. 30, which deal with the same question, were acted upon by your committee together.

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate Sol Sontheimer, Hartford, Conn., C. L. U.:

WHEREAS, There exists in the city of Hartford a condition in the labor movement wholly at variance with the best interests of the movement, to wit: In this city there is a Central Labor Union, working under a charter of the American Federation of Labor, living up to and abiding by the rules, laws and regulations of the American Federation of Labor; there also exists an independent organization known as the Building Structural Alliance, composed of the Brotherhood of Joiners and Carpenters, United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, an independent union of Mason Tenders and the Bricklayers Union, all the other building trades crafts being affiliated with the Hartford Central Labor Union, which has perfected a Building Trades Council, but for unknown reasons the aforesaid unions refuse to affiliate with the council recognized by the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That, we the delegates in convention assembled, request the Executive Council to use their best endeavors, with the national and international unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, to request their local unions to affiliate themselves with central labor unions, which are chartered under the American Federation of Labor to the end, that the deplorable situation existing in Hartford, Conn., may be brought to a speedy end.

Resolution No. 56 — By Delegate Sol Sontheimer, Hartford, Conn., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, There are several local unions in the city of Hartford, Conn., to wit: the painters, decorators and paperhangers, the sheet metal workers, the slate and tile roofers, the bridge and structural iron workers, the tile layers and helpers, the wood, wire and metal lathers affiliated with their internationals, which are in turn affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and with the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. and with the Building Trades Council of this city, and there are other local unions that are eligible, namely, those of the United Association of Plumbers, Gas



Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers and of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, but which persistently refuse to affiliate with the local Building Trades Council; and

WHEREAS, The local Council has, for more than two years, used every endeavor to get these locals to affiliate, having had the co-operation of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. and of the American Federation of Labor itself, which delegated Special Organizer Henry Streifler to assist in persuading these delinquent locals to affiliate and yet they persistently refuse to do so, meeting every friendly advance with contempt; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we report said action on their part to the convention of the American Federation of Labor and request that a strong protest be sent directly from the convention of the A. F. of L., in session at Rochester, N. Y., to the delinquent locals, condemning them for their reactionary attitude towards the local Building Trades Council of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L.; and be it

RESOLVED, That we request the said convention to urge the forthcoming convention of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor to take drastic measures with said delinquent locals, to the end that they may be shown that in the event of their more persistent non-affiliation with the local Council, their charters shall become endangered.

The committee offers the following as a substitute for the two resolutions:

RESOLVED, That this convention recommend to and urge the Building Trades Department, the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters Helpers, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners to each send a representative to Hartford, Conn., not later than Feb. 1st, 1913, to take up jointly with the unions involved the grievances that are responsible for the existing situation in Hartford with the end in view that there will be but one central labor union and one building Trades Council in the city of Hartford, Conn., and each to be affiliated with the A. F. of L. and B. T. D.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate George E. Norman, Omaha, Neb., C. L. U.:

WHEREAS, The Building Trades Council of Omaha, Neb., is not chartered by the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, The conditions in the building trades of that city are very unsatisfactory to the C. L. U. and hindering it in improving the conditions of the workmen of Omaha; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention request the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. to send a representative to Omaha, Neb., at an early date to organize a local Building Trades Council

under the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L., and in conformity with the laws of the A. F. of L.

The committee recommended concurrence, and that the Building Trades Department be requested to send an organizer to Omaha as soon as possible.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary McNulty—This concludes the report of your Building Trades Committee.

Respectfully submitted,  
WM. D. HUBER, Chairman,  
F. J. McNULTY, Secretary,  
EDW. J. MCGIVERN,  
WM. H. JOHNSTON,  
FRANK FEENEY,  
D. D'ALESSANDRO,  
GEO. F. HEDRICK,  
WM. J. TRACEY,  
W. J. MCSORLEY,  
F. C. GENGENBACK,  
THOS. J. WILLIAMS,  
JAMES GARVEY,  
JAMES H. SHORT,  
M. O'SULLIVAN,  
FRANK E. THOMAN.

#### Report of Committee on Boycotts.

Delegate Margaret Daily, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 60—By A. A. Myrup, Henry Koch and J. Goldstone of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America:

WHEREAS, The Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America for the past nineteen months has been engaged in a life and death struggle against the non-union monopolization of the bread industry by what is known as the various gigantic baking concerns, such as the Ward Baking Company, operating in localities of such cities as New York, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Boston and Providence, and are the non-union manufacturers of what is known as the "Tip-Top" bread, and another component part of the bread trust known as the General Baking Company, operating at present in the localities of over thirty of the larger cities and are the non-union manufacturers of various brands of bread, such as "Pan Dandy," "Butter Crust," "Mighty Nice"; and

WHEREAS, Persons financially backing this bread trust and the methods used by this combination are identical with persons financially interested in the steel trust, and the methods used (such as the welfare plan) are a duplicate of those used in the steel industry to successfully exterminate organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The intended non-union monopolization of the bread industry, if successfully accomplished, will not alone mean the exclusion of all organized labor

from the bread industry, but will also thereby place at the mercy of the magnates of the bread trust the bread consuming public and dictate to them under which terms and at what prices they shall eat bread, the main staff of life; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, denounce this intended monopolization of the bread industry, and that it endorses the anti-bread trust fight now being waged against the bread trust by the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor pledges itself to do all it consistently can to assist the Bakery Workers to create a healthy public sentiment in opposition to this non-union bread trust monopoly, to which end the President of the American Federation of Labor be directed to issue a letter containing this resolution to all international and national unions, state and city central bodies, and affiliated unions, the labor press, and to the organizers of the American Federation of Labor, requesting that they give their assistance and support to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America in the anti-bread trust fight conducted by this organization.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for the purpose of directing such action as it believes will be most helpful to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers in this struggle.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Goldstone discussed the question briefly, referring to the conditions in the bakery industry and the struggle of the workers against the bread trust.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 76**—By Delegate H. J. Pfeiffer, of the Indiana State Federation of Labor:

**WHEREAS**, Members of Machinists Local 161, International Association of Machinists have been and are now on strike at the plant of the E. C. Atkins Saw Manufacturing Company of Indianapolis, Indiana, since August, 1911, for the right to organize and recognition of their organizations; and

**WHEREAS**, Every honorable effort has been made by the Indianapolis Central Labor Union, the Indianapolis Building Trades and Metal Trades Councils, the Indiana State Federation of Labor, as well as the American Federation of Labor through organizer John Lewis, to reach an amicable adjustment of this trouble, but without success, this being due to the fact that the said firm of E. C.

Atkins Saw Mfg. Company through its president, Mr. H. C. Atkins has positively refused on all occasions to enter into any kind of an agreement that carries with it the recognition of the unions, but he (Mr. Atkins) has on a number of occasions made the open declaration that he was running his shop on the so-called "Open Shop" basis, and that he intended to continue to do so in the future; be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled pledges itself to do all in its power to continue to assist in this struggle for the right of the employees of the E. C. Atkins Saw Mfg. Company to organize and the recognition of their organization and that the Executive Council stand instructed to do whatever lies within their power to bring about the desired results and to carry this resolve into effect.

The committee reported as follows: Your committee concurs in the resolution and recommends that the Executive Council do all in its power to assist in organizing the E. C. Atkins plant at Indianapolis, Indiana.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Daily—This concludes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

D. A. HAYES, Chairman,  
JAMES B. CONNORS,  
TIMOTHY HEALY,  
THOS. S. FARRELL,  
FRANK J. HAYES,  
A. J. KUGLER,  
J. F. WINCKLER,  
ALEX. ARCHIE,  
A. M. SCHWARTZ,  
FRANK O'BRIEN,  
JOS. SMITH,  
TOM CAVANAUGH,  
WM. J. COOK,  
B. F. LAMB,  
MARGARET C. DAILY,

Secretary,

Committee on Boycotts.

#### **Report of Committee on State Organizations.**

Vice President Alpine, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "The Arizona and New Mexico State Constitutions," the committee reports as follows:

Your committee commends the action of President Gompers and the Executive Council in sending organizers to New Mexico for the purpose of aiding in securing the amendment to the constitution for the state, which would permit the legislature to submit proposed amendments to the constitution

to a referendum vote of the citizens of New Mexico.

We trust and recommend that efforts in this direction will continue to the end that the results gained may be extended through the statutory and organic laws in all of the states.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 115—** By Delegates John P. White, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, Duncan McDonald, Wm. Green and J. H. Walker of the United Mine Workers of America:

WHEREAS, There exists among the workers employed in the mining and iron industries of West Virginia, Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Colorado, certain sections of Pennsylvania and other states, unusually bad conditions and in all of these industries very low wages are paid; and

WHEREAS, Particularly in the coal mining sections of West Virginia, inhuman and barbarous methods are resorted to by certain coal operators to keep their employes from becoming organized and thus hold them, if not in actual servitude and slavery, at least in a condition approaching thereto; and

WHEREAS, One of the methods used is to maintain in the mining villages a large force of hired guards, commonly called "Baldwin Detectives," who brutalize and terrorize the miners and their families most shamefully, and whose viciousness and disregard for law and human life have been so flagrant as to attract the attention of both press and public, and against which labor generally has most emphatically protested; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, First, That it is the sense of this convention that the organization of the workers in the states and industries herein named be pushed with unrelenting vigor until these intolerable conditions are completely changed;

Second, That we demand that the proper civil authorities having jurisdiction extend the protection of the law to the men, women and children living in the territory above named; disarm and drive out these private guards and prosecute wherever possible the men "higher up" who employ and import into peaceable communities these squads of ruffians, criminals and thugs;

Third, We demand wherever necessary the enactment of laws to effectually prohibit the employment of guards or detectives by employers of labor during strikes or labor disputes.

Fourth, That the Executive Council make an investigation in the industries

within the several states herein named for the purpose of ascertaining to what extent peonage is practiced, and to what extent the state and federal laws are violated in the importation and employment of bodies of armed men under the guise of guards or detectives.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution. On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Alpine—That completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted, and signed.

JOHN R. ALPINE,  
G. W. FRING,  
C. N. GLOVER,  
THOMAS VAN LEAR,  
ABRAHAM ROSENBERG,  
J. L. LANIGAN,  
FRANK BUTTERWORTH,  
H. S. MARSHALL,  
WILLIAM KELLY.

President Gompers—You will observe that there has not been any proposition or resolution of any character brought to this convention but has had the consideration of a committee of the convention and the consideration of this convention.

Vice-President Duncan—I move that the president of the American Federation of Labor in person carry the fraternal greetings of this convention to the convention of the Building Trades Department, which is to begin its sessions next Monday here in Rochester. (Seconded and carried.)

Before leaving the convention, Fraternal Delegate Bruce of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress thanked the delegates and officers for the kindness and courtesies extended him, and spoke of the valuable information he had received during the sessions of the convention.

Mr. Joseph Buchanan of New York was given the privilege of the floor, and in behalf of the newspaper correspondents thanked the delegates and officers for the uniform courtesy that had been extended to them during the sessions of the Federation.

President Gompers made a brief address before closing the convention.

At 9.30 p. m., Saturday, November 23, the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was adjourned sine die.

*Peter Bohrer, Jr.*

Assistant Secretary of Convention.

*Frank Morrison*  
Secretary American Federation of Labor.

55M-615



LaFayette, Ind. November-30-1912.

Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:-

President Hedrick informs me that the report of the proceedings of the last day of the Rochester Convention, of which I have not yet received a copy, show me as voting for Delegate Hayes for president of the Federation. This is an error as my vote was cast for President Gompers. Some of the delegates of the Brotherhood voted for Delegate Hayes and presumably this is the way in which the error occurred.

Fraternally yours,

Sk.-W

RECEIVED DEC 2 - 1912  
J. C. Skemp, G. S.-T.

ANSWERED  
DEC 4 1912



# INDEX.

	Page.
American Federation of Labor exhibit, San Francisco, 1915	56, 261, 262
office building	157, 347
Addresses of welcome	1-4
Affiliation with American Federation of Labor, an obligation upon every bona fide international union	106
Alameda County, California, Central Labor Council, report of revocation of charter, and appeal therefrom	95, 96, 121, 342-343
American Federationist	57, 58, 83, 267
Appointments of assistants for conventions	8
Arbitration Law, Federal—compulsory arbitration	30, 313, 314
Arizona State constitution, political measures affecting provision for judiciary recall	140, 405, 406
Arizona State Federation of Labor greetings	194
Atkins, E. C., Saw Company—Machinists' dispute, Resolution 76	213, 405
Autonomy declaration, Scranton Convention	114, 115, 265, 266

## B

Badge, Banner, and Regalia Workers, New York City, request moral assistance to organize trade, Resolution 75	213, 393
Badges distributed	11
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' application for assistance in struggle with Bread Trust, Resolution 60	190, 191, 404, 405
Banking system giving wage-workers credit at cost, for creation of, Resolution 7	90, 91, 378
Belmont County, Ohio, Trades and Labor Assembly, delegate seated	180
Benefits paid by international unions	71, 72
Birmingham, Ala., application for A. F. of L. organizer for, Resolution 42	183, 390, 391
Blacksmiths—Tunnel and Subway Employes, report of agreement entered into between	118
Boiler inspectors, Federal, and results of inspection, report of appointments of	46, 47, 346
Boilermakers—Bridge and Structural Iron Workers dispute be declared binding upon both organizations, proposition that Vice-President Duncan's award in, Resolution 81	214, 327, 328
Boot and Shoe Workers' request for action to assist adjustment of dispute with W. H. McElwain Company, Resolution 90	236, 237, 394
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Montreal, defection from independent	16
Boston, Mass., building trades unions, providing for conference looking to adjusting division in ranks of, Resolution 126	246, 403
Boy scout movement, report of Executive Council on	157-161, 259
Bricklayers and Masons International Union to affiliate with American Federation of Labor, invitation to	105
Brickmakers—Steam Engineers controversy over men operating electric machines in brick yards, E. C. report on	119, 326, 327
Brickmakers—Steam Engineers controversy over men operating electric machines in brick yards, Resolution 74	212, 213, 326, 327
British labor movement	194-198, 201-211
bank, proposed, to be controlled by unions	197
British Trades Union Congress, business administration of	195
British Trades Union Congress to be represented in Canadian Trades Congress	198
clerks, retail, and bar assistants, half-holiday for	207
Co-operative movement, growth, benefits and special features	198, 205
cost of living, increase in	194
eight-hour workday legislation, probability of	196, 197, 208
Government ownership of mines and railways, proposed	204, 205

British labor movement—Continued.		Page.
Home Rule Bill.....		196
hours and wages.....	194, 206	
housing conditions of workers.....	205	
Industrial federation developing.....	197	
Insurance act, National.....	196, 205, 208	
Labor Party.....	195, 208	
label campaign proposed.....	195	
membership, growth in.....	194	
Mines Act, Coal.....	209	
Miners' International Federation, benefits of.....	194, 206	
Miners' minimum wage law.....	196, 202, 203	
Newspapers, daily, issued by organized labor.....	197, 210	
peace, international, for.....	197, 206, 210	
political action.....	195, 205, 207	
shorter workday agitation.....	194	
syndicalism rebuked by Trades Congress.....	197	
textile workers, female, receive higher wages than same labor in U. S.....	194	
wages and selling prices, relation of.....	204	
Wages Boards.....	208	
war, against.....	206, 210	
women workers' wages and hours.....	194	
workmen's compensation.....	209, 210	
Bronx, N. Y., Labor Council credential.....	180, 249	
Bryant, Lewis T., lecture on devices promotive of safety and health.....	266	
Buchanan, Joseph, addresses convention.....	406	
Buffalo, N. Y., United Trades and Labor Council re retaining dual millwrights, electrical workers, and wood workers, charges against, Resolution 23.....	99, 100, 321, 322	
Building Trades Department, report of.....	19, 20	
Carpenters, Amalgamated, declared ineligible.....	19	
Electrical Workers, seceding, disciplined.....	19	
Marble, Mosaic Workers organized with Tile Layers.....	20	
Membership and funds.....	19	
Plasterers' status in Department.....	20	
Steamfitters—qualification for affiliation enforced.....	19, 20	
Building Trades Department convention, President Gompers to convey A. F. of L. greetings to.....	406	
Building Trades Department decisions, question as to authority of E. C., A. F. of L. to reverse.....	328, 329	
Burns, W. J., Detective Agency, Government report on operations of.....	151-154	
Button Workers, Muscatine, Iowa, strike, report on.....	122	

## C

Canadian labor movement.....	15-17, 199, 200, 215-220
Canadian Trades Congress president to devote full time to Congress.....	200
Carpenters controversy, attitude on.....	200, 215
Combines Act corresponding to Sherman Anti-Trust law.....	219
immigration problem.....	215, 216, 217
Industrial Investigation Act unsatisfactory.....	217
Industrial unionism declaration not related to industrial organization.....	218
iron and steel industry, conditions in.....	218, 219
Lemieux Act, declaration of Canadian Congress against.....	200
membership, increase in.....	199, 216, 217
migratory workers.....	218
mine and steel districts, situation in.....	16
National movement.....	16, 216, 217
property qualifications for candidates for municipal offices abolished in Quebec Province.....	17
Street Railway Employees, Ontario, shorter workday and one day's rest for.....	16
workmen's compensation.....	217, 218
Carpenters, Amalgamated, report of revocation of charter of.....	107-111

	Page.
Carpenters and Wood Workers, amalgamation, report on.....	107
Carpenters, Brotherhood, with Building Trades Department, reaffiliation of.....	107
Carpet Mechanics Union, San Francisco, with Upholsterers, to enforce affiliation of, Resolution 22.....	94, 95, 321
Carriage and Wagon Workers, application for organizer for, Resolution 19.....	94, 389
Carriage and Wagon Workers of agreement with Blacksmiths, charges of violation by, Resolution 17.....	93, 320, 321
Cement Workers' change in delegate.....	180, 313
Central bodies and state federations, proposition to amend A. F. of L. constitution by adding new section regulating voting basis of unions in, Resolution 41.....	182, 183, 401
Central bodies and state federations, proposition to amend A. F. of L. constitution by providing that it shall require a two-thirds roll-call vote of a regular convention to revoke charters of, Resolution 43.....	183, 401
Central bodies be made compulsory, providing that representation of locals in, Resolutions 3 and 122.....	90, 245, 397
Central bodies, proposition for roll-call vote for election of officers of.....	397, 398
Charters.....	14, 63, 80
Charts showing growth in membership and various classes of organizations.....	81, 82
Child labor and Children's Bureau.....	40, 345
Chinese Exclusion Act amendment.....	39, 40, 344, 345
Chinese Exclusion Act to exclude all races native of Asia, to extend, Resolution 73.....	212, 355
Cigarmakers Union, New Haven, greetings.....	194
Clerks, Retail, delegate seated.....	215
Clerks, Retail, strike.....	356
Commercial Telegraphers, application for assistance to organize, Resolution 33.....	102, 389, 390
change in delegate.....	249
Commission on Industrial Relations, representatives of organized labor recommended for appointment on.....	136, 137, 348
Committees:	
Adjustment.....	10, 315, 320
Auditing.....	193
Boycotts.....	10, 404
Building Trades.....	10, 403
Credentials.....	4-8, 96, 214, 249, 269, 313, 374
Education.....	10, 262
Labels.....	10, 259, 396
Law.....	10, 397
Local and Federated Bodies.....	10, 249, 250
Organization.....	10, 384
President's report.....	10, 313, 344, 354
Resolutions.....	10, 250, 362, 378
Rules and Order of Business.....	10, 88, 89
Secretary's report.....	10, 259
State organization.....	10, 405
Treasurer's report.....	10, 249
Compulsory arbitration.....	30, 313, 314
Conservation of natural resources, activity of Federation in movement for.....	141, 266
"Conspiracy" trials, relative to financial assistance for men indicted in.....	348, 349
Contempt case against Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell, and Morrison, report of progress of.....	124-129, 348
Contempt cases shall be tried before juries, Clayton Bill providing that indirect.....	38, 349
Convention committees by delegates to the conventions, providing for election of A. F. of L., Resolution 111.....	240, 241, 399
Convict contract labor system.....	44-46, 252, 253, 346
Convicts on public roads, Tennessee, to endorse measure providing for employment of, Resolution 80.....	214, 252
Coopers' struggle with Standard Oil Co., request for action to assist, Resolution 95.....	237, 238, 394, 395

D

Darrow trial.....	154, 155
Decisions of A. F. of L. to be enforced by affiliated bodies.....	121, 122, 343
Delegates to central bodies and state federations be required to show that not less than three articles of their wearing apparel bear union labels, providing that, Resolution 35.....	102, 103, 250



	Page.
Department of Labor, Senators to be requested to vote favorably on bill creating, Resolution 99.....	238, 355
Department of Labor, to recommend appointment of representative of organized labor as Secretary of proposed, Resolution 62.....	191, 258
Departments of wearing apparel and transportation trades not organized on account of opposition of a majority of the unions.....	106, 107
Dietz, Peter, Rev., address of.....	222, 223
Diseases resulting from occupations, States requiring reports on.....	52, 53, 347
District of Columbia, organized labor to assist in securing right of suffrage for people of, Resolution 16.....	93, 251
Dix, John A., Governor, communication from.....	9
Dredge contracts, to endorse bill providing for eight-hour day in all government, Resolution 98.....	238, 355, 356

## E

Egan, Delegate, explains statement made in connection with discussion of industrial unionism.....	359
Eight-hour law, order of U. S. Attorney-General re enforcement of.....	34
Eight-hour law extension.....	35, 36, 344
benefits already realized from.....	36, 37
Election of, convention city.....	377, 378
fraternal delegates.....	377
officers.....	374-377
Electrical Workers controversy, urging settlement, Resolution 129.....	247, 342, 343
Electrical Workers provisions for admission of seceding locals.....	120, 121
Employers liability and workmen's compensation.....	49-52, 346, 347
Executive Council, A. F. of L., hold open meetings, proposition to have, Resolution 108.....	240, 258
Executive Council, A. F. of L., report all matter coming before it in <i>American Federationist</i> with record of individual votes, proposing that, Resolution 105.....	239, 399

## F

Factory Investigating Commission, New York, endorsed and similar commissions recommended for other States, Resolution 104.....	239, 256
Farmers' convention, report of A. F. of L. fraternal delegate and recommendation for better co-operation.....	135
Fire department employees, to organize, Resolution 18.....	94, 388
Firemen, Stationary, request that Steam Engineers be instructed against infringing on jurisdiction of, Resolution 120.....	244, 245, 337-339
Flint Glass Workers, report on issuance of charter to.....	113, 114, 266
Flint Glass Workers, application for revocation of charter of, Resolution 25.....	100, 322
Flint Glass Workers credentials, protest against.....	8, 96, 97-99
Fraternal delegates, addresses of.....	201-211, 215-225, 387, 406
gifts to.....	318, 319
Funds of A. F. of L. in bank deposits secured by bond.....	157
Furriers Union, New York, greetings.....	335

## G

General Electric Company, Lynn, Mass., application for assistance to organize, Resolution 57.....	188, 391, 392
Glockling, Robert, expressing regret upon illness of, Resolution 131.....	312
Gloucester, Mass., request that member of E. C. visit, Resolution 21.....	94, 389
Gompers, President, response to addresses of fraternal delegates.....	227-230
refutation of newspaper report that he had expressed satisfaction at Congressman Berger's defeat.....	267, 268
Duncan McDonald's denial of newspaper story reflecting upon.....	356-358
Government employees' citizenship rights restored.....	42, 43, 345, 346

## H

Hartford, Conn., request for assistance to secure affiliation of building trades locals with bona fide central body and building trades council of, Resolutions 30 and 56.....	101, 102, 188, 403, 404
Hat and Cap Leather Sweatband Cutters Union affiliate with United Hatters, proposing that, Resolution 58.....	190, 326
Hatters, Case—Loewe suit.....	132, 276-308, 349-351, 352, 353

	Page.
Hawaii, to give citizen labor preference in all government work in, Resolution 65.....	211, 264
Health, National Department of, for endorsement of bill creating, Resolution 68.....	211, 264
Hebrew Workers, United, New York, greetings.....	10
Hodcarriers' extension of jurisdiction over street, sewer and tunnel laborers not to infringe on rights of Cement Workers, Resolution 109.....	240, 328
Hodcarriers' appeal relative to jurisdiction over laborers mixing concrete sustained.....	107, 328, 329
Home work, declaration of E. C. against.....	139, 266
Hudson County, N. J., Central Body credential protested.....	8, 96
I	
Illinois Central and Harriman lines employes strike, report on.....	122
Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strikes, appeal for voluntary financial assistance for, Resolution 26.....	100, 101, 378, 379
Immigrant head tax, increase in.....	40
Immigration.....	39, 40, 344, 345
Indianapolis, Ind., for next convention, invitations from.....	248, 378
Industrial education Federal bills and reference to special report prepared by C. H. Winslow.....	138, 139, 269-276, 309
Industrial organization, providing that A. F. of L. endorse, Resolution 116.....	243, 265, 266, 309-312, 379, 380
Industrial unionism.....	114-117, 264, 265
Industrial unionism, E. C. report on, to be printed in pamphlet form for general distribution, Resolution 102.....	239, 264, 265
Initiative, referendum and recall.....	40, 41, 345
Initiative and referendum in Federal constitution, favoring embodying, Resolutions 12 and 77.....	92, 213, 379
Initiative and referendum for election of A. F. of L. officers, report of E. C. on.....	162-179, 364-373
Initiative and referendum, favoring election of A. F. of L. officers by, Resolution 118.....	244, 364-373
Initiative and referendum, proposing method for election of A. F. of L. officers by, Resolution 112.....	241, 362-373
Initiative and referendum, proposing method for election of A. F. of L. officers by, Resolution 114.....	242, 363-373
Injunction rule, new, issued by U. S. Supreme Court regulating issuance of preliminary injunctions and temporary restraining orders.....	130, 131, 349
Injunctions in labor cases, efforts for enactment of bill to limit and define issuance of.....	37, 38, 349
International Secretariat, communication from A. Baumelster, assistant secretary, Resolution 133.....	257, 382
International Secretariat, provision for A. F. of L. representation at next meeting of.....	27, 313
International Secretariat report obtainable.....	139, 313
International unions in same industries to consider joint action in all disputes with employing classes, Resolution 13.....	92, 309, 315
International unions right to amalgamate, proposing amendment to constitution giving, Resolution 66.....	211, 402
J	
Jones, Jerome, greetings.....	9, 10
Judges and judicial decisions, recall of.....	40, 41, 345
Judges and judicial decisions, recall of, resolution endorsed by Carpenters convention, Resolution 1.....	89, 90, 354
Judges tenure, to limit.....	42, 345
Jury trial in cases of indirect contempt.....	37, 38, 349
Jury trial to be restored where set aside by court usurpation, Resolution 53.....	187, 354, 355
K	
Keegan, John J., protest against credential for.....	8, 313
L	
Label on flour sacks, relative to printing, Resolution 2.....	90, 259, 260
Label propaganda, recommendation of Label Trades Department for.....	332-334, 396
Label, universal, report of special committee Union Label Trades Department on.....	331, 332, 396

	Page.
Label Trades Department, Union, report of.....	23-25, 261
Convict Labor bill, Federal, assisted.....	25
farmers, label agitation among.....	25
funds.....	25
increase in use of labels.....	24
labels introduced in Congress, Federal bill protecting.....	25
membership.....	23
motion pictures as a means of propaganda.....	26
New York Union Label Council campaign.....	25
Label Trades Department, report on matters referred to A. F. of L. convention by convention of.....	331-334, 396
Labels:	
Bakery and Confectionery Workers, Resolution 59.....	190, 261
Coopers beer barrel repair label, application for endorsement of, Resolution 38.....	103, 260
Tobacco Workers, Resolution 36.....	103, 261
Travelers Goods and Leather Novelty Workers, Resolution 10.....	91, 308, 396
Labels and cards, list of organizations using.....	79
Labels of International Unions, recommendation for universal mark to be used in connection with.....	135, 260, 396
Labels, proposed investigation of cost of issuance and defending, Resolution 54.....	187, 188, 260, 261
Labor Committee, Sixty-second Congress, record of.....	32
Labor Day and Labor Sunday, observance and opportunities of.....	31
Labor forward movement, recommending general participation in.....	27, 386
Labor forward movement, to authorize inauguration, starting in New York State, Resolution 55.....	188, 391
Labor legislation in various states, to consider uniform, Resolution 85.....	235, 254
Labor party, national, advocating.....	314, 315
Labor press.....	57, 269
Labor temples advocated, erection of.....	267
Laundry Workers, special letter to be sent to organizers relative to organizing, Resolution 4.....	90, 387
Leather Workers, request for organizer for, Resolution 6.....	90, 387
Lecture courses in interest of trade union movement, proposition for A. F. of L. to bear expense of, Resolution 27.....	101, 262
Legien, Carl, visit of.....	26, 27, 313
Lennon, John B., relative to participation in Local Option campaign, Michigan, Resolution 123.....	245, 361, 362
Letter Carriers Association, National, to affiliate with A. F. of L., to convey invitation to, Resolution 72.....	212, 393
Lincoln, Nebr., Central Labor Union delegate seated.....	180
Lithographic Press Feeders, delegate seated.....	180
Locomotive Engineers invited to affiliate with A. F. of L.....	106
Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen invited to affiliate with A. F. of L.....	106
Longshoremen from competition of alien seamen, for bill protecting, Resolution 67.....	211, 355
Los Angeles strike, report of Metal Trades Department on.....	20
Lumber industry, Montana, application for organizer for, Resolution 15.....	92, 93, 388
<b>M</b>	
Maintenance of Way Employes delegates seated.....	249
Membership growth.....	45, 80, 81
Metal Trades Department, report of.....	20-22
alien labor, greater activity on part of organized labor required to prevent importation of.....	22
charters issued, funds and membership.....	22
eight-hour workday, progress in establishing.....	21
Firemen, Stationary, affiliation not secured.....	21
Fore River Ship-Building Company, subterfuge to import alien labor.....	22
ice and refrigerating machinery industry, effort to organize.....	21
Iron Trades Council, San Francisco—California Metal Trades Association negotiations.....	20, 21
Los Angeles strike.....	20

Metal Trades Department, report of—Continued.	Page.
low dues hindrance to joint movements.....	21, 22
representation and voting in convention changed, basis of.....	21
Steamfitters qualification for affiliation enforced.....	21
Metal Workers, Sheet—Metal Polishers, report on agreement entered into between.....	113
Mexican revolution, opposing U. S. intervention in, Resolution 83.....	234, 235, 256, 257
Migratory Workers, organized labor to be urged through special press articles to assist in organizing all unskilled and, Resolution 39.....	182, 390
Migratory Workers, to promote organization and welfare of.....	29, 384, 385
Miles, Chas. A., organizer, providing for investigation into assault on, Resolution 128.....	246, 247, 380, 381
Mineral Water Workers delegate seated.....	214
Mine Workers' action in reference to Stogie Makers.....	352
Miners, Western Federation, change in delegate.....	180
Minimum wage for women, New York, request for draft of bill providing, Resolution 20.....	94, 251
Mining and iron industries of Virginia, West Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Colorado, Pennsylvania, for investigation into labor conditions, Resolution 115.....	242, 243, 258, 259, 406
Mining Department, report of.....	22
Mining Companies, Bingham Canyon, Utah, to solicit support of Railroad Brotherhoods in strike against, Resolution 110.....	240, 337
Mother's Day endorsed.....	141
Mulholland, Frank, attorney, address of.....	277-280
McGinley, P. J., delegate, request to be excused.....	257
McNamara case, the.....	141-155, 348, 349
Macbeth-Evans Glass Company product, requesting effort to have union-made glass wares substituted for, Resolution 103.....	239, 395

N

Nashville, Tenn., for next convention, invitations from.....	248
Naval construction work for Government done in U. S. navy yards, efforts to have.....	37, 344
Navy yards and stations employes, to secure law establishing Saturday half-holiday for, Resolution 78.....	213, 252
Nebraska, application for A. F. of L. organizer for, Resolution 31.....	102, 389
Newark, N. J., application for A. F. of L. organizer for, Resolution 8.....	91, 38
New Mexico State constitution secured with provision for its amendment by popular vote.....	140, 405, 406
Newspaper workers not organized in printing trades unions, relative to jurisdiction over.....	121
Newswriters, to have International Typographical Union take steps to organize, Resolution 88.....	236, 393, 394
Niagara Falls, N. Y., central body change in delegate.....	180

O

Occupational diseases, State laws and various requirements looking to prevention of.....	52, 53, 347
Old-age pensions.....	52, 347
Omaha, Nebr., application to have Building Trades Department organize a local council in, Resolution 32.....	102, 404
Organizers, assistance rendered by and necessity of services of.....	56, 57, 123, 386, 387
Organizers, A. F. of L., to have special headquarters in each city upon which local movement shall be informed, Resolution 34.....	102, 390
Organizers, salaried, at conventions, proposition to elect, Resolution 106.....	240, 399
Organizers, salaried, to be removed only after fair and impartial trial, Resolution 108.....	240, 258
Organizers, salary of, recommendation to increase.....	123, 398, 399

P

Panama-Pacific Exposition, 1915, A. F. of L. to arrange for exhibit at, Resolution 44.....	183, 261, 262
Pensions of a public nature from private sources, condemning payment of, Resolution 136.....	396
Peace, international, reaffirming previous declarations favoring establishment of, Resolution 82.....	234, 253
Phosphorus matches, law providing for tax on white.....	52, 347
Plasterers' status in Building Trades Department.....	20, 107
Plumbers, change in delegate.....	96
Political campaign, labor's—its results.....	31-34, 135, 136, 314

	Page.
Porto Rico .....	17, 18, 250
citizenship for Porto Ricans .....	18, 250
Labor Bureau .....	17
public school system .....	17, 18
Porto Rico Federation of Labor greetings .....	189
Portrait Artists' Union, complaint of, against various portrait companies of Chicago, Resolution 94 .....	237, 394
Post-office clerks while on duty, to establish government's liability for injuries sustained by, Resolution 51 .....	187, 354
Post-office employees, letter carriers, railway mail clerks, to be invited to affiliate with A. F. of L., Resolution 50 .....	187, 391
Post suit vs. A. F. of L. and Buck's Stove and Range Co. ....	134, 348
Postal rates, second-class, for trade union, benevolent, and fraternal publications .....	43, 44, 346
Postal savings banks deposits to be loaned to working people of same communities seeking to acquire homes, Resolutions 12 and 70 .....	92, 212, 379
Press, freedom of, request from Farmers' Congress asking for action condemning laws and departmental rulings hampering .....	335, 382
Printing Pressmen's dispute with Chicago Publishers' Association, Resolution 14 .....	92, 315-318
Providence, R. I., application for A. F. of L. organizer for, Resolution 37 .....	103, 390
Public officers have prevented prosecution of trusts and protected their illegal operations, providing for investigation as to extent, Resolution 117 .....	243, 244, 380
Public works where men can be steadily employed, to provide liberal appropriations for, Resolution 97 .....	238, 355
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers' delegate seated .....	96
Pure food and pure drugs laws, action to secure better .....	138
Purinton Paving Brick Co., pledging support to brickmakers, steam shovelmen and stationary firemen in struggle against, Resolution 93 .....	237, 328

## R

Railroad Employees Department report .....	22, 23
Erdman Act, amendments to, endorsed .....	24
Hours of Service Law amendment endorsed, providing straight eight-hour day for telegraphers and signalmen .....	23
Kansas Supreme Court decision upholding "Coercion Act" which prevents any employer from requiring severance of membership in a labor organization as a condition of employment .....	23
Railroad Freight Handlers delegate seated .....	374
Railroad Telegraphers, change in delegate .....	96
Railroads to install automatic stop systems for prevention of accidents, to urge enactment of bill requiring, Resolution 101 .....	239, 256
Reclamation service, government, providing for overtime pay for emergency work in, Resolution 100 .....	238, 239, 379
Religious and anti-religious discussion in A. F. of L. conventions be prohibited, providing that, Resolution 127 .....	246, 254-256
Reports:	
Executive Council .....	89, 104-179
A. F. of L. funds securing .....	157, 234
office building .....	157, 234, 347
Alameda Co., Cal., Central Labor Council .....	121, 122, 342, 343
Anti-Home Work Congress, International .....	139, 234, 266
Arizona and New Mexico State constitutions .....	140, 234, 405, 406
Blacksmiths—Tunnel and Subway Employees .....	118
Boy scout movement .....	157-161, 234, 259
Bricklayers and Masons International Union .....	105
Brickmakers—Steam Engineers .....	119, 326, 327
Building Trades Department—Carpenters .....	107
Hodcarriers—Cement Workers .....	107, 233, 328, 329
Plasterers .....	107, 238
Carpenters, Brotherhood—Carpenters, Amalgamated .....	107-111
Carpenters—Wood Workers .....	107
Charters granted .....	104

## Reports:

Executive Council—Continued.	Page.
Conservation natural resources.....	141, 234, 266
Contempt case.....	124-129, 233, 348
Departments, new.....	106, 107
Discipline, authority and self-imposed.....	121, 122, 233
Electrical Workers controversy.....	120, 121
Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union convention.....	135, 233, 266, 267
Glass Bottle Blowers—Flint Glass Workers.....	113, 144, 233, 266
Hatters case.....	132-134, 233, 276-308, 349-351, 352, 353
Health Bureau, Federal.....	137, 138, 233
Industrial Relations, Commission on.....	136, 137, 233, 348
Industrial education.....	138, 139, 234, 269-276
Industrial unionism.....	114-117, 264, 265
Initiative and referendum, election of A. F. of L. officers.....	162-179, 234, 364-373
Injunction rule, new.....	130, 131, 233
International Secretariat.....	139, 234, 313
International unions, extension of jurisdiction of.....	104, 105, 233
Blacksmiths.....	105
Brewery Workers.....	105
Carriage and Wagon Workers.....	105
Glove Workers.....	105
Hodcarriers.....	105
Metal Polishers.....	104, 105
Tailors.....	104
Tile Layers.....	105
Label, universal.....	135, 233, 260
Labor representation committee's report.....	135, 233
Labor's political program, 1912.....	135, 233
McNamara case.....	141-155, 234, 348, 349
Metal Workers, Sheet—Metal Polishers.....	113
Mother's Day.....	141
Newspaper workers not coming under jurisdiction of international unions.....	121
Organizers.....	123, 233
Organizers' salaries.....	123, 233
Post vs. A. F. of L. and Buck's Stove and Range Company.....	134, 233, 348
Pure food and pure drugs.....	138
Reports, combining official convention.....	161, 162, 234, 400
Steamfitters—Plumbers.....	111-113, 233
Steam Shovelmen's organizations, amalgamation of.....	119, 120, 233, 329-331
Strikes and lockouts of directly affiliated local unions.....	122, 123, 233, 249, 250
Tailors—Garment Workers.....	118, 119
Teamsters Bakers.....	118
Brewery Workers.....	117, 118
Newspaper and Mail Deliverers.....	117
Unaffiliated organizations.....	105, 106, 233
Weekly News Letter, A. F. of L. publicity.....	156, 157
Fraternal delegates :	
British Trades Union Congress.....	194-198
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	199, 200
President.....	12-59
A. F. of L. exhibit, San Francisco, 1915.....	56, 95, 261, 262
<i>American Federationist</i> .....	57, 58, 95, 267
Anti-watered stock gambling.....	53, 54, 95, 347
Arbitration, mediation and conciliation, Erdman Act.....	30, 95, 313, 314
Boiler inspection.....	46, 47, 95, 346
Canada.....	15-17
Child labor and Children's Bureau.....	40, 95, 345
Citizenship rights restored.....	42, 43, 95, 345, 346
Construction by Government.....	37, 95, 344
Convict labor system contract.....	44-46, 95, 346

## Reports:

President—Continued.	Page.
Departments:	
Building Trades.....	19, 20
Metal Trades.....	20-22
Mining.....	22
Railroad Employees.....	22, 23
Union Label Trades.....	23, 24, 95, 261
Eight-hour law extension.....	34-36, 95, 344
new.....	36, 95, 344
Employers' liability and workmen's compensation.....	49-52, 95, 346, 347
Executive orders—gag rule—revoked.....	42, 43, 345, 346
Immigration and Chinese Exclusion.....	39, 40, 95, 344
Initiative, referendum and recall.....	40, 41, 95, 345
Injunction limitation bill—jury trial in contempt cases.....	37, 38, 95, 349
Judges tenure, limit.....	42, 95, 345
Labor Day and Labor Sunday.....	31, 95, 267
Labor forward movement.....	27, 95, 386
Labor press.....	57, 95, 269
Legien, Carl, visit of.....	26, 27, 95, 313
Migratory workers.....	29, 95, 384, 385
Occupational diseases.....	52, 53, 95, 347
Old-age pensions.....	52, 95, 347
Organization and growth.....	14, 15
Organizers.....	56, 57, 95, 386, 387
Political campaign, A. F. of L., its results.....	31-34, 95, 314
Porto Rico.....	17, 18, 95, 250
Postal rates, second-class.....	43, 44, 95, 346
Schools, wider use of the.....	54-56, 95, 267
"Scientific" management.....	48, 49, 95, 346
Seamen's rights.....	38, 39, 95, 344
Senators, popular election of U. S.....	42, 95, 345
Steel workers, organizing.....	28, 29, 95, 385, 386
Secretary.....	60-86, 259
Receipts.....	60
Expenses.....	60, 61
<i>American Federationist</i> .....	63
Benefits paid by international unions.....	71, 72
Chart showing various classes of organization.....	62
Charters issued and suspended.....	63, 80
Defense fund for local trade and federal unions.....	85
Headquarters.....	83
International unions reports.....	66-79
Labels and cards, organizations using.....	79
Membership, growth in.....	80, 81
Organizing expenses.....	84
Strike statistics.....	66-68
Voting strength of affiliated unions.....	64, 65
Wages reported by internationals, total increases in.....	69, 70
Treasurer.....	86, 87, 249
Reports to A. F. of L. conventions, to combine official.....	161, 162, 400

## S

Safety and health devices lecture.....	266
Safety, museum of, for exhibit of safety and health devices, urging Congress to establish a.	
Resolution 132.....	331, 381
Safety appliance requirements, Indiana and Wisconsin.....	52
San Francisco, Cal., for 1915 convention, invitation from.....	248
Sanitarium, National, Hot Springs, Ark., Resolution 69.....	211, 212, 264
Sanitary conditions of trains and vessels in interstate traffic to be subject of investigation and report to Federal authorities.....	137, 138
Sanitation law, New York.....	52

	Page
Saranac Glove Company, request of Glove Workers for assistance to secure adjustment of differences with, Resolution 63.....	191, 192, 392
School books, for state uniformity of, Resolution 49.....	186, 263
School buildings should be used as public forums and social centers.....	54-56, 267
School system, for practical reform of public, Resolution 87.....	235, 236, 263, 264
"Scientific" management investigation and bills drafted to prohibit stop watch and premium bonus system of compensation.....	48, 49, 346
Seamen's rights bill status.....	38, 344, 353, 354
Seattle, Wash., for next convention, invitations from.....	320, 352
Senators, popular election of U. S.....	42, 345
Sherman anti-trust law, its application to labor organizations.....	132-134, 249, 276-308, 349-351, 352-353
Shillady, J. R., address of.....	230-233
"Socialist unions" repudiated by German labor movement.....	27
Socialist platform in A. F. of L. political program, protest against failure to publish.....	314
Socialist newspaper criticism of referendum system.....	369
Socialistic amendment to U. S. Constitution, proposed, Resolution 48.....	185, 186, 401, 402
Socialistic movement in England.....	209, 210
State branches, A. F. of L. to pay per capita tax to, Resolution 86.....	235, 399
State branches for concerted action in matter of labor legislation, proposing conference of representatives of, Resolution 52.....	187, 251
Steamfitters, report relative to carrying out instructions of Atlanta Convention in regard to.....	111-113, 339-341
Steamfitters to determine form of organization, providing for a convention of, Resolution 121.....	245, 339-341
Steamfitters credentials, protest against.....	8, 96, 99, 180, 182, 189, 190
Steam Shovel and Dredgemen International Brotherhood, request that all steam shovel and dredgemen be urged to join, Resolution 96.....	238, 329-331, 335-337
Steam Shovelmen organizations, report of efforts to secure amalgamation of.....	119, 120, 329-331, 335-337
Steam Shovelmen, providing that A. F. of L. issue charter to an international union of, Resolution 113.....	241, 242, 329-331, 335-337, 395
Steel Workers, campaign to organize.....	29, 385, 386
Steger, J. V., and Sons, Steger, Ill., providing for investigation of labor conditions in piano factories of, Resolution 91.....	237, 254
Stock gambling, relative to legislation to eliminate watered.....	53, 54, 347
Stogiemakers and Cigarmakers, urging continued effort for amalgamation of, Resolution 61.....	191, 392
Street and electric railway employees, endorsing proposed legislation regulating working hours of, Resolution 130.....	248, 381
Strike, the.....	30, 69
Strike benefits paid by A. F. of L., proposing amendment to constitution increasing, Resolution 9.....	91, 398
Strikes and lockouts of locals directly affiliated with A. F. of L.....	85, 122, 123, 249, 250
Sugar refining industry, to instruct organizers to organize, Resolution 24.....	99, 100, 389

T

Tailors and Garment Workers, providing for investigation into issuance of label by, Resolution 92.....	237, 261, 396
Tailors Union re issuance of label, charges against, Resolution 28.....	101, 261, 396
Tailors—Garment Workers, report on proposed amalgamation of.....	118, 119
Tax on land values to replace tariff taxes, Resolution 71.....	212, 379
Teamsters—Bakers jurisdiction controversy.....	118
Brewery Workers jurisdiction controversy.....	117, 118
Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union, New York, jurisdiction dispute.....	117
Textile industry, Mohawk Valley, New York, appeal for organizers for, Resolution 124.....	245, 395, 396
Thanks extended to public officials, organized labor, and press of Rochester, Resolution 135.....	383
Theatrical Tailors and Dressers request that members of Theatrical Stage Employees' Alliance demand Hebrew companies to employ union costume dressers, Resolution 5.....	90, 315
Thomas, Rev. James Bishop, address of.....	223-225
Toledo, Ohio, for next convention, invitations from.....	248, 309, 320



	Page.
Transportation department, proposing organization of a, Resolution 64.....	211, 392, 393
Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers, application for organizer for, Resolution 11.....	92, 387, 388
Tuberculosis, causes and prevention of, address by J. R. Shillady.....	230-233
Tunnel and Subway Constructors and Compressed Air Workers, proposing amalgamation of, Resolution 29.....	101, 323

## U

University extension, similar to Wisconsin, endorsed, Resolution 40.....	182, 262, 263
--	---------------

## V

Vocational education.....	138, 139, 269-276
agreement between Carpenters Union and Carpenters and Builders Association, Chicago.....	55
Vocational training under public auspices to be modeled after apprentice schools conducted by various trade unions, Resolution 87.....	235, 236, 263, 264
Voting strength of affiliated unions.....	64, 65

## W

Wages reported by international unions, total increases in.....	69, 70
War, against.....	218, 219
War, condemning, Resolution 82.....	234, 253
Watertown, N. Y., application for A. F. of L. organizer for, Resolution 79.....	213, 214, 393
Weekly News Letter, A. F. of L., proposition of consolidating <i>American Federationist</i> with.....	156, 157
West Virginia, appeal for assistance to organize coal mining districts of, Resolution 119.....	244
West Virginia, request for assistance to secure workmen's compensation law in.....	347
White Rats Actors Union, charges of Chicago Federation of Labor against, Resolution 47.....	185, 324-326
charges of Hebrew Variety Actors Union against, Resolution 46.....	184, 324-326
charges of New York Central Federated Union against, Resolution 45.....	183, 184, 323-326
providing for investigation of, Resolution 89.....	236, 325, 326
Whitehead-Hoag Co., attitude of.....	332, 396
Williams, John, New York Labor Commissioner, request for petition for removal of, Resolution 107.....	240, 359-361, 383
Wilson, W. B., Congressman, visits convention.....	181, 225-227
Winslow Bros. Company, Chicago and New York, attitude toward organized labor, Resolution 84.....	235, 253, 254
Woman[suffrage, re-affirming declaration in favor of, Resolution 134.....	382, 383
Women's International Union Label League fraternal delegate seated.....	269
Women's Trade Union League, financial assistance granted.....	123
Workmen's compensation and employers' liability.....	49-52, 346, 347
Workmen's compensation laws in States whose senators opposed Federal Compensation Bill organized labor to urge enactment of, Resolution 125.....	245, 246, 380

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